Universidade de Aveiro Departamento de Educação
Ano 2010

Mark Daubney

Ansiedade linguística na prática pedagógica de professores de Inglês

Language anxiety in English teachers during their teaching practice

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Dissertação apresentada à Universidade de Aveiro para cumprimento dos requisitos necessários à obtenção do grau de Doutor em Didáctica, realizada sob a orientação científica da Doutora Maria Helena Almeida Beirão de Araújo e Sá, Professora Associada do Departamento de Educação da Universidade de Aveiro.

For

Cristina,

Gabriela

and

Tom

o júri

presidente

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palavras-chave Ansiedade linguística; professores estagiários; prática pedagógica; professor supervisor; professor cooperante

resumo

Este estudo explora a influência da ansiedade linguística em futuros professores de Inglês em situação de prática pedagógica. *Setting the Scene* descreve o aumento de interesse pela ansiedade linguística por parte dos investigadores no contexto da aprendizagem e do ensino, e a relevância desta questão para professores estagiários fazendo a transição de aluno para professor. O autor também considera a sua própria experiência de ansiedade – enquanto estudante e investigador – de modo a gerar um maior entendimento desta emoção complexa. O Capítulo 1 da Parte 1 descreve como o afecto na aprendizagem e na investigação da língua tem vindo a ser um factor preponderante no interesse mais alargado sobre as emoções em contextos educacionais. A recente influência da teoria social na aquisição de uma segunda língua e como esta pode ajudar a repensar a investigação das emoções é discutida antes do final do capítulo, onde se examina ainda como as emoções são expressas na comunicação e interacção.

O Capítulo 2 concentra-se na ansiedade na aprendizagem da língua e em como o peso da noção em contexto social alargado tem provavelmente influenciado uma abordagem dominantemente de cariz positivista na investigação sobre a ansiedade linguística. Controvérsias e variáveis da personalidade relacionadas com a ansiedade linguística são discutidas, considerando-se a possibilidade de novas direcções para a investigação. A prática pedagógica é vista como um campo fértil de investigação sobre a ansiedade linguística em estagiários, com estilos de supervisão e discursos – nomeadamente estratégias de delicadeza e de mitigação – sendo considerados influências importantes na experiência desta emoção.

O Capítulo 3 da Parte 2 detalha a abordagem etnográfica e etnometodológica do estudo e o procedimento de investigação em si. Os dados foram recolhidos em três momentos distintos. Primeiro, através de inquéritos aplicados aos estagiários antes do começo do estágio. Numa segunda fase, durante o estágio, os dados principais foram recolhidos através das aulas e duma entrevista semi-estruturada com os estagiários, ambas vídeo gravadas, e dos encontros de pós-observação áudio-gravados. Os dados subsidiários recolhidos nesta mesma fase incluem reflexões escritas e dossiers dos estagiários, observações escritas das aulas do investigador e o relatório intercalar dos professores supervisor e cooperante. Na última fase, posterior às aulas, a recolha dos dados principais foi realizada através de uma vídeo gravação da reunião de avaliação final com todos os participantes e de *stimulated recall protocols* com cada professor estagiário.

O Capítulo 4 é predominantemente uma análise qualitativa de discurso, utilizando categorias de análise para identificar sinais de ansiedade emergentes dos dados. Os resultados mostram que um dos estagiários pode ser caracterizado como tendo uma experiência de ansiedade mais *debilitadora*, outro uma ansiedade mais facilitadora, enquanto a experiência do terceiro é menos pronunciada e mais difícil de caracterizar. Sinais e fontes múltiplos e complexos de ansiedade foram identificados mas as próprias auto-imagens dos sujeitos como professores de Inglês, construídas em interacção ao longo do estágio, estão no centro desta experiência emocional. O Capítulo 5 considera as implicações e as conclusões deste estudo. São dadas indicações para a relação estagiário-supervisor e quanto aos estilos do supervisor no quadro da prática pedagógica assim como sugestões para que a ansiedade linguística seja explicitamente abordada na formação em supervisão. Finalmente, é ponderada se a experiência da ansiedade linguística destas estagiárias e as suas fontes têm ou não implicações na formação dos alunos de línguas.

keywords Language anxiety; pre-service teachers of English; practicum; post-observation conferences; supervising teacher; co-operating teacher

abstract

This study explores the influence of language anxiety on three pre-service teachers of English during their teaching practice. *Setting the Scene* describes the rise of interest in language anxiety for researchers working in language learning and teaching contexts, and its relevance to trainees making the transition from student to qualified teacher. The author reflects on his own experience of anxiety – both as a language learner and researcher – in order to shed greater light on this complex emotion and the motivation for researching it.

Chapter 1 of Part 1 relates how affect in language learning and research has become an established consideration within a broader interest in emotions in educational contexts. The recent influence of social theory on second language acquisition and how it can help to rethink the research of emotions is discussed before the final part of the chapter looks at how emotions are expressed in communication and interaction.

Chapter 2 focuses on anxiety in language learning, and how the powerful notion of anxiety in our society has likely influenced a dominant, positivist approach to researching language anxiety. Controversies and personality variables related to language anxiety are considered, and possible new directions for research considered. The language teaching practicum is seen as fertile ground for researching language anxiety in the trainees, with supervisor styles and discourse - namely politeness and mitigation strategies - being considered important influences on the trainees' experience of this emotion.

Chapter 3 of Part 2 details the ethnographic and ethnomethodological approach of data collection and the research procedure itself. Data was collected in three distinct phases: first, through questionnaires applied to the trainees before the teaching practice; next, during the teaching practice itself, the main data were collected through video recorded lessons, a video recorded semi-structured interview with the trainees, and audio recorded post-observation conferences whilst secondary data consisted of the researcher‘s written observations on the lessons, trainees' written reflections and teaching files, and the supervising and cooperating teacher's mid-term report. The last research phase saw the main data collected through a video recorded final assessment meeting with all the participants and, finally, stimulated recall protocols with each trainee.

Chapter 4 is largely a qualitative analysis of discourse, using categories of analysis to identify signs and sources of anxiety emerging from the data. One trainee can be characterised as experiencing a debilitating anxiety, another facilitating anxiety, whilst the third trainee's experience is much less pronounced and difficult to characterise. Multiple and complex signs and sources of anxiety were identified but the images of themselves as English teachers, jointly constructed in interaction, were at the core of the trainees' emotional experience.

Chapter 5 discusses the implications and the conclusions of the study. Indications for supervisor-trainee relationships and supervisor styles within the context of the practicum are put forward as are suggestions to make language anxiety an explicit consideration on supervisory courses. Finally, the experience and the sources of the trainees' language anxiety and the possible implications these may have for pupils/students in their language classes are briefly considered.

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Abbreviations

Related to language anxiety

FLCAS Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale
LA Language anxiety
LCDH Linguistic Coding Deficiency Hypothesis
PRCA Personal Report of Communication Apprehension

Related to the present research project and teaching practice (prática pedagógica)

CT Cooperating teacher
FM Final assessment meeting
FTA Face threatening act
MTR Mid-term written report
POC Post-observation conference
R Researcher
SRP Stimulated recall protocol
SSI Semi-structured interview
ST Supervising teacher
TP Teaching practice
TT Trainee teachers

Related to English language teaching and second language acquisition

CLT Communicative language teaching

EFL English as a foreign language

ESL English as a Second Language

L2 Second language

LD Language didactics

SLA Second language acquisition

TESOL Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

SETTING THE SCENE

SETTING THE SCENE

> … C. Wright Mills persuasively argued, that within many of our personal troubles reside compelling public issues. The challenge of the sociological imagination, he asserted, is to illuminate the connection between the two.
> (Hargreaves, 1994:142)

> Second only to motivation, anxiety is the most talked about emotion in the field of language learning and teaching, but I feel it is the most misunderstood variable of all.
> (Scovel, 2001:127)

This research project centres on the extent to which anxiety influences Portuguese trainee English language teachers during their year-long Teaching practice (TP)[1]. In order to better situate readers of this project, and as I hope to indicate with the title, *Setting the scene* is an overview of the key issues involved in language anxiety research and how these relate to the context of these student teachers on their practicum.

In order to complement this overview and ensure it is not simply seen as a largely theoretical and decontextualised preamble to the key themes and ideas to be explored in greater detail further on in the study, I explain the reasons and underlying motivations that have been so important in shaping this study, including a personal reflection of my own experience of language anxiety as well as the research I have conducted into this phenomenon.

Setting the scene, then, is a window that allows readers to view the key contours of the terrain of language anxiety research and the context of this particular project, whilst also providing them with a personal perspective, the human dimension, which is central to the empirical study that follows.

It could be argued that at the present moment in time the teaching profession itself is going through a period of great anxiety. These are times of intense professional reflection which can be characterised, justifiably, as uncertain and shifting, in which teachers feel themselves to be under relentless scrutiny, a state of affairs that is being significantly shaped by constant upheaval and change in a global society. This anxiety experienced by the teaching profession is also indicative of our society's constant wrestling with uncertainty and change. Indeed, a fitting metaphor for this state of affairs would appear to be the Russian doll in that

[1] I use 'teaching practice', 'practicum' and 'teaching placement' interchangeably. Perhaps the most commonly used Portuguese counterpart for these terms is 'prática pedagógica'.

as layers of anxiety and uncertainty at the societal level are peeled away, further layers of these phenomena are evidenced in societies' micro factors and the behaviour of communities, professions and individuals. In his treatise on the rampant uncertainty in modern life, *Liquid Lives: Living in an Age of Uncertainty*, Zygmunt Bauman points to the receding influence of social institutions and social solidarity and their structuring capacity to ensure greater degrees of certainty in our lives as key influences on the rise of anxiety and related emotions. This decreasing influence has, in Bauman's view, led to the creation of unstable foundations for many in today's world:

> The ground on which our life prospects are presumed to rest is admittedly shaky – as are our jobs and the companies that offer them, our partners and network of friends, the standing we enjoy in wider society and the self-esteem and self-confidence that come with it. (2007: 10)

However, whilst duly acknowledging the wider social picture and its potential to impact on teachers' lives, I principally focus on and explore the anxiety experienced by Portuguese trainee English teachers in the classroom, a foreign language didactics perspective of anxiety, and therefore what is known in the fields of second language acquisition (SLA) and foreign language learning and teaching as foreign language anxiety (FLA) or language anxiety (LA)[2]. LA, as defined by MacIntyre and Gardner, two researchers well-known for their work on affective and social factors in language learning, is the "feeling of tension and apprehension specifically associated with second language contexts" (1994a:284).

LA, therefore, refers to an emotional or affective state that is experienced by learners in language learning contexts and, in the last twenty years especially, has been the subject of extensive research. This surge in research has partly resulted from the significant interest resulting from the often controversial claims that anxiety is a decisive factor in learners' success or otherwise in a foreign language.

This large-scale increase in language anxiety research, however, has overwhelmingly focused on the anxiety experienced by pupils and students in their language disciplines, whilst the possibility of teachers experiencing the same phenomenon as they teach their language disciplines in the classroom has merited scant research. Elaine Horwitz, one of the few scholars to have published on teacher-anxiety, wrote an article entitled *Even teachers get*

[2] Both of these terms are, normally, used interchangeably in the literature, and often refer to anxiety experienced in both second and foreign language contexts. While I use foreign language anxiety and language anxiety interchangeably in the context of foreign language learning, I think it is useful to refer to second language anxiety when referring specifically to anxiety experienced in second language contexts. The vast majority of language anxiety research has been conducted in formal foreign language contexts not second language ones.

the blues: Recognizing and alleviating language teachers' feelings of foreign language anxiety (1996). The title, I think, holds a significant clue to the scarcity of language anxiety research in relation to teachers' own experience of this emotion. The word *even* here functions as a deliberate reminder that teachers are not usually thought of as vulnerable to this emotion, presumably because of their very status as teachers, as language experts, and somehow that anxious teachers would be seen as undermining their own standing. The use of 'even' is again used in this sense in Spielmann and Radnofsky's (2001) ethnographic study of tension in young adult language learners, perhaps in a deliberate echo of the title of Horwitz's article, when they say "Horwitz...even studied the effect of language anxiety on teachers" (2001:260).

A perspective that may shed some light on this view, that of Martin Kayman, a former university professor at Coimbra University, is that teachers, teacher trainers and university lecturers collude in a subtle type of collective self-denial in relation to the experience of anxiety. Investing in a "fictive competence" that accentuates, validates and values anxiety-free performances which exude confidence and eradicate the anxious, Kayman says "we stigmatise creative intellectual anxiety by the support we implicitly give to the myth that learners cease to be insecure when they become teachers" (1984:109). Although not directly addressing the issue of language anxiety per se, Kayman's observation, does, I think, offer food for thought, and may help to explain the paucity of publications concerning anxiety experienced by language teachers or published reflections by professionals in language teaching on their own experience of this emotion.

Grundy (2000), however, a teacher educator working in the area of teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL), starts from the premise that teachers do experience anxiety. Writing in response to a lively exchange between contributors on the theme of affect in the *IATEFL Teacher Trainers' SIG Newsletter*, he refers to Scott Thornbury's review of Jane Arnold's (1999) *Affect in Language learning*, and in particular to Thornbury's laudatory comments on Oxford's (1999a) chapter on anxiety in that volume, but Grundy goes on to identify that "one notable feature of Oxford's overview is the *absence of any comment about the ways in which anxiety motivates the behaviour of teachers*" (2000:23, emphasis added). In Grundy's view, anxiety may well go unnoticed in teachers due to its nature as a "collective, intra-cultural phenomenon" (ibid.) embedded deeply in methodological practices which are motivated by uncertainty avoidance, and therefore more difficult to discern.

It is reasonable to suppose, then, that researchers have not considered language teachers 'suitable' subjects for LA research given that teachers are generally perceived as unlikely to experience this emotion because of their 'expert language user' status, or that teachers or those involved in teacher training would not want to openly admit to anxiety as

an influential emotion in their practice lest it be construed as damaging what Kayman calls the "misleading but dominant and seductive myth of pedagogic ease and efficiency" (1984:109). From this point of view, teachers are likely to disguise or suppress the more 'obvious' signs of anxiety identified in the literature (see 2.7 for a discussion of the signs and effects of LA). Indeed, LA research has largely focused on investigating young adult or adult learners at the beginning of their language learning journeys, learners who, it is fair to speculate, are more likely to offer 'rich pickings' in terms of anxious reactions.

The great surge of interest in LA has, then, largely bypassed teachers[3], instead concentrating on the learners in the classroom, a state of affairs most likely reinforced by the elevation of the learner and their affective and cognitive needs as the central consideration in the language classroom. It is this sustained and rapid increase in interest in LA that I would now like to examine further.

1. The rise of interest in language anxiety

In many respects, the attention given to LA and other affective variables in SLA can be viewed as part of the wider interest in emotions in an array of academic fields – many related to education – as well as society in general. With regard to education, the intense interest in emotional intelligence (Goleman, 1995, 1998) and its implications and practical ramifications has paralleled sustained research in the neurosciences (Damasio, 1994, 1999, 2003, 2010; LeDoux, 1998) which has served to point up the false dichotomy between cognition and emotion, and the importance of seeing these twin processes as inextricably entwined and complementary in nature.

More specifically, in language learning and SLA studies, interest in anxiety was substantially augmented by Stephen Krashen's (1981, 1982, 1985) writings and influential language acquisition theory, especially the notion of the affective filter, which posits that negative emotions, including anxiety, signify the affective filter is on 'high alert' or threatened by certain aspects of the linguistic environment, therefore impeding the learner's receptivity and ability to process and acquire the linguistic input. Although Krashen's acquisition theory has been controversial, greeted with scepticism and subjected to rigorous criticism by researchers, the simplicity and explanatory power of the affective filter metaphor means it still remains a powerful and popular reference in language teaching circles.

[3] In fact language anxiety research has largely focused on lower level learners, not on advanced level learners, subtly reinforcing a view commonly held that anxiety levels decrease in accordance with learners' proficiency levels.

To a certain extent, I feel that LA research displays similarities with the controversies surrounding Krashen's work in at least two important ways: firstly, like the affective filter, anxiety is a psychological construct that attempts to capture and designate an affective state whose impact is extremely difficult to calculate and research; secondly, despite or maybe because of these difficulties, the intuitive, common sense explanatory power that anxiety exerts over the language learning process is both appealing to practitioners in language teaching whilst difficult for researchers to evaluate and, if deemed necessary, to refute. Whereas some believe anxiety, and its subtle connections with other affective variables, remains a key reason in explaining learners' degree of success in language learning, others consider interest in anxiety and affect as self-indulgent emotional navel-gazing, a convenient digression from more pressing concerns in SLA research.

Whatever the stance taken on the continuum between these two poles, anxiety is now firmly established on the map as one of the key affective factors in explaining success in foreign language learning, and has become one of the, if not *the,* most controversial affective variables in the affective domain in language learning, a state of affairs reflected in the huge increase of interest and publications on the subject in the last twenty years.[4]

Like Krashen, many researchers who have investigated LA work in the North American context, and it is there, especially the USA, that LA research was instigated, has subsequently flourished, and has established somewhat insistent patterns of investigation that can be said to be characteristic of LA research as a general rule, not only in that context but also in environments outside of North America, including various European and Asian countries.

The features, then, which characterise, to a significant extent, an insistent and somewhat linear approach to anxiety research are the following: first, the application of self-reports or scales – the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope, 1986) perhaps being the best-known instrument – in order to 'measure' learners' levels of anxiety; second, the identification of the sources of anxiety based on the responses to these scales, with subsequent interviews with subjects sometimes being used to confirm and further explore these responses; third, the recommendation and/or implementation of strategies in order to reduce or eliminate anxiety from the classroom. As we shall later see, this step-by-step, almost clinical psychological approach may well have been influenced by

[4]At the beginning of the 1990s, Robert Gardner and Peter MacIntyre, two researchers firmly associated with research into language anxiety, commented that "A topic of rising importance in the study of language learning is the role of language anxiety" (1993b:4). A decade later, the latter author was writing "The 1990s have seen a virtual explosion of research into the topic of language anxiety (1999:24).

the semantic force and associations that the word 'anxiety' exerts upon the modern world as well as its close ties with the discipline of psychology.

Despite the fact that anxiety has always had strong links with the field of psychology, the uneasiness and ambiguity that anxiety conveys dovetails with an increasingly influential post-modern view of society as one characterised by risk, instability and uncertainty, a view which, as a result of the influential work of scholars such as Beck, Giddens and Hall, now permeates not only many other academic fields but also impacts on the very fabric of everyday life. Furthermore, such a view conceives individuals as ever-changing and struggling to assert or come to terms with their identity and selves within complex networks of tensions arising from issues of agency and structure.

There are signs that SLA research is being gradually influenced by this perspective, and that absorbing and applying ideas deriving from social theory and the social sciences (Block, 2007; Norton, 2000; Stroud and Wee, 2006, Ushioda, 2009) may well provide fruitful ways forward for researching anxiety and other affective factors. Indeed, in this study, I have drawn upon frameworks and approaches from social theory in order to explore and analyse anxiety from a perspective which departs from the prevailing research paradigm.

Nevertheless, the prevailing theoretical framework for researching anxiety, and one largely adopted by SLA research for the study of affective and cognitive variables, has been that of the influential social-psychological approach, which has been particularly evident in North America.

In the USA, contrary to much language practice in Europe, learners may often take up a foreign language discipline for the first time at university, a discipline which they have to successfully negotiate if they are to graduate. It may not come as a great surprise, therefore, that language learners in the USA often refer to their engagement with their language discipline in largely negative terms, with anxiety being cited as the key emotion at the hub of this experience.

The overall trajectory of language anxiety research in the USA, then, reveals a focus on studying young adults at university with low proficiency and in the unenviable position of having to pass a language discipline. Many student comments, cited in the literature as indicative of their anxiety, are often somewhat melodramatic, and are likely to be as much the result of frustration engendered by language policies as they are anxious reactions to the process of engaging with a foreign language. Indeed, Pavlenko (2005), in her work on emotions and multilingualism, makes her opinion clear when she states that it is no surprise that language anxiety as a concept was established in North American academia where the

affective domain has been conceptualised from a cognitive and individualistic perspective. In Pavlenko's words:

> Language learning anxiety as a key explanatory factor in L2 learning outcomes can thrive only in classrooms populated by more or less monolingual speakers who grew up with a deep conviction that FL learning is a challenging process in which one can never really succeed – and more importantly, in which one does not need to succeed in a globalized English-speaking world (2005:34-35).

Whilst such a perspective seems to offer explanatory potential for the existence and rise in interest in language anxiety research in the USA, it appears to be on less firm ground when we consider that anxiety research has also been carried out in Spain, Portugal and Hungary, European countries whose education systems implement language learning at a relatively early age. Nevertheless, Pavlenko's view provides food for thought in relation to Europe where language learning in many countries is encouraged from an early age and continues throughout their schooling. In Europe, there are also concerted and well-structured language policies, such as the Council of Europe's aims to promote plurilingualism, linguistic diversity, mutual understanding, democratic citizenship and social cohesion. As Byram, a firm advocate of European language policies, points out:

> The 'European project' in which some kind of co-operation among nation states is taking place is an experiment in economics, identities, social policies and politics that may be followed elsewhere in the world. Languages and language teaching have been an integral part of the evolution of nation states and this new situation has implications for language teaching in a post-nation-state world (2008:3)

Learners' exposure to languages other than their own, then, in a Europe increasingly characterised by mobility and linguistic diversity are less likely, according to Pavlenko's logic, to experience language anxiety.

Although I personally feel Pavlenko's perspective provides another perspective to conceptualise and approach language anxiety, the combination of my own experience in Portugal as a language teacher, language learner and researcher suggests that Pavlenko's view may be somewhat reductive in that its emphasis appears to be firmly on the macro factors concerning language policy and language learning in society, and does not sufficiently consider – regardless of the general thrust of language policies in a given society – how anxiety may arise in the micro factors of language learning, that is, in the organisation of the classroom which is constitutive of and is constituted by the face-to-face interaction of participants in particular contexts. Indeed, if interaction and negotiation of meaning in our given mother tongues often involve face-threatening activity in which the degree of tension may fluctuate greatly according to the context in which the interaction takes place, there is,

then, significant justification in claiming that language learning will also generate face-threatening activity irrespective of language policies and larger representations of language learning, but which may, nonetheless, have a determining influence on such interaction.

It is in language classrooms in which I have carried out my research, and it is the brief trajectory of my own research that I would now like to turn to in order to discuss the origins and motivations of the present research project in order to illustrate how I have come to focus on language anxiety as the principal focus of my research activities here in Portugal.

2. Motivation , research questions and objectives of the present study

In Portugal LA research has been limited to my own projects, and this has been a unique opportunity and a significant incentive to explore this affective factor and contribute to language learning and teaching didactics in the Portuguese context. Whilst the Portuguese education system now has a certain tradition in encouraging language learning at a relatively early age, and Portuguese society itself can be said to be open to other languages (Andrade, Araújo e Sá and Moreira, 2007), my previous research has shown that anxiety is experienced by future teachers of English, learners who Byram, citing Evans (1998), refers to as 'language people', who "are dedicated to the language and literature and culture associated with it" (2008:114-115). In the case of my own investigation, the learners are often bilingual learners who have learnt in classrooms with other bilinguals, and who do not expect the challenge of language learning to impede their success in their given language disciplines. Anxiety experienced by future teachers in Portugal, then, does not appear to entirely square with Pavlenko's perspective.

The present project, however, does not focus on future teachers in their institutional language classes but on Portuguese trainee English language teachers on their TP, and represents a new dimension to language anxiety research not only in the Portuguese context but also at an international level. Araújo e Sá (2000:121) identifies 'didáctica praxeologica', a didactics of teaching and learning, in which subject didactics are framed by scientific spaces contributing to the confluence of two objectives:

> produzir conhecimento sobre o processo de ensino-aprendizagem de uma dada disciplina; intervir no terreno de actuação social sobre o qual se debruçam. Nesta medida, assumem-se como discursos *sobre* e *para* o objecto de estudo, a prática social contextualizada de ensino-aprendizagem (2000:122, emphasis in original)

In terms of Araújo e Sá's framing of didactics, my previous projects and this study have inverted their locus of interest: whereas my previous research centred on pre-service language teachers' affective reactions in their language classes, and therefore essentially focused on the *sobre* (about) objective but still envisaged making a contribution to the *para* (for) objective, the present project has moved firmly towards the *para* objective whilst still retaining the hope of making a modest contribution to the *sobre* objective. Language teachers are, after all, still language learners, and it would be unwise to ignore possible insights into the language-learning process that trainee language teachers' behaviour may provide.

In the light of Alarcão, Andrade, Araújo e Sá and Melo-Pfeifer's (2010) reconceptualisation of didactics[5], the focus of the present project would appear to fall within the area they presently refer to as 'formative' didactics. This area includes both initial teacher training as well as continuing professional development of in-service teachers, and is therefore related to the activity of teaching, which, by definition, also involves the pupils who they teach. From this perspective, the pupils' learning and formation constitute another dimension of didactics. So according to the aforementioned authors, "a dimensão didáctica sub-divide-se em: formativa/professor e formativa/aluno" (2010:6).

I am hopeful, then, that this study's overriding concern with language anxiety and affective factors, and the evident break – in terms of the epistemological and methodological framework – it makes with previous anxiety research, will be viewed as being relevant to both areas of this recent reconceptualisation of didadctics.

Furthermore, unlike other language anxiety research, this project also involves the dimension of supervision and mentoring, with the supervising teacher and cooperating teacher[6] being key figures for the trainees during this initial phase of their professional lives. More specifically, supervisor feedback is likely to be a significant influence on the extent to which anxiety arises in the trainees, and how this is experienced and managed by the participants within the interactional context of the post-observation conferences.

Little anxiety research has been carried out with advanced learners, and, as far as I am aware, no language anxiety research has been conducted with trainee teachers for the entire duration of their TP so the present study is very much on experimental ground in this respect.

[5] Alarcão (1994) previously made the following distinctions: firstly, research didactics (concerned with the scientific construction of knowledge); secondly, curricular didactics (concerned with updating pedagogical concerns in initial teacher training programmes); and finally, professional didactics (concerned with actual practices in the classroom).

[6] I use 'supervising' and 'cooperating teacher' to refer to the higher education lecturer and school-based teacher respectively involved in the monitoring and assessment of student teachers. In the interest of economy and the avoidance of repetition, I use the term 'mentors' to refer to them jointly.

It is probable, therefore, that readers' initial impressions of the subjects of this study are unlikely to coincide with the view of learners in the more traditional and narrower sense of the word, that is, learners being taught a language discipline by a teacher. Indeed, it is clear that trainee teachers have a number of significant considerations to attend to other than language-related concerns. However, to all intents and purposes, all language teachers are still learners, whilst trainee teachers on their TP, albeit with the status of advanced learners, can be seen as learners in a high-pressured learning situation. Such a context is likely to throw up interesting interfaces between language knowledge and language use, between their identities as students and their identities as trainees, between themselves and their colleagues and between themselves and their mentors as they endeavour to demonstrate their worth and potential as trainees on the verge of becoming professionals.

In fact I view this study as being firmly embedded in a nexus of potential tensions and conflicts – between language learning and language teaching, between trainee teachers and mentors, between personal and professional interests, between the demands of initial teacher education and the desires to develop as a teacher, between change and resistance, between career opportunities and possible failures, and between the micro factors of the classroom and the macro factors of society pushing in on and shaping the personal experiences within the wider school community. This nexus, then, constitutes a significant ontology of the context of this study and in turn has obviously influenced how we can approach, problematise and study anxiety, in other words what epistemological lens, so to speak, we can use to bring a greater focus on and increase our understanding of the object of the study.

Given this context, two of the principal aims of this study are to make a contribution which will go some way to redressing the imbalance in language anxiety research which has seen teachers largely 'escape' the attentions of researchers in this area, and also to make a modest contribution to the intersecting areas of language and curricular didactics as well as to initial teacher education, supervision and mentoring. Such considerations have significantly shaped the central questions of the study which are as follows:

1. How can anxiety experienced by pre-service EFL teachers on their TP be identified both in and outside the foreign language classroom?

2. What contexts or circumstances are likely to contribute to pre-service teachers experiencing language anxiety?

3. How can the experience of language anxiety impact on trainees' behaviour and attitudes as future language teachers?

4. How can mentors and trainee language teachers better manage the experience of language anxiety on the practicum?

The research objectives may be stated as the following:

1. To identify and characterise features or patterns of pre-service teachers' behaviour in the classroom likely to be indicative of anxiety.

2. To characterise factors – both preceding and during the context of TP – that may contribute to pre-service teachers' experience of anxiety.

3. To characterise particular features of interaction in the post-observation conferences that may shape pre-service teachers' anxiety experienced during their TP.

4. To identify possible effects of language anxiety that may exert an influence on the trainees' future classroom practice.

5. To suggest features of interaction that the mentors and trainees may adapt – especially in the post-observation conferences – that may lead to an improved understanding and management of language anxiety.

Regardless of subject specialisation, the TP is a significant time for trainee teachers, a period replete with challenges, a taxing physical and psychological experience both personally and professionally speaking, in which a wide-ranging and shifting combination of factors often results in student teachers undergoing a truly unpredictable mixture of emotional highs and lows – both inside and outside of the classroom.

I have therefore explored an emotion likely to be experienced by language teachers during a vulnerable phase of their professional lives, a phase which also coincides within a period of change, uncertainty and emotional sensitivity in the teaching profession itself, a state of affairs greatly influenced by a society that is now almost routinely characterised as one in a state of constant flux and transformation, what Bauman refers to as a state of 'liquid

modernity' or 'liquid life'[7], a society which permits its members little chance to establish professional and personal stability and security. In the words of Hargreaves, a society characterised by "accelerating change, intense compression of time and space, cultural diversity, technological complexity, national security and scientific uncertainty" (1994:3), factors which are often cited as contributing to levels of both collective and individual anxiety.

Embedded within these larger forces shaping society, the more immediate concerns and overarching dimension for trainee language teachers consist of having to conceive, plan, implement and reflect on a series of language lessons, with much of this work to be done in a foreign language – English in the case of the pre-service teachers of this study. Furthermore, their work and teaching experience is often carried out in accordance with stringent deadlines and school timetables, as well as the need to establish sound working relationships with fellow trainees, pupils, mentors and those within the larger school community, all this done in the knowledge that their conduct and teaching skills are being assessed both inside and outside of the classroom. Such a context is likely to be fertile ground for studying LA.

However, the focus of this study has not come about by accident, but has been a result of previous research projects and personal experience. As Richards comments, "Nothing happens of itself; somewhere there is a history, somehow there are consequences" (2006a: 12). Indeed, my present understanding of anxiety in language learning contexts has largely derived from three of my own personal but interrelated experiences here in Portugal: first, as a language learner on a formal academic course; second, as a teacher-researcher researching my own classrooms in higher education institutions; and, finally, the present project, that is, my experience as a researcher of classrooms, other than my own, in school-based contexts. I would now like to relate these experiences a little further.

The first experience fired my initial interest as it was during some of the classes on a Master's course in language didactics at the University of Aveiro, Portugal, that I personally experienced what has generally come to be known in the SLA literature as LA. I succinctly described this experience in other publications (2003, 2004), but I now see these descriptions, for various reasons, as being unnecessarily brief: the first reason, I think, for this brevity, is because I had an uneasy, awkward feeling that it was somewhat 'embarrassing' for an English language teacher working in higher education to be revealing such a 'weakness' in

[7] *Liquid Modernity* (2000) and *Liquid Life* (2005) are the titles of two of Bauman's publications in which he discusses the volatile and ever-shifting nature of post-modern society.

publications, albeit experienced as a second language *learner*; secondly, because I viewed such a description as a lead in to the discussion of the research that *really* 'mattered', that was more 'objective' and 'valid' as it centred on other individuals, and not myself; finally, I thought concisely relating part of my own language learning experience would bestow greater credibility on my work from the perspective of my intended readers before they read about my research based on others.

This consideration of my own experience has had significant implications for me as a researcher and the manner in which I have researched and presently view anxiety. In *Emotions and Multilingualism*, Aneta Pavlenko asks whether it is "permissible to link one's personal circumstances, such as one's bilingualism or childrearing experiences, with one's research topic?" (2005:xi). After responding in the affirmative, she goes on:

> I was guided by my belief that writing about human beings should weave together the personal and the scholarly, the subjective and the objective. It is in the spirit of such a tapestry that I offer the story of where this book came from. (2005: xi)

I readily identify with this notion of the personal and the scholarly, and it is one of the reasons that I have included in this study a more considered reflection on my own experience of anxiety. It was, after all, my own experience of anxiety that kick-started my anxiety research as well as my first steps as a researcher. I now recognise that having experienced anxiety, and using it to inform and reflect upon my research, is indeed, as Pavlenko advocates, a valid position, an integral part of the research process that incorporates my own experience as a language learner, and is not simply a 'light snack' to be mentioned in passing before tucking in to the 'main meal' of more serious research.

Furthermore, interpretive research often entails the study of people in socially-situated contexts and listening to people giving meaning to their behaviour. However, the voices heard in the field – researchers' and participants' – often 'fall silent' after the research has been written up. Incorporating these voices, then, means producing texts of a more democratic and authentic nature. As Coffey says when commenting on ethnography (a view which I think can be applied to qualitative research in general):

> Writing the self into the ethnography can be viewed as part of a quest toward greater authenticity, and as part of a biographical project. It can also be seen as part of a movement towards the representation of voices in social research. In recent years attention has been drawn to the polyvocality of social life, and previous generations of scholars have been criticized for appropriating and effectively silencing the voices of others. There has been a revolt against monologic modes of authorship, toward an emphasis to 'give voice' – to others (and indeed to the author as present rather than as silent, though authoritative). (Coffey, 1999:118)

Increasing authorial presence, then, as well as giving voice to the participants of the study itself, is, in my view, more likely to appeal to potential audiences who, for whatever reasons, may often decline the opportunity to become readers of research texts.[8] This is particularly, important, in my view, in order to increase the proximity between researchers and teachers.

In the Portuguese context, various researchers working in language didactics have questioned the reasons that have, to a significant extent, sustained the traditional divide between researchers and classroom teachers, research results and classroom practice (Alarcão, 1994; Araújo e Sá, 2002b; Canha and Alarcão, 2004, 2008). Indeed, Araújo e Sá asks "que sentido dar aos múltiplos sinais de falta de apetência da classe docente pelos resultados da investigação em Didáctica?" (2002a:131)[9]. Research texts embodying greater authenticity through the voices of the participants may represent one way, but certainly not the only one, of drawing more potential consumers of research into a largely circumscribed academic activity. In relation to anxiety research, such an approach would seem to be fully justified in Portugal, where investigation into this phenomenon – particularly well represented in North America, Asia and other parts of Europe – is limited to my own research, and would contribute to a greater awareness of affective factors in language learning and teacher education.

The second experience was that of researching anxiety in my own classrooms with students on initial teacher education programmes. My first project (Daubney, 2002) involved assessing the influence that anxiety had upon four third-year students by means of applying a questionnaire which they responded to *outside* of class time and without my being present. A singular feature of the data collection was that the students – in group – tape recorded their responses to the questionnaire. The tape recording lasted approximately 45 minutes.

Given my growing knowledge of LA, my next research project in my own classroom was more 'ambitious' in that it involved moving *inside* the classroom and applying a well-known self-report instrument called the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS) (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope, 1986) to two whole classes of second year students, trying to assess the extent of anxiety through typical activities I use in the classroom and, finally, explicitly discussing the notion of anxiety with the students and possible strategies to reduce it. At this point in time, I believed anxiety was something 'out there', that is, within the

[8] See, for example, Nunan and Bailey's *Voices from the language classroom* (1996) which addresses this notion of giving greater voice to the participants –researchers, teacher-researchers and research subjects – in investigative projects of a qualitative nature.

[9] One of the main objectives of this seminar, which took place in February 2008 at Aveiro University, was to encourage closer relationships between teachers and researchers working in didactics.

students themselves, something relatively stable, a negative feeling or energy which could be measured and, eventually, manipulated by means of effective research instruments and clever teaching strategies respectively. The data collected for this project were taken from six 90-minute lessons over a two-month period.

A further study (Daubney, 2003, 2004) was built upon my burgeoning, and shifting, understanding of anxiety which came to see the real fruits of research as resulting not from the rather static figures gleaned from self-reports and their subsequent interpretation, but emerging from the actual activities and interaction which took place in the classroom, and listening and talking to the students listening and talking about their own experiences. I was beginning to take the view that anxiety was better studied and researched in naturalistic contexts and in a more close up manner, that is to say studying fewer students but investigating them from a more ethnographic and interpretative perspective. Perhaps anxiety was not so easily quantifiable and stable after all, but something more fluid, contradictory and elusive in nature, difficult to capture let alone measure. Although I used the FLCAS to initially identify 'more anxious' and 'less anxious' learners to study, this project was based on a longitudinal rationale which invested in exploring and trying to understand anxiety experienced by learners as *they behave in* their given contexts as opposed to solely collecting data from self-reports in which they report how they *think they behave or how they say they behave* in these contexts. This, of course, is not to devalue such data, which can be valuable, but to advocate that we should also endeavour, as far as possible and within the constraints of the research context itself, to observe, collate and analyse data taken from the actual playing field so to speak and not simply posit suppositions based on what is said about the game *after* the game has taken place. Data collection for this project took place over a 15-week semester.

The third distinct experience contributing to my understanding of anxiety has been the present investigation in which I have researched anxiety in a classroom other than my own. Would being the researcher as opposed to the teacher-researcher see the accrued knowledge of my previous projects bring benefits to a context in which I was not officially involved in the teaching-learning process?

More importantly, the present project – and one of the central motivations underlying it – is that it constitutes a challenge to the dominant paradigm of language anxiety research. It is a longitudinal, more ethnographically-oriented study of three student teachers on their year-long TP, with data being collected from various interactional contexts but with a significant focus on the lessons given by the student-teachers themselves. It does not use scales or self-reports for measuring language anxiety, and represents, in significant ways, the culmination and logical outcome of the previous projects, that is to say my research projects

have become increasingly longer in duration in order to investigate how anxiety may develop, mutate and interact within and between certain individuals, in the language and behavior they use, a process that I think can be better explored in social contexts over a longer period of time. Breen's words emphasise the value of longitudinal studies and point up, in my opinion, how such an approach is more likely to capture the affective ups and downs that are part and parcel of the language learning and language teaching experience.

> ...learner contributions are dynamic and mutable and imply the need to trace how they shift during learning over time. Research that is not longitudinal will not achieve this and is likely to miss moments of 'crisis' or important changes in learning that require of the learners reconceptualization, significant affective investment or adaptation in actions taken. (2001b: 179)

In addition to duration, it is also possible to view each of the contexts of my projects as incremental in terms of potential for anxiety: from pre-service teachers *outside of their language classes* to pre-service teachers *in their language classes* to, finally, pre-service teachers *on their TP*.

I now turn to the emotionally taxing context in which the trainee language teachers find themselves to briefly describe the conditions in which anxiety appears to have favourable conditions in which to thrive.

3. Trainee language teachers and their emotions

Given the emotionally challenging nature of the TP, this period can, unsurprisingly, often determine whether student teachers undergo a change of heart and leave the teaching profession or continue to pursue their careers and provide the young blood this profession always needs to boost its professional well-being.

The professional well-being of teachers is of vital concern because teachers are at the heart of education, and the heart of education needs a constant flow of blood to maintain itself in rude health. Trainee teachers, therefore, are a steady source of replenishment who often bring to the teaching profession much needed enthusiasm, a desire to innovate, and aspirations to make a difference, not only to make a difference in terms of the more immediate objectives of learning in the classroom, but also in the much wider and longer-term sense of educating, that is to say to enable pupils to take informed, ethical decisions affecting their own and others' lives based on considered reflection and empathy. The investment that these individuals make in their chosen profession will be one of the determining factors in sustaining quality in teaching and learning as well as that of keeping

the teaching profession in vigorous health, contributing to a much-needed equilibrium in terms of its heart and mind.

There should be no great surprise, then, that hearts and minds, feeling and thinking are key considerations when talking about teachers and teaching. In education, as well as society at large, emotions are now almost universally recognised as being inextricably entwined with cognition and behaviour (Damásio, 1994, 1999, 2003, 2004; LeDoux, 1998; Goleman, 1995). In fact, emotions in teaching are often cited as being indispensable to effective long-term education and integral to teachers' well-being (Boler, 1999; Day, 2004; Day and Leitch, 2001; Goleman, 1998; Hargreaves, 1994, 1998, 2000, 2005; Nias, 1996). Long after the finer details of certain educational experiences have slipped from our memories, the overall affective recall of these experiences remains. In their work on teachers, some researchers (cf. Cotton, 1998; Palmer, 1998; White, 2000) include recollections of individuals on the teachers who inspired them, passionate teachers whose methods, ways of being and values continue to be a source of emotional satisfaction and inspiration to them, part of their past but nevertheless an influence on their present and future, and therefore a part of their identity. Not surprisingly, the influence of former teachers is commonly cited by trainee teachers as one of the key reasons for their entering the profession.

Conversely, it is no mistake that teachers often recall with great fondness and affection certain pupils or classes of pupils who, for whatever reasons, still resonate emotionally in their memories. It is no coincidence either that teachers recall or speak about their careers in emotional terms. Education is, very simply put, for and about people, and, therefore, involves considerable emotional investment. As Day says:

> …good teachers invest large amounts of their substantive emotional selves in pursuing their work with students. Not only are they accountable for their work to parents and their employers; they are also responsible to the students they teach. (Day, 2004:12)

Yet the investment of a substantial part of one's life in a profession – especially at the initial stages – is often underpinned by a striving or a desire to match up to an imagined or real model, and is frequently accompanied not only by the highs of exciting and satisfying experiences but also the risks of succumbing to psychological lows, the guilt, frustration and, at times, despair that arise from difficulties faced in the classroom, the school and from being subjected to changes beyond one's control, changes which often cause feelings of resentment and resistance (Ball and Goodson, 1985; Friedman, 2003; Hargreaves, 1994, 1998; Nias, 1989)

Such highs and lows, to a greater or lesser extent, have always existed for committed teachers yet in recent times the health of education has suffered considerably, and it appears that a multitude of factors and the demands of a global society undergoing relentless and fast-paced change are creating an increasing number of complex challenges facing the teaching body, leaving the heart of education under great pressure and stress (Hargreaves, 1994; Nóvoa, 1992; Sachs, 2003)

In this sense, Portuguese society is no different from many other societies worldwide undergoing similar experiences in a globalised world in which governments look to cut costs in education, to impose standards and performance-oriented targets, to introduce and encourage greater competition for fewer resources, and to develop education systems strongly informed by the world of business. Frequently, these policy changes are played out in societies against the constant public debate attempting to account for the reasons why teachers feel demeaned, undervalued and threatened – what Ball, in relation to the UK, (1990) refers to as 'the discourse of derision'. It seems little has changed since Nóvoa, writing in the preface to the second edition of *Vidas de Professores*, says it is necessary to:

> não esquecer a forma relativamente desvalorizada como os professores sentem que a sua profissão é vista pela sociedade…e, sobretudo, o sentimento de que caem sobre eles as críticas principais quanto à situação do ensino. (1995:8)

Some of the specific factors that are significantly affecting the teaching profession today in Portugal – but still evident in many other countries – and which are contributing to the feeling that education is in a somewhat fragile and vulnerable state of health, are the introduction of policies based on the Bologna Process (cf. Serralheiro, 2005), the strongly contested changes recently incorporated into the career structure of all state teachers, the competition for places of employment in schools, the difficulties of dealing with indiscipline and demotivated pupils (cf. Alarcão, 2002), and the need for teachers to keep abreast of continuous technological change in order to be in a position to develop the necessary competencies in young people for them to be able to cope in a complex world based on access to information and subject to the inexorable effects of globalisation.

It is in such a context that trainee teachers are endeavouring to enter the profession. The more immediate demands of adapting to the school community, carrying out their teaching duties and doing all they can to ensure their assessment gives them a fighting chance to secure a place in a school after they have qualified will, in all likelihood, be the focus of their efforts, but the larger public issues will also play their part in subtly shaping their

behaviour and the degree to which they emotionally invest in a profession renowned for its emotional demands.

Whilst the principal focus of this project is on the classroom setting and the cycle of planning, classroom teaching and reflection in a particular school, it would be unwise to dismiss the larger public issues that influence local contexts and contribute to the emotional nature of trainee teachers embarking on their professional careers.

4. Anxiety, identity and ambivalence in uncertain times

Given this context and background, it seems apposite, then, that in the English language the adjective *anxious*, deriving from *anxiety*, can be used to denote the following situations: firstly, to be *anxious to do something*, meaning wanting something, especially when this wanting makes us nervous, excited or impatient; secondly, and, seemingly, somewhat paradoxically in the light of the previous meaning, to be *anxious about something*, meaning a vague uneasiness, nervousness or worry about something that is happening now or in the future. This latter meaning comes close to approximating Gardner and MacIntyre's definition of language anxiety previously cited.

In many respects, these two everyday uses of the word 'anxious' encapsulate key emotions experienced by many trainee and newly qualified teachers during the early stages of their teaching careers. Yes, the vast majority of these aspiring teachers are eager to put themselves to the test as professionals in the classroom and within the larger context of their particular school communities, but many also clearly sense that difficulties – some less obvious and clearer to them than others – will test the skills, innate qualities and knowledge at their disposal not to mention their flexibility in adapting to multiple challenges. Their emotional journeys will also be influenced by how they see themselves, how they have arrived at this defining professional moment, and how they will evolve in terms of who they want to be(come). In sum, their professional identities are at an embryonic, fragile stage, constantly shaped and transformed by the social practices in which they participate during this unpredictable and exciting time.

This ambivalence is also apparent in the more technical, academic conceptualisations of anxiety, with some academics conceiving of anxiety as, quintessentially, a negative emotion, inhibiting and detrimental to learning while others – admittedly far fewer – take the view that anxiety can be a positive emotion, enabling and energising in its impact upon individuals.

Ambivalence also resides at the very heart of the turn to the self in social sciences, embedded in influential discourses associated with post-modernist and post-structuralist positions which have become prominent or are becoming more prominent in many academic fields – education and SLA included – in which the self is seen as unstable, fragile and shifting, morphing on a slippery continuum between agency and structure as it negotiates social spaces in challenging conditions of varying degrees of unpredictability, uncertainty, tension and conflict.

Given language learning has long been recognised as an activity fraught with ambiguity and the potential to impact on learners' self-esteem and identities, and hence a probable source of anxiety, such a perspective has been a key influence on this project. Indeed, Bauman opines that identity is an uneasy concept which we reflect on when confronted with uncertainty and that we "think of identity when one is unsure where one belongs" (cited in Hall and du Gay, 1996:18).

In the case of trainee language teachers, then, we are also studying learners who are not only striving to position themselves as worthy and competent language users but also worthy and competent language teachers, individuals acutely aware of negotiating the transition between 'student teacher' and 'real teacher', between language learner and language teacher. Anxiety, uncertainty and identity, therefore, are seen as intimately related and central to the way I have approached researching anxiety in the present project.

Indeed, a central tenet of this project is that anxiety – contrary to the general thrust of much SLA research for statistical and correlation techniques derived from the application of self-reports and questionnaires – can be operationalised through the tensions and conflicts arising from the interactional contexts in which individuals find themselves.

The present study leans towards the view that anxiety is not, de facto, a negative emotion and contends that a primary goal of anxiety research in educational contexts should be to seek a better understanding of what anxiety leads people to think, feel and do, over a considerable period of time, and should try to tease out and elucidate the factors that combine to give rise to the experience of anxiety, a complex emotional phenomenon that defies easy definitions. However, this complexity – including the disputed effects of anxiety – has led to significant differences of opinion amongst researchers in the SLA field. It is these differences and difficulties that I will now briefly consider in order to better contextualise my own views on anxiety and the perspective of this study.

5. Language anxiety research: difficulties and controversies

Anxiety's ambiguous and uncertain origins and the difficulties in identifying it in people's behaviour make it an extremely difficult affective variable to define, study and research, and its complexity and elusive character have a tendency to undermine our understanding and send us back to the drawing board. Over thirty years ago Scovel, in his influential paper on the influence of affective variables in language learning, underlined the size of the task facing researchers:

> The conclusion might read like a good news-bad news joke…. The good news is that we are able to isolate affective variables in our research into the psychology of language acquisition…The bad news is that the deeper we delve into the phenomenon of language learning, the more complex the identification of particular variables becomes. (1978, in Horwitz and Young, 1991:23)

Just one of the problems is coming to generally accepted definitions of the affective variables in question and, therefore, of designing suitable means of understanding, 'measuring' or delimiting their influence (Brown, 1994a; Nunan and Lamb, 1996; Scovel, 1978, 2001).

Controversy and difficulties, however, not only relate to the definition and nature of LA, but also to how its impact on language learning and teaching has been assessed. Many researchers attribute not only a central role in teaching and learning to anxiety (Arnold and Brown, 1999; Daubney, 2002, 2003, 2004; Daubney and Araújo e Sá, 2008a, and 2008b; Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope, 1986; Horwitz, 1991, 2001; MacIntrye and Gardner, 1989) but moreover feel that it is a potent force shaping the very process of second language acquisition (Gardner and MacIntyre, 1993a, 1993b; Krashen, 1982). It is an affective state that may influence the cognitive, emotional, physiological and behavioural aspects of human beings, in short, anxiety appears to have the capacity to affect people in their entirety.

Whilst some researchers feel that anxiety may be the crucial affective variable in language learning (Horwitz and Young, 1991; Brown, 1994a; Arnold and Brown, 1999), a negative barrier impeding the effective intake of language (Arnold, 1999; Krashen, 1982), some commentators have viewed it as a convenient excuse for explaining away deficiencies, such as cognitive deficits in the learners' mother tongue (Sparks and Ganschow, 1991, 1993a, 1993b). Others have characterised the interest in emotion as a somewhat unhealthy, narcissistic focus on the part of some teachers and researchers for overplaying the influence of affect and promoting fashionable humanistic methodologies (Atkinson, 1989; Gadd, 1998) at the expense of teaching content and language skills.

Quite naturally, such difficulties are further deepened and influenced by the ontological, epistemological and methodological perspectives of the researchers themselves, and the changes that these undergo throughout a researcher's career. As the research process is one of constant discovery and exploration, going back to the drawing board not only shows a healthy attitude towards research itself but also indicates that previously held beliefs are not dogmatically clung to. This has been a decisive factor in my own experience as a researcher, and a theme I would now like to elaborate further on.

The methodological choices informing this project and the epistemological rationale that underpins these depart significantly from the great majority of LA research, which, generally speaking, remains, as Daubney and Araújo e Sá (2008a:49) have pointed out, 'somewhat insistent in its rather linear and clinical approach'. As previously mentioned, the step-by-step nature of much of this research continues largely unabated and one of the reasons for this – and maybe its status as 'the most misunderstood variable of all' – is, as Scovel notes, the 'way the general public uses this term as a synonym for fear or phobia' (2001:128).

Indeed, technical distinctions between anxiety, fear and phobias aside, the term *anxiety* has carried, and continues to carry, such powerful connotations in the English language in the 20th and 21st centuries that the expression 'age of anxiety' (see Part 1, Chapter 2, 2.1) has been applied to various historical eras and conjures up a litany of predominantly negative associations related to stress[10], panic, psychological disorders, war, illnesses, viruses and terrorism, which are all reinforced by relentless references in the media to a global society suffering from uncertainty and fear. Putting the term 'anxiety' into *Google's™* search field yields 58,000,000 references[11], with numerous pages offering step-like programmes as ways to 'cure', 'stop' or 'reduce' this debilitating emotional experience. On the other hand, the notion of 'facilitating anxiety', a concept considered in this study, results in just 852 references, and should 'facilitating anxiety' be viewed as overly academic or obtuse terminology, searching for the much more accessible term, 'positive anxiety', results in 5,460 references.

Not surprisingly, in the field of SLA and language teaching – as well as education and educational and social psychology – anxiety is largely viewed as a powerful, negative and single psychological construct, resulting in research of a largely quantitative nature, with

[10] The terms 'stress' and 'anxiety' are, in fact, often conflated, not only in popular culture and the media but also in academic articles (cf. Mousavi, 2007). The difference between stress and anxiety will be discussed in 2.1 of Chapter 2.

[11] *Google*™ word search carried out on the 1st June 2010.

correlation techniques, self-reports and scales being central to the research methodology and epistemological beliefs that inform the psychometric tradition of research. Bailey (1983) refers to correlation studies being the norm for research on affect in language learning whilst Samimy and Rardin (1994) refer to the predilection for quantitative studies on the part of researchers interested in affective variables in language learning. In fact, studies or viewpoints of a genuinely qualitative and ethnographic nature (Spielmann and Radnofsky, 2001; Stroud and Wee, 2006) which indicate that exciting research possibilities could well lie in approaching anxiety as an emotional response to the interaction between the identities, emotions and motivations of individuals over greater period of times and across a variety of social contexts, are few and far between.

One of the reasons that may explain this scant number of contributions is that quantitative research is, generally speaking, less time-consuming, and, even if carried out over a prolonged period of time, the data analysis – correlational, statistical, factoring – generally aspires to the conclusive, a numerical end product of a 'hard', more 'scientific' approach, and, more importantly, permits, by means of its data collection instruments and analysis respectively, the application and generalisation to large populations, thereby corresponding, as Candlin remarks, to SLA research's ambitions of rivalling "the experimental heights reached by other studies in cognitive psychology, and to follow its tradition of research reporting" (in Norton, 2001:Xiii).

In countering this approach to language anxiety research, Spielmann and Radnofsky (2001), stress the need to carry out more qualitative and ethnographic research, and even question the adequacy of the term 'language anxiety', and propose using other less 'loaded' terminology so as to liberate researchers and those involved in language learning and teaching from the excessively narrow, and often negative, preconceptions of the term 'anxiety'. Indeed, as certain authors (Ellis, 2001; Lantolf, 1996) have pointed out, the very terms and metaphors we use or live by – to take Lakoff' and Johnson's (1980) renowned expression – constrain and shape the way we think and act.

In sum, then, how anxiety is conceptualised on the 'macro' level in society is likely to impact on perceptions and concepts on the 'micro' level, and therefore is likely to influence how anxiety is researched.

A negative, inhibitive conceptualisation of anxiety has impacted on various teaching methods including, for example, Suggestopedia (Lozanov,1979) and the Natural Approach (Krashen and Terrell,1983). These methods, as Scovel points out:

made the assumption that anxiety was a single psychological construct and invariably had a negative effect on learning. It was generally believed that the more teachers did to try to eliminate this emotion from the classroom, the better things would be for the students. (2001:127)

In fact, one of the enduring legacies of much anxiety research has been to foster teaching and learning strategies to 'reduce', 'lower' or 'eliminate' anxiety in the classroom, Young's (1999a) volume, the subtitle of which is *A Practical Guide to Creating a Low-Anxiety Classroom Atmosphere*, perhaps being the most notable. Other authors (Beauvois, 1999; Leki,1999; Phillips, 1999; Turula, 2002)[12] also refer to 'reducing', 'lowering', 'decreasing' and 'dispelling' anxiety as central notions in their approach to this affective variable. The scales of the debate on whether anxiety is facilitating or helpful rather than debilitating and unhelpful are still largely tipped in favour of seeing it as a negative, debilitating force. An abundance of 'how to lower anxiety' and 'how to reduce anxiety' techniques and strategies accompanying research would appear to confirm this view.

This is not to claim, however, that I possess a heady immunity from such influence. On the contrary, one of my previous projects is entitled *Reducing language anxiety in oral activities in the classroom*.[13] As I have already stated, my own research has mirrored my own ongoing understanding of this complex phenomenon and a reliance on previous research. Nevertheless, I have gradually moved away from seeing language anxiety as a phenomenon which is best captured and analysed by applying self-reports and standardised tests, and hope to make a modest contribution in redressing the imbalance between quantitative and qualitative LA research. In his study of individual differences, Skehan (1989), draws attention to an "over-reliance" in anxiety research on questionnaire scale approaches, and advocates more:

…extended methodologies, settings and goals with anxiety research that might enable us to step outside the rather restrictive framework within which such studies are presently conducted. (1989:118)

Indeed one of the central considerations of this study is that language anxiety may, to a significant degree, be socially constructed, an emotion generated in interaction, and the

[12] The titles of the articles of Beauvois, Leki and Philips contained in Young's (1999) volume, *Affect in Foreign Language and Second Language Learning: A Practical Guide to Creating a Low-Anxiety Classroom Atmosphere* are respectively entitled: *Computer-Mediated Communication: Reducing Anxiety and Building Community*, *Techniques for Reducing Second Language Writing Anxiety* and *Decreasing Language Anxiety: Practical Techniques for Oral Activities*.

[13]This Project was carried out for the discipline Metodologia de Especialidade in 2001, part of the course requirements for the Master's Degree in Language Didactics at Aveiro University.

complex interface of identity work, that is a type of emotional 'by-product' (Block, 2007:64) arising from the negotiations and resulting tensions within and between participants as they position themselves and are themselves positioned in their given contexts. Such a view has been influenced by SLA research drawing on social theory.

In fact, recent contributions to the SLA literature and research have questioned the relative absence of factors from social theory in models of SLA which fail to consider sufficiently such key factors as power relations and identity. Norton's (2000, 2001) recent work on identity in language learning, although mainly concerned with second language learning contexts, has alerted SLA researchers to the importance of incorporating power relations and feminist theory into their understanding and approaches to second language learning and acquisition theories, whilst Block (2003) has also drawn attention to SLA research's increasing tendency to draw upon social theory in order to further our understanding of the complex process that is language learning.

A recent volume on the theme of motivation by Dörnyei and Ushioda (2009), in many respects represents an approximation between the dominant quantitative SLA research paradigm in the social psychological tradition and a qualitative, interpretative tradition – often inspired by social theory – with the 'common denominator', in Dörnyei and Ushioda's words, being 'the self and identity' (2009:350). In fact, in this volume, there are indications that some quantitative researchers (MacIntyre et.al, 2009) appear somewhat concerned that a growing tendency in SLA research to conduct qualitative investigation with a keen interest in the self, identity and social theory may yet constitute a paradigm shift that could end up disregarding much of the quantitative research previously carried out in SLA.

Although LA research has often acknowledged the pivotal role that identity plays in the language learning process and its likely influence on the experience of anxiety, empirical studies have not thrown much light on this area and have largely confined their approach to the application of self-reports. Even recent research jointly carried out by one of the most well-known anxiety research scholars (Yan and Horwitz, 2008), while taking a step towards qualitative methodology and interpretative analysis on the one hand, is still very much dependent on the application of self-reports in general and the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale in particular, what Zembylas (2004:189) refers to as "questionnaires and one-shot interviews of many participants".

Whilst not wanting to devalue the contribution that previous research has made to the understanding of LA, the continuing predilection among researchers for quantitative approaches characterised by the step-by-step process described above remains puzzling.

First and foremost, self-reports are simply not able to capture the dynamic interplay of multiple complex factors that shape classroom behaviours, identities and practices, in other words much LA research data largely consist of responses to questionnaires with a parallel neglect of actual classroom practice and performance clearly evident. It seems somewhat incongruous, then, that research has neglected collecting data from the very context that it presupposes gives rise to the anxiety in the first place.

Although this omission partly arises from the undoubted difficulties researchers face in accessing learners' feelings in action, this is also likely related to the underlying ontological and epistemological stances of researchers, and their quest for generalisations through the application of instruments to large populations, and hence a tendency to overlook and avoid the messy details of classroom life.

Yet it is precisely in the messy details of classroom life in which this study is embedded. In sum, by following the recent trend in SLA of employing certain aspects of social theory to shed more light on its object of research by allowing for an exploration of both micro and macro factors in a given context, I have explored language anxiety using an alternative research lens through which the messy and often, apparently, inconsequential details of interaction and communication may, in fact, turn out to be of greater significance, and help us to arrive at a more complex understanding of this important emotion.

Such an approach has meant using a variety of data collection methods whilst drawing upon the insights of several research traditions and disciplines from ethnography and ethnomethodology, from interactional sociolinguistics and conversational analysis, from positioning theory and membership categorization analysis, from cognitive psychology to discursive psychology.

6. Thesis organisation

Setting the scene outlines the key issues that shape and inform the present study while also taking into account my own experience of language anxiety as well as my previous research projects which have significantly shaped the way that I have come to view and, therefore, research anxiety.

Chapter 1 of Part 1 is concerned with the emotional dimension of teaching, learning and research with a specific focus on how, in the last twenty years in particular, the explosion in interest in emotions has greatly influenced education in general and SLA in particular. I also consider the influence of social theory on SLA as well as how communication, interaction and emotions are all intimately related, and how these influence classroom interaction.

Chapter 2 is dedicated to a discussion of anxiety, especially anxiety in language learning contexts. However, the subjects of the present study are trainee language teachers on their TP so this chapter also considers the practicum as an especially propitious context in which the object of this study can be studied, that is to say the practicum constitutes the circumstances for the researcher to zoom in on language anxiety in a time of high pressure and a significant degree of uncertainty for the trainees.

Part 2 constitutes the empirical study, an exploratory study of language anxiety on trainee teachers. Chapter 3, in the light of the theoretical considerations of Part 1, delineates and justifies the research approach, the context, methodology and instruments of data collection. I explain how the research was implemented – a case study informed by ethnographic and ethnomethodological approaches – and how this combined approach was used to inform the categories of analysis (both a priori and inductive) that have been applied in the study. Chapter 4 contains an in-depth analysis and discussion of the data. Chapter 5 examines the conclusions and implications of the study, which are of relevance to supervisory practices, pre-service and in-service teacher training as well as language learning in the classroom. This chapter also identifies the limitations of this study and indicates possible areas of further research.

7. On researcher self-disclosure

> ...the kinds of learning strategy people deploy in learning another language are heavily influenced by their histories, in which the motives or reasons for studying a second language and their related goals are rooted. From our perspective on agency, we would argue that motives are about the significance languages and language study have for the individuals in their lives as humans.
> (Lantolf and Pavlenko, 2001:146)

> Researcher self-disclosure, when carefully and appropriately offered, initiates authentic dialogue. It is way of sharing the self of the researcher, exposing beliefs and feelings, and contributing to the research narrative.
> (Lichtman, 2006:207)

I previously invoked – although briefly – my own experience of language anxiety in order to make readers aware of the relationship between my own experience as a learner and the object of my own research. The next four sections, then, constitute a more sustained personal reflection on my own path as learner, teacher and researcher in an attempt to further elucidate this relationship.

As referred to earlier, my own systematic engagement with LA as the principal focus of my research interests began with my own experience of language anxiety while I was a student on the Master's course in Language Didactics at Aveiro University, Portugal. The course began in September 2000, and consisted of a curriculum year in which various disciplines were given prior to each Master's student choosing a particular area to focus on for their dissertation.

Before going on to relate some of the key features of this experience of anxiety during the curriculum year, I feel it is necessary to provide some background to my career as a language learner and teacher which, I hope, will go some way to explaining how anxiety came to interest me as a research subject. This reflection, then, is recognition that my research springs from my own experience and interests, and that reflexivity can impart benefits to the process of research. Lichtman puts it in these terms:

> There needs to be a place in research for somatic and emotive ways of knowing in the construction of knowledge. Reflecting on the research process of self-disclosure and its impact on knowledge production during the research encounter is a starting place. (2006:208)

Indeed, many researchers working within ethnographic and post-modern approaches in the social and human sciences have come to accept that researchers are part of the very fabric of the social world that they are researching, and that any attempt at reaching unbiased and neutral claims to truths are inevitably doomed and that researchers can only hope to present a partial and biased version of reality in their work. As Hammersley and Atkinson put it:

> We are part of the social world we study, and there ...is no escape from common-sense knowledge and methods of investigation: All social research is founded on the human capacity for participant observation. We act in the social world and yet are able to reflect upon ourselves and our actions as objects in that world. (2007:18)

In this sense, then, the researcher, as Taylor says, can attempt to "understand how her or his own presence and actions influence the situation" (2001:17) with one of the ramifications of this process leading to a consideration of "the relevance of the researcher's identity to the research" (ibid.).

The consideration of one's own identity, in turn, almost inevitably leads to considerations of one's own research interests and how researchers position themselves in relation to their projects. In a similar stance to Pavlenko (2005), Taylor also sees the personal interests of the researcher and their research as intimately related:

> The researcher is likely to conduct a project which chimes with her or his personal interests, sympathies and political beliefs. This is usual in all research but is perhaps particularly true when projects are relatively small and involve one or two researchers. The researcher's special interests and, possibly, personal links to the topic are not in themselves a sufficient basis for research, but they are a probable starting point for the project. They are not seen negatively as bias but as a position to be acknowledged. (2001:17)

Researcher self-disclosure is often discussed in reference to the process of the researcher establishing a relationship of trust and openness with the participants of the research project itself as he or she goes about collecting data from the research context, for example, Hammersley and Atkinson talk about this central dilemma facing ethnographers carrying out fieldwork in the following way:

> A problem is ...deciding how much self-disclosure is appropriate or fruitful. It is hard to expect 'honesty' and 'frankness' on the part of participants and informants, while never being frank and honest about oneself. (2007:72)

However, whilst I do acknowledge the constraints I felt in relation to such issues in Chapter 3 when discussing the research procedures of this study, researcher self-disclosure is invoked and established here not only to give voice to my own experience and relate this to my research interests, but also, just as importantly, to establish a relationship between researcher and audience, a relationship whose significance is summed up by Keith Richards as follows:

> ...the forging of a relationship of understanding between researcher and audience is as important as that between researcher and researched, for by embedding reflection and interpretation in the lived world the researcher is able to create the conditions under which insights can 'ring true' in the minds of those who encounter them. Provided that readers can find through their own experience a means of connecting with the research, they will be open to share in the researcher's understandings and find instantiations of them in their own professional experience. (2003:266)

Although this research project focuses upon three trainee teachers during their year-long TP, and not on sustained investigation of my own identity and self, it is in the spirit of Richards' words that I have included my own reflection on both my experience of language anxiety and my research into the same object of study. As Clark and Ivanič opine, by using the first-person 'I', the researcher can establish:

> ...a different more transparent relationship with her readers...she tries to make it very clear what her own opinions are. In other words, she tries not to disguise 'opinion' as 'fact' by using impersonal so-called objective language. (1997:169)

In fact, as already noted, researchers' and participants' voices very often 'fall silent', with one of the reasons for this silence, as Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000:156) point out, being the

existence of "...a strong belief in the discursive space we refer to as science, that first-person tellings are less reliable and less valid than third-person tellings". Holliday (2007) suggests that in order to counter such an interpretation, there has been an increasingly noticeable post-structuralist inspired paradigm shift towards new thinking which, in his words, "involves an acknowledgement that it is the agency of the researcher as writer that makes the research" (ibid.:120) and stresses his support for research writing that does not have to conform to the dominant paradigm of the detached positivist voice – what he refers to as "impersonal social science writing" – and advocates a place for "powerful, personal authorship" (ibid.).

Given that my research topic intersects with various areas within educational sciences, including language didactics, teacher education and supervision, I hope such a reflection will encourage researchers and potential researchers as readers – essentially teachers, trainee teachers and practitioners in the areas cited above – to identify with my own experience which has impacted on my own thinking, teaching and research, and to think of their own experiences, practices and reflections as integral and bona fide components to be included in the research process, if, of course, the researcher deems these to be relevant to their particular research project.

Such a stance, however, does involve risks and uncertainty of reaction because, as Reinharz (1992:34) states, researchers "who self-disclose are reformulating the researcher's role in a way that maximises engagement of the self but also increases the researcher's vulnerability to criticism, both for what is revealed and for the very act of self-disclosure". Yet such a risk is worth taking because the giving and revealing of oneself can often lead to reciprocal behaviour, and in the process of investigation and the writing up of research, such risk may encourage greater openness and an exchange of views within the research community or, in Lichtman's words in the quotation at the beginning of this section, initiate "authentic dialogue".

7.1 On becoming a language teacher and learner

My becoming a language teacher was based on a decision to experience living and working in a different culture. Having finished my teacher-training in English (as a first language) in a UK university in July 1991, I thought the time was right to seek out such an opportunity while I had none of the traditionally cited ties or responsibilities (namely family and children) which would, generally speaking, make such an experience a more difficult option to take up. Although I was committed to being an English teacher in my own country,

this option to apply for language teaching posts abroad was based on the attraction of living and working in a different country, and the sense of adventure and uncertainty that this represented, as opposed to the desire to become a foreign language teacher per se. Indeed, my foreign language learning experience had been minimal, with two years of French lessons at secondary school (which were dropped as soon as this option was available) being my only formal language learning experience.

Given the global demand for learning English and the status of the English language as the 'default' linguistic code for trade, science, academia, tourism and communications, together with the corresponding demand for native speaker teachers as authentic representatives of the English-speaking cultures of which they are, to a greater or lesser extent, deemed to embody, I believe I can be considered an example of a fairly common phenomenon, that is to say an individual whose entry into the TESOL[14] profession was greatly facilitated by virtue of being a native speaker – albeit one with a first degree and professional teaching qualification.

The evident global demand for English teachers together with the willingness of many private and state language schools to recruit, if possible, native speakers has, in certain cases, led to concerns being raised about levels of professionalism in TESOL. Scott Thornbury (2001) is one commentator who has broached this subject, even referring to the figure of the 'backpacker' TESOL teacher, essentially a traveller at heart, but with the overriding need to subsist in a given country, this being provided in many instances in the shape of vacancies for teaching English in language schools.

I mention this figure invoked by Thornbury because he views it, in part, as emblematic of TESOL's lack of rigor in regulating its own profession as well as underlying a strong view of communicative language teaching (CLT) that sees exposure to language, essentially through talk, as sufficient for learners to achieve their language goals, with the importance of declarative or subject knowledge from this perspective being largely redundant. Such a standpoint feeds the idea that native speakers, irrespective of their academic and professional qualifications and experience, can provide the talk needed for learners to acquire the language. This view, as Thornbury comments, has only served to encourage the view of TESOL, in the UK at least, as being an unambitious career that is 'easy'

[14] For the rest of this chapter, in order to avoid the use of multiple, and far from consensual acronyms, in the English teaching world, I will use TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) as an umbrella term that subsumes the acronyms EFL, ESL, ELT and TEFL.

to enter and do[15]. Perhaps the strongest indication of this lack of professional standards and self-regulation is the apparent willingness of certain private language schools to take advantage of this so-called 'travelling teacher' in order to secure the authenticity their clients perceive in native speakers. Although many private language schools worldwide do now have a policy of employing teachers with a first degree and a TESOL qualification, an often overriding consideration is that teachers should be native speakers, thereby reinforcing the still influential notion that native speakers provide the default model to aspire to and that what is necessary to be a successful language learner of an additional language is to interact and to be in contact with such natives.

Although I firmly distance myself from such a casual and transient figure as the back-packing teacher, the figure of the native speaker and the status of English as the world's dominant language, have, I believe, had a subtle and pervasive influence on how I have developed as both a professional teacher and a language learner, which in turn impacted on my own language learning experience and development as a teacher and a researcher.

The school where I began TESOL teaching in Portugal did not encourage outside professional development, but was, generally speaking, a professional organisation in many respects, and remuneration and working conditions were, on the whole, very good, with a first degree being the main requirement to be accepted. This meant my lack of a background in both language learning and foreign language teaching was not a factor that impeded my entering the TESOL profession as a new teacher in this private language school. My first degree and native speaker status were the key factors that led me to being offered one of the posts at the end of my first and only interview, which took place in London. In fact, despite having applied and received other offers for other teaching posts around Europe, I accepted the job offer to work in Portugal because the school in question offered attractive conditions, including a higher than average salary, a written contract and appeared to be well-established and professionally managed. It was also, at that time, the largest private language school in Portugal, and demanded a first degree and native speaker status as basic requirements for offers of employment.

During August 1992, I, along with the other newly recruited teachers, received training in how to use their 'own' particular method, one which relied heavily on the principles of the audio-lingual method. It was a school which actively sought to influence new teachers with their own professional and methodological philosophy. From the school's point

[15] Thornbury states that the public perception of TESOL in Britain is of "…a low status, even slightly disreputable thing to do. This may be due in part to its association with easily-acquired vocational work of dubious legality, as evidenced in backpacking guides" (2001:391).

of view, then, any lack of experience and/or knowledge in relation to language learning and language teaching were factors that were more likely to contribute to newly arrived teachers' receptivity towards their own culture of practice.

An important component of their methodological approach was for teachers to use only English in the lessons, thereby constantly exposing the learners to structures in the target language, and providing them with the input to be imitated and perfected. This form of 'isolation' from the Portuguese language in the classroom was also was also substantially mirrored in my social life.

During this period, my social life was closely tied up with my fellow native speaker colleagues, and the Portuguese acquaintances and friends that I had contact with often had good levels of proficiency in English, meaning the Portuguese language, apart from the largely functional expressions to carry out tasks in routine situations, simply did not register as one of my priorities. Moreover, the fact that I envisaged returning to England or moving to another country after my contract had finished, served, I think, to further reduce my willingness to engage with the Portuguese language on a more systematic basis. Many of the Portuguese with whom I did socialise also appeared to want to speak English with me whilst my attempts to develop conversations in Portuguese were often quickly abandoned in the face of good-natured smiles and jokes, and the basic pragmatic principle that often prevailed was that to speak English with me was easier than communicating with me in Portuguese.

Further experiences in another private language institute as well as a private university in Portugal served to consolidate my attitudes and teacher practice in the classroom, and the image I had of myself. As a native speaker of English, as a representative of English culture, I felt I and the language I spoke were valued and valuable. When I went to the cinema, films were not dubbed, English language newspapers were readily available, and there were often times that when I did speak Portuguese people would simply respond in English. My students cited English as the most important language in the world to be learned, they took the opportunity to speak English with me outside of the class, and the exams I helped students to pass were those conceived and administered by Cambridge University, or based on similar formats used by this institution.

In 1996, I began working in a private university in the northern region of Portugal where I taught English language disciplines on pre-service teacher degrees, and where the importance of English seemed doubly crucial to those studying to become English teachers – albeit English and French or English and German or English and Portuguese teachers. Although many of these trainee teachers would eventually major in two languages and qualify to teach in either one, the increasing importance of English in their future professional

lives was underlined by the falling number of classes for French and German in the Portuguese state school system. At this university, students were increasingly opting for the Portuguese-English degree so as to increase their chances of working in the future[16].

At this time I became a supervising teacher – without formal training in supervision – working with mentors in schools in order to oversee and give guidance to trainee teachers on their English TP which took place in local schools, and it was often when visiting schools and observing the classes given by the trainee teachers that I was able to reflect on their potential to make the transition from language and methodology classes to teaching English in the classroom. It was during my experience as a supervising teacher that I witnessed trainee teachers struggle with some of the basic language requirements, such as asking questions, explaining activities or clarifying doubts[17], which convinced me that embracing the principles of communicative language teaching (CLT) and an emphasis on oral interaction in my 'English only' language classes were fully justified.

In post-observation conferences as well as casual meetings with the mentors, I also endeavoured to keep the majority of interaction in English; furthermore, I often expressed the view – along with other native speaker teacher colleagues of English and other languages (French and German included), that the school mentors, given that they were English teachers, *should* speak English with the supervising teachers from higher education. There is no doubt in my mind that the weight and status attributed[18] to the supervising teacher, contributed to the subtle manipulation of the context and to the choice of language in which I chose to communicate in the post-observation conferences and informal discussions in the schools. Some cooperating teachers' discourse with the trainees would often be in Portuguese, but I was invariably successful in establishing English as the language of work between myself and both the trainees and cooperating teachers. Some cooperating teachers welcomed the opportunity to speak English whereas others seemed less inclined, therefore furthering my suspicions at that time that a significant number of Portuguese English teachers did not speak enough English in the classroom, and I viewed this as a type of methodological neglect, and a likely source of students' difficulties in oral skills.

[16] In fact, one of the interpretations of the underlying principles of the recent Law Decree 43/2007, defining teacher profiles in Portugal, is that the Ministry of Education, aware that trainee language teachers in the future would likely opt for the combination of Portuguese and English, determined that Portuguese and English teacher training courses would no longer be an option, therefore ensuring future language teachers would have to choose two foreign languages.

[17] Cf. Moreira, G. 1990. *English for Teachers. A Study in Language Needs of Future Teachers of English.* This research project addressed the difficulties that trainee teachers encountered on their teaching practice.

[18] For example, if there were discrepancies between the supervising teacher and the cooperating teacher in relation to the assessment of the trainees' marks, then the supervising teacher's assessment would override that of the cooperating teacher.

In relation to my language teaching and learning experience, then, I would highlight my relative ignorance of what was involved – especially from the point of view of the learner – in learning a foreign language, which in turn was significantly influenced by the paucity of formal language learning throughout my education. This lack of awareness was further reinforced by the status of English, a language easily accessed in both my professional and social environments, a language which I attempted to use as much as possible.

These two factors – my lack of awareness of the complexities learners face when learning a foreign language, and the status of and access to English and, by association, my status as a native speaker – subtly impacted on my professional, social and personal life in the sense that English was at the heart of most of my significant interaction in a country where English was a foreign language. A parallel effect underlying these factors was, I believe, a subtle relegation of the Portuguese language as a learning or, perhaps more accurately, a life priority.

In my professional life – firstly within private language schools and subsequently working with future teachers of English in their language classes in higher education – I had imbibed the philosophy and put into practice the policy that using only English in the classroom was the most efficient way to learn English or indeed any foreign language.

As for my social and personal life, most of my significant friends and, eventually, family, were fellow native or proficient speakers of English; when interacting in Portuguese with friends or other acquaintances or colleagues, I would often directly ask my interlocutor(s) whether they spoke English or used certain strategies in order to exercise greater control over the interaction, for example, directing the conversation to certain themes. Furthermore, I felt more at ease when speaking to single interlocutors or in small groups as opposed to being involved in group conversations where the often chaotic and demanding nature of fast-flowing talk left me, at times, lost and frustrated. The greater the degree of formality involved in the communicative event, also usually led to a greater sense of unease because in these situations the falling back on English was inappropriate and, sometimes not possible, diminishing, therefore, the degree of control over interaction that I was used to exercising.

However, as time went by the Portuguese people, culture and language came to exercise a subtle and greater influence over my life. As a teacher, for example, I used my growing Portuguese vocabulary to translate certain words, I used Portuguese words and expressions in class to demonstrate to students that I was, in fact, ‘knowledgeable’ about the

Portuguese language, and I consciously used Portuguese knowing my pronunciation would draw smiles from the majority of students, and that this complicity functioned as an effective tool to bring about a positive, human environment in which risks could be taken – if I was prepared to risk, surely future teachers would be more willing to do the same. There was also genuine pleasure and self-satisfaction in realising my vocabulary and pronunciation were improving.

In my personal life, I was using Portuguese as the default language with my Portuguese wife's family, with certain Portuguese friends, and in November 2001, when I took up a position as an English teacher at the Escola Superior de Educação de Leiria[19], I found myself – due to the nature of increased administrative, departmental and institutional tasks – having to use both spoken and written Portuguese to a much greater degree – both inside and outside of the classroom.

Ultimately, however, significance is of central importance, and the Portuguese language had exercised, until I started attending classes on the Master's in Language Didactics at Aveiro University, a complex but, nonetheless, secondary influence in my life. This was the crucial turning point, then, in my professional and personal education. Attending this course would trigger a myriad of thought-provoking and emotional experiences but above all a constant and ineluctable reflection on my own identity, not only as a language learner and language teacher but also as a person, a citizen living in Portugal with an increasing desire to communicate and express myself in Portuguese. Discussing the experiences of adult migrant learners, Block (2002, 2007) calls such periods of self-reflection in relation to our identity 'critical experiences', which are characterised by the author as a form of conflict which arises:

> ...when individuals move across geographical and sociocultural borders. In such situations individuals often find that any feelings they might have of a stable self are upset and that they enter a period of struggle to reach a balance. At this stage, it is easy to conceive of identity as contested in nature as the new and varied input provided to the individual serves to disturb the taken-for-granted points of reference. (2007:20)

In such circumstances, the self is particularly open and vulnerable to turbulent emotional experiences, and when it comes to languages, nothing goes untouched, least of all the emotions. In Pérez Firma's words:

[19] In 2009 the name of this school, part of o Instituto Politécnico de Leiria was changed to a Escola Superior de Educação e Ciências Sociais.

> Languages not only inspire loyalty, they also provoke fear, hate, resentment, jealousy, love, euphoria – the entire gamut of human emotion. From the undergraduate whose difficulties with *ser* and *estar* make him complain that he 'hates Spanish', to the exile who clasps her mother tongue in a tight embrace, tongue ties are every bit as knotty as our other affections. (2003:3)

It is to my own experience of anxiety on a formal course in higher education in Portugal that I now turn to in order to, firstly, explore its influence on my language learning experience and, ultimately, on my short career as a researcher.

7.2 On experiencing language anxiety

As previously noted, LA has been overwhelmingly studied and researched from the language learners' perspective and, by and large, this has remained the dominant approach in research until the present. Having now completed several research projects related to language anxiety, I have found the paucity of considered reflections on the experience of language anxiety in the literature on the part of SLA researchers or those involved in the language teaching profession somewhat puzzling. Is it really conceivable that the numerous researchers that have investigated language anxiety have nothing to say from a personal perspective of their own language learning that could help to further enrich the study of this affective variable? Many of these researchers and applied linguists were or are teachers of foreign or second languages. Whilst fully acknowledging that some learners are likely not to be affected by language anxiety, the small number of contributions which have been made would suggest that it is not a topic on which individuals feel comfortable reflecting on publically.

Nevertheless, both well-known researchers[20] and lesser known ones[21] have, in fact, referred briefly to their own experience of language anxiety, yet have tended to simply refer to this fact in passing or have given indications that they felt nervous in language learning situations, without really describing their feelings and what impact this had on their learning. However, there are encouraging signs. Dewaele (2010), for example, introduces his recent publication on emotions by talking about his frustrating emotional experience at the end of his first undergraduate year at university when he went to the University of Salamanca to do

[20] For example, Robert Gardner, in his *Foreword* to Horwitz and Young's (1991) volume, mentions he has experienced language anxiety; Sandra Savignon (1997), although not addressing language anxiety directly, relates her anxious moments participating in foreign language classes to illustrate just one feature, but an important one, of the complex process of learning a foreign language.; and Stephen Krashen also referred to his own experience of language anxiety when giving lectures or presentations at language learning and teaching conferences.

[21] In a similar experience to my own, Peter Burden (2005) speaks of his own anxiety whilst learning Japanese and how this might shed light on his students learning English: "Reflecting on my own, anxiety-ridden experiences of learning Japanese, I pondered that if my English conversation classes somehow induce anxiety and lead to a miserable experience, then I need to consider how to encourage my own students in their English study."

a month-long course in Spanish. Here he describes the difficulty of coming up against, at that particular time, what he describes as the 'monolingual Spanish':

> I personally discovered the social sharing of emotion when I found myself temporarily unable to do so because of language barriers…I could not tell jokes and I was unable to say anything that sounded remotely interesting, to my ears. (2010:1)

Although Dewaele does not refer to LA, the point here is the recognition of his own personal and emotional experience on his career. As the author says, "I think this experience may have contributed to my present interest in the communication of emotions in the various languages of a multilingual" (ibid.). As for LA, perhaps the most notable exception is Kathleen Bailey's (1983) well-known diary study in which she discusses her own anxiety as part of her and other diarists' accounts of their language learning as an emotional reaction deriving from her competitive nature, that is to say the comparisons she made between herself, her fellow students, her teachers, and notions of the ideal language learner. Bailey also created a helpful model of anxiety based on her experience, and it is a model which illustrates how anxiety may in fact be conceived as both a facilitating and debilitating emotion (see 2.4.2). Unlike Bailey, I have no diary account of my experience to draw on, but like Bailey this account of my experience of language anxiety is an attempt to shed further light on what it is like to experience this emotion. More importantly, however, I relate how this experience has shaped my ongoing attempts to research it.

There had already been times, then, when I had felt somewhat ill at ease or anxious about speaking or being called upon to speak, especially in more formal situations in the institutions in which I worked[22]. However, these formal situations were rare and therefore did not constitute a systematic concern for me. On the other hand, the anxious moments I experienced in informal contexts always seemed more manageable and within my control as I was often interacting with individuals or in smaller groups, and the sense of evaluation – which is often heightened in formal learning/social contexts – was either largely absent or of a different nature. My informal interactions were also not always with teachers or those involved professionally in language learning and/or teaching, and this is a significant factor when considering the experience of anxiety.

In his treatise on 'status anxiety', de Botton (2004) posits that modern societies increasingly place greater pressures on their inhabitants to not only constantly keep up with

[22] For example, in the large university interdepartmental meetings. However, English department meetings at this university were conducted in English.

the expectations established in particular areas of their lives but in fact to surpass these, and that the sustained effort required to maintain their 'status' is particularly acute in relation to their peers with whom they are in close proximity. Not surprisingly, de Botton draws on William James' definition of self-esteem as the "ratio of one's success to one's pretensions" to support his claims. Put another way, the impact that perceived praise or criticism has on somebody is in a direct relationship with the people whose opinions we value. Relating this theory to my own experience of anxiety, the perceived threats or challenges to my own image as a language learner and language teacher were significantly greater when I was interacting with fellow professionals, especially in the more formal classroom environments on the Master's course, than when I was interacting informally outside the classroom with people who were not, necessarily, my professional peers.

It was with these new professional peers, then, that I began to experience such feelings of uncertainty and sudden self-reflection on the first day of the Master's when I already sensed that I was in a familiar environment yet experiencing a completely different situation. The introductions of teachers and students were conducted in an informal manner, but I was already aware that myself and a Brazilian, after he had spoken, were the only foreigners in the room, although a significant difference was that he was a fluent speaker of Portuguese and I was not!

As each of my colleagues introduced themselves, I found myself torn between trying to understand what they were saying – which on the whole I did – and formulating in my mind what I was going to say, how I was going to say it and, not least of all, what the teachers and my colleagues were going to think of my Portuguese, whether I would be able to make myself understood, and what they would think of me. I also felt that my 'foreignness'– a part of my identity that I was unable to change – was a factor that immediately stood out to others but I nevertheless tried to project an image of unconcerned engagement and involvement with what my colleagues were saying, what Oxford (1999a) would refer to as a type of 'masking behaviour'. There seemed to be so many contradictory forces at work here. The fact that I was the final student to speak did, on the one hand, allow me to prepare what I was going to say, but on the other it also seemed to induce that rising sense of unease that characterises the usual descriptions and definitions of anxiety. In many ways, the surplus of time before I spoke allowed me to dwell on a myriad of possibilities, but when I did speak, I followed the general model that had been established by previous speakers, that is to say I introduced myself, mentioned where I worked, and why I had chosen to enrol on the Master's, all in all a relatively short and basic introduction. After speaking, I felt relief, the tension and thoughts inside my head gradually easing, and I then spent one or two minutes

scanning people's faces for either negative or positive reactions. I cannot remember who I looked at when I was speaking but the attention was both wanted *and* unwanted: wanted in that I hoped to make a good first impression on my colleagues and teachers; unwanted as I was concerned about how my Portuguese language skills could undermine the image I wanted to portray of myself. This concern with one's self-image may arise in novel or new situations of circumstance or learning. Likewise, anxiety often arises in individuals when they encounter new situations, contexts or meet new people, and, in many respects, this was a contributing factor when I began frequenting the Master's course. The excitement about the challenge of going back into higher-education was also tempered by the nervousness surrounding the unknown in terms of colleagues, teachers, and the concerns I harboured for my own skills and knowledge. Yet, as I became acquainted with my new colleagues, teachers and the environment itself, as well as the academic and scientific nature of the course, the overriding feeling that characterised my experience was that I was unable to participate as I wanted to and felt severely limited in putting across an image of myself that I thought would be recognised by others as befitting an English language teacher working in higher education frequenting a course in language didactics.

As will be seen later in this study, one of the principle sources of language anxiety has been linked to how learners perceive the most 'visible' expression of their identity and language skills, that is to say their speaking skills and how these are perceived by others. However, whilst my speaking skills were a constant source of worry, my ability to orient to and decode the interaction in the classroom often proved to be the greatest threat in that whilst I came to gradually accept that my speaking skills were far from proficient and that my speech contained many errors and betrayed a lack of confidence and knowledge of Portuguese, I would often be unsure as to what exactly was being said about the topic under discussion. As has been noted in the literature, listening anxiety (In'nami, 2006; Vogely, 1999) is also a factor that may inhibit or threaten one's engagement with the language learning experience. Although I did manage to follow the overall meaning of the topics discussed, it was disconcerting to be in doubt about the finer details of classroom interaction. I expended significant amounts of energy and attention in trying to focus on the interaction but although such an effort would, at times, be rewarded with the satisfaction I felt in understanding considerable stretches of interaction, a sense of disorientation could quickly descend on me if lapses in concentration resulted in me losing the thread of such talk. In sum, when I spoke Portuguese, albeit with difficulties, a greater sense of purpose and control could at least be imposed on my own words whereas not knowing what was being spoken about

induced a very real sense of disillusionment and resentment, a feeling that I was on the outside looking in, close but not close enough.

Such a sense of being on the outside, was often reinforced through frustration at not being able to confidently take the floor by making contributions such as asking and answering questions, making my own comments as well as often 'missing out' on the interpersonal side of classroom life which would involve jokes and the humorous asides, the affective mechanics so to speak of classroom talk that help to build positive working environments. All the things that I value in my own classroom and in my own students – essentially an engaged and active participation in classroom life – were hampered by my own limitations in Portuguese.

Although I suspected that both my teachers and colleagues were aware of my difficulties, I felt it was necessary to give off 'signs', the 'masking behaviours' cited above, that indicated that I was, or I was at least trying to be, part of 'the club', for example, communicative signs, often of a non-verbal nature, such as smiling and laughing with others, nodding and making appropriate gestures for given contexts to indicate that I did understand, that I was indeed following the interaction, even when this was not the case! I did not want to hold up classroom proceedings and my colleagues' involvement by declaring "I'm sorry, I don't understand. Could you explain, please?" I was, then, in many respects, an active and involved participant but was often caught on the frontiers of not understanding or misunderstanding, a socio-psychological space where the image I had and wanted to project of myself was, I believed, being significantly undermined by the demanding nature of this context.

This experience led me to try and 'compensate' for what I perceived as my 'failings' in this academic context. Given the fact that many of my colleagues and teachers were speakers of English, several of whom were practising English teachers, I did take the opportunity to interact both inside and outside the class in English. This allowed me not only to exchange, clarify and consider ideas, topics and tasks that had been discussed or set in class but also meant I could try to establish relationships by means of expressing myself through my mother tongue, revealing a 'truer' sense of myself than I could through Portuguese. I also asked teachers on the Master's if I could use English for my individual presentations in various disciplines, and felt these presentations would at least provide me with opportunities to show what I was capable of. Yet, although I felt I was able to increase my self-esteem by virtue of my proficiency in English I was, ironically, far from comfortable speaking English in this context for various reasons: firstly, I felt I should be speaking in Portuguese; secondly, the fact that I did not present in Portuguese seemed to confirm a stereotypical image of

English nationals struggling to come to terms with foreign languages; thirdly, a number of my colleagues on the Master's had difficulties in understanding English which served to effectively 'exclude' these from understanding and commenting on my presentations. Even when using English, then, I still felt I stood out for the wrong reasons.

When I did speak Portuguese, and the eyes of my colleagues and teachers were focused solely on me, it was an unnerving experience, especially in the first few weeks of the course, and even more so if I was doing a more formal presentation. I experienced a heightened sense of listening to my own voice and found it difficult to focus on and structure what I was saying as I was simultaneously scanning for the reactions of those in front of me. More spontaneous contributions in Portuguese whilst not anxiety-free, were less inhibiting for me as they were usually quite short, and the sense of being the centre of attention was fleeting. If longer turns were expected of me and/or I wanted to make a longer turn, but anxiety crept into my behaviour, I often found myself, in effect, interrupting myself to 'buy time' with silences by indicating I was pondering further possibilities, or I would code-switch to English, or ask, in Portuguese, how one translated a particular word or expression in English into Portuguese – in an effort to give myself time to structure my thoughts and discourse.

To a certain extent, this period was a struggle, and like all struggles certain tensions are inherent in such processes. I made greater efforts to read the discipline programmes on the Master's and consult references written in Portuguese, I listened to and viewed more programmes in Portuguese on both television and radio, and tried to cultivate a willingness in myself to communicate more in Portuguese, often refusing to take up opportunities to speak English and persevering with Portuguese. At times I interpreted some of my interlocutors' attempts to code-switch from Portuguese to English as subtle negative appraisals of or even direct insults to my Portuguese, which often made me all the more resistant to code-switching to English. Despite attempts to learn the language, to see the positives in this learning experience, I often felt a strong resentment towards the Portuguese language and by extension its speakers and culture. I often seemed to be caught between the cognitive 'should dos' of language learning and the more affective, instinctive reactions based on self-interest and my own prejudices, for example, as a language teacher I was well aware that making errors and mistakes are part of the learning process, that learner-motivation is closely related to our identification with the language and culture and/or its importance in our future, and that a willingness to interact is likely to bring the learner positive benefits; on the other hand, I did not risk as much as I should have done and I consoled myself with the notion that English was and would be of greater importance in my life than Portuguese. Nevertheless, I

was continually grateful and appreciative of the concessions made to me by colleagues and teachers, and full of admiration for their language abilities.

It is important to refer to the fact that my experience of anxiety was in effect second language anxiety, but not as usually portrayed in the literature because I was not, strictly speaking, in a second language class. Whilst Portuguese was used both inside and outside the classroom, I was not a student on a language course. The disciplines I attended on this Master's degree, amongst them discourse analysis, teaching methodology, language learning and language acquisition, did not include Portuguese for foreigners or Portuguese as a second language. Portuguese was the vehicle of classroom communication, but it was not the target or objective of the classes. In other words, unlike the majority of formal learning situations in which learners who experience LA usually share a degree of proximity with each other in terms of concerns for their language learning experience because they are learning the same language, all my colleagues were native speakers of Portuguese which only served to heighten the 'faulty' and 'inadequate' contributions I made in classes and the sense that I was in a unique position of being under constant threat in comparison with my colleagues. There were no discussions to encourage fluency exercises, no scaffolding activities to build up confidence and allow for practice, no exercises in which language usage was focused upon. As MacIntyre (2002:67) has pointed out, one of the resulting consequences of anxiety is the social fallout that can be captured in the expression 'misery loves company', that is to say that people in similar negative circumstances welcome the opportunity to work through their experiences and feelings by talking to each other thereby alleviating the sense of anxiety by knowing others are going through the same process. In fact, whilst pondering the social effects of anxiety, MacIntyre suggests that significant research possibilities may lie in studying the talk of those sympathising with each other:

> After all, if anxiety leads to misery and misery loves company, then it follows that commiserating about anxiety can be a positive experience, even if the anxiety is not. This would make for an interesting study. (2002:67)

Personally, while I would not specify misery as one of the principal feelings of my experience of anxiety, the opportunity to share my feelings with other 'anxious' students was simply not an option I felt was open to me - firstly, all my colleagues could understand the ongoing interaction and, secondly, it somehow seemed 'inappropriate' for me, a teacher of English in higher education, to be 'burdening' other colleagues with what I thought would be considered trivial matters which would be of little interest to them. There is no doubt that I was also reluctant to broach such a subject with others as at times it just seemed an embarrassing

experience for me. In the initial stages, it seemed I was caught in a classic 'catch-22' situation: if teachers or colleagues generously allowed me to speak English or even instigated interaction in English, I was greatly appreciative but I always felt a certain degree of embarrassment that this concession was considered necessary; on the other hand, interacting in Portuguese presented me with even greater concerns, and I began to feel considerable empathy with the experiences of students recounted in the LA literature. Indeed, it was in the literature on language learning and language anxiety that I gradually found and sought out other voices with whom I could identify and, to some extent at least, negotiate my feelings of inadequacy.

In particular I vividly remember reading Hilleson's (1996) introspective study of second language anxiety, and the following student's comment resonating with me, "I want to talk with them, but I don't want them to hear". Frustration, then, was very much part of my experience. I also began to reflect on other factors which had until then not been great concerns of mine. For example, I began to seriously reflect on the amount of time I had spent living in Portugal in relation to my proficiency in Portuguese, and as a consequence began to feel somewhat embarrassed about my proficiency, and what this may have revealed about my attitude to the language.

However, one of the newest and strangest feelings I had was of being a student. Suddenly, the power and control over interaction and activities I was so used to exercising had gone and, perhaps most importantly, the language I had taken for granted in the classroom, was no longer 'available'. Suddenly I was confronted with the possibility of being 'put on the spot' by teachers, trying to keep up with the interaction, the jokes, the informal asides and comments whilst also trying to focus on the topic being discussed. Bailey (1983) posits that individuals experiencing 'debilitating anxiety' may react to the language learning experience by retreating, either physically (not going back to lessons) or mentally (withdrawing from the learning situation), temporarily or permanently. On the other hand, 'facilitating' anxiety sees the learner fight against negative feelings by putting greater effort into the language experience with learning being enhanced. As previously mentioned, Bailey linked anxiety to competitiveness, more specifically how she compared herself to her fellow learners on the Spanish language course she was attending or, in fact, to ideal language learners. In my case, I was now among fellow language teachers and university academics, many of whom were speakers of four or five languages, and at the beginning of the course I felt a certain inadequacy as a language learner and language teacher alongside these colleagues, all in all a situation which gradually strengthened my resolve to try to overcome what I saw as my shortcomings in interacting in Portuguese.

There were factors, however, that mitigated my sense of frustration at not being able to demonstrate that there was more to me than the inadequate communicator I perceived myself to be when I spoke Portuguese. For example, the marks I received for my written projects were a timely boost for my self-esteem, because at least these indicated that if I were not able to sufficiently express myself in written Portuguese, then at least my colleagues and I could see that my work, knowledge and ideas – albeit written in English – were valued by our teachers. Here, perhaps, were traces of the competitiveness referred to by Bailey.

Most importantly, perhaps, I had become increasingly aware of the complex nature of language learning, the emotional highs and lows that it involved, and the far from guaranteed outcome of success of acquiring a language for communicative purposes that is often assumed takes place by simply being in contact with the language in question. In fact becoming aware of this complexity and the fluctuating fortunes experienced by myself and others in language learning better prepared me for the long term experience that is learning a second language and living in a foreign country. Furthermore, these considerations impacted on my own teaching and the perceptions I had of my students and the teaching-learning process. In many respects, I gradually came to accept that I had held simplistic notions of language learning and that the future teachers of English who were my students also had their own stories and their own identities. I became more willing to experiment with various strategies to increase their participation in class, I showed them greater empathy and understanding, and was willing to let them voice their concerns and ideas in relation to their classes.

In retrospect, Pavlenko's (2005) perspective on LA – that it is likely to arise in individuals who have grown up in societies where language learning is considered a difficult task to overcome and, as is the case of English speakers in the USA and the UK, an 'unnecessary' one given the pre-eminence of English in the global society – together with the almost complete absence of formal foreign language learning in my educational experience – seems likely to have impacted and been of particular relevance to my own experience of anxiety.

However, Pavlenko's perspective perhaps underestimates the local constraints and dynamics of particular moments of interaction involving certain personalities in given situations of communication. For example, my anxious moments were often influenced by who was present, what sort of 'reception' my words received from my colleagues and teachers, whether I considered colleagues' to be giving me what I thought was a sufficient degree of attentiveness (it can dispiriting when speakers detect what they think to be a lack

of interest on the part of their audience or interlocutors[23]) and whether my previous rehearsals and expectations of what I was going to say corresponded to my actual contributions in the classroom. In short, there are myriad features of the communicative situation that may be active factors in the experience of anxiety that are not sufficiently explored within an overarching and, perhaps, reductive framework that accentuates particular societies' attitudes to language learning and language policies at the expense of the finer details involved in communication.

Pavlenko's logic also seems flawed in relation to the three trainee teachers who are the subjects of this study. Indeed, these trainees are long-term and proficient language users of English and other languages, including Portuguese, German, and French.

In fact, it may seem a distinctly unusual approach to use my own experience as a way of introducing readers to the phenomenon of language anxiety which these teachers may experience on their practicum. However, my aim here is not to make comparisons between individuals with varying levels of proficiency and how anxiety affects them, but to illustrate the subtle but pervasive ways that anxiety may affect a person's behaviour – irrespective of their proficiency.

Anxiety may involve sudden impacts, or arise from more considered reflection on one's image, skills and language learning experience, not to mention the communicative context itself, and while some individuals may 'give off'[24] – consciously or otherwise - clear indications that they are experiencing anxiety others, myself included, may attempt to disguise their feelings. To give an example, whilst I suspected – and still do at times – some of my students of unduly stressing their anxiety as a strategy for mitigating their perceived difficulties or features of their performance - written or spoken – that would, in their view, probably contribute to an unfavourable evaluation, personally speaking, I did all I could to cover such signs up. My students – at certain times – may have been and may be more concerned with academic evaluation; I, on the other hand, was, in all likelihood, more

[23] For Norton (2000), SLA research has often neglected issues of power and the subtleties involved in power relations. Drawing on Bourdieu's work on speech, identity and symbolic power, Norton says that linguists and applied linguists too often "take for granted the conditions for the establishment of communication: that those who speak regard those who listen as worthy to listen, and that those who listen regard those who speak as worthy to speak" (2000:8). From this perspective, then, my anxiety may have partly arisen from, to use Bourdieu's words, a lack of "power to impose reception" (1977:5, cited in Norton, 2000:8).

[24] This term is taken from Goffman's (1959) distinction in communicative behaviour between expressions 'given' and 'given off', the first denoting intentional, propositional content, what Goffman calls "communication in the traditional and narrow sense", whilst the second refers to "the more theatrical and contextual kind, the non-verbal, presumably unintentional kind, whether this communication be engineered or not" (1959: 14-16). Goffman, however, is quick to point out that both forms of expressive behavior are subject to manipulation and the deliberate conveying of 'misinformation' by individuals.

concerned – at certain times – with ensuring I maintained a positive image in the eyes of my colleagues and teachers.

I would like to stress that I am not suggesting that somehow my experience of anxiety was 'real' and more understandable, and that the experience of my students was 'feigned' and less reasonable; on the contrary. It is just that anxiety, like other emotions, may well be subject to strategic manipulation, shaped to a significant degree by reflection and communicative needs and considerations, performed and constructed in interaction, a complex emotion arising from the always unpredictable nature of interaction and our own unique attempts to mange such interaction. So, in the comparison between my own and my students' experience of anxiety, it could be argued that one party understood that anxious reactions would benefit them in that given context whilst the other party perceived signs of anxiety as likely to reflect badly upon him.

In fact, I now view my masking behaviour as a type of 'fraught participation', a desire to understand and therefore be involved in given activities, but which was always conditioned by the tension of being 'exposed' – firstly, for not really understanding and, secondly, and worse still, for *pretending* to understand. In sum, I feared I would be seen as some kind of language learning 'imposter'. Furthermore, and increasing the complexity of such emotional reactions, are considerations of our own personalities and language learning histories that are intimately and inextricably bound to our emotional reactions.

The language learning experiences of certain individuals may, for example, be affected detrimentally as they are unable to reflect upon and deal with these events, whilst other learners may use such emotional experiences as springboards to enhance their learning. I feel this notion is of significant pertinence to my own experience. This was certainly the case in Swain and Miccoli's (1994) longitudinal study of an adult ESL learner enrolled on a graduate education course at a Canadian university who participated in a collaborative second language learning project implemented by the authors. The learner of this study participated in group work sessions on collaborative learning and also was part of a research project. The authors video and audio recorded some of these sessions with one of the authors observing the learner and taking field notes in this context. These data were then used to formulate questions in subsequent interviews with the learner, whose emotions and beliefs arising from her experience in this project revealed her uneasiness and resistance to the methodology of collaborative learning. Nevertheless, the authors reveal that her "conscious reflection about her negative emotions and their sources allowed her to act on them, resulting in enhanced second language learning" (1994:15).

As for anxiety in pre-service language teachers, it may be manifested or managed in similar ways to those indicated in the LA literature (see 2.7), but it seems that of the most commonly cited reactions – that of withdrawing from the learning experience – is not, on the face of it, an option that teachers can consider. Of course, they may give up and decide not to continue with a career in teaching or may give up in the sense of putting little effort into their TP. However, most trainee language teachers are eager to establish themselves in the teaching profession with this eagerness playing a part in their anxiety. Fundamentally, they want to do well. To make a further comparison with my own experience and theirs, my experience of anxiety was significantly characterised by the shock and lack of control that resulted from my moving from the role of teacher to the role of student; however, trainee teachers may also suffer a similar – but inverted – type of shock as they move from the role of student to assume the mantle of the teacher and all that this entails.

It is possible, therefore, that, trainee teachers resort to even more subtle ways of withdrawing, disguising, transferring or even embedding their anxiety within various features of classroom life, including, for example: a certain dependence on the use of OHPs, powerpoint presentations, worksheets or other materials; an overreliance on the mother tongue; a predilection for certain methodologies and activities that 'protect' them by accentuating what they perceive as their strengths or reduce the risk of negative evaluation; the relationships that they establish with their pupils; their movement in the classroom; and features of their own interaction and discourse.

A significant amount of language anxiety research has focused on the relationship between anxiety and proficiency, but my own and other research suggests that there are other factors involved in the experience of anxiety. As previously indicated, in his discussion of second language identity, Block (2007) talks about second language learners' 'critical moments'. These moments, which Block says are normally experienced by adult migrant language learners, are characterised by learners' culturally established references being challenged or no longer available, and are likely to be a source of anxiety, triggering sustained periods of, sometimes anguished, reflection as the learner tries to absorb and adjust to these challenges.

I believe my experience of and participation on the Master's course in Aveiro was my own 'critical moment', and it is my contention that the practicum may, in some respects, constitute a type of critical moment for many trainee teachers as they attempt to come to terms with the demands of the teaching placement, adapting their behaviour, thinking and feelings in a new high-pressure context. I will now move on to briefly examine how this

experience of anxiety specifically influenced my own anxiety research on future teachers of English as well as the trainee English teachers of this project.

7.3 On researching language anxiety

In a key way, my experience of anxiety merged with my primary interests as both a TESOL teacher and a supervising teacher involved in teacher education. These interests centered – and still do – on spoken interaction in the classroom, and its central importance in not only motivating and driving language development and acquisition but also sustaining student interest and enjoyment in the classes themselves.

The experience of being a student again, a distant memory before I had started frequenting the Master's classes, and the fact that classes were conducted in Portuguese, fomented a greater understanding of the demands made upon learners in language classes, and led me to ponder that my students, albeit future teachers of English, might also experience anxiety, a factor that might have explanatory potential in relation to their seeming reluctance to *visibly* participate in classes. Despite standout differences between my circumstances and theirs – previous formal language learning experience, levels of proficiency, and a foreign language context as opposed to a second language context among them – could anxiety, I wondered, be a shaping influence on their participation and classroom interaction? This seemed a line of research worth investigating, especially if anxiety not only impacted on future teachers' methodological options and careers but also on their pupils of English. Horwitz identifies such an unfolding sequence of influence when she says:

> In all likelihood, teachers who suffer higher levels of foreign language anxiety will tend to use the target language less in the classroom. Thus anxiety would seem to be factor in why language classrooms slip so easily from target language discussion to English. In addition, foreign language anxiety can inhibit a teacher's ability to effectively present the target language, interact with students, and serve as a positive role model as a language learner. (1996:366)

Such a scenario increased my already established suspicions that too many English – and other foreign language – teachers resorted to Portuguese to interact with their students whilst English was often largely confined to activities that were not so interactive. The absence of any anxiety research in Portugal reinforced my belief that this was a line of research that was both relevant to my immediate professional context and my students' future professional needs, and that I should pursue investigation into this affective factor.

Before conducting my first research project, I read two articles on anxiety from Bailey and Nunan's (1996) *Voices from the Language Classroom*: the first was Hilleson's study of

international students studying in an English-medium school in Singapore, and the second Tsui's study of Chinese teachers of English working in Hong Kong reflecting on their own students' reticence to speak in classes. The voices of researchers, researcher-teachers, and students relating their experiences that were either directly or indirectly related to anxiety were a great encouragement for me to carry out my first research project into language anxiety. Here was research that I could identify with because it was highly relevant to the classroom, including my own and, perhaps, most importantly, it indicated that language anxiety interested other researchers in language education and was a valid research topic.

These factors encouraged me to carry out a small-scale research project[25] with four female students who were studying on the German English course at the university at which I was then working. The responses to the audio-recorded questionnaire[26] did reveal signs of their anxiety, manifested in their being worried about making mistakes and being judged negatively by their teacher and/or their colleagues, that is students did not seem to be overly concerned with communication itself, but were considerably more preoccupied with the fear of negative social evaluation and test anxiety,

However, in my second research project, which took place approximately four months after the first, I felt the need to 'show' that as a researcher I was maturing and using instruments and techniques 'appropriate' for such research. Much of the research I had become familiar with cited Horwitz's (1986) Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS). After my first project, I believed that language anxiety might well be a more significant factor than I had initially thought.

In this project, which was carried out for the discipline *Metodologia de Especialidade*[27], I tried to bridge the gap between merely identifying factors that could impact on the acquisition of a foreign language to exploring anxiety through the language learning activities in the context of my own classroom. I thought that using the FLCAS would impart greater credibility to my research as it was a scientifically validated research instrument specifically for measuring language anxiety.

In this project, it was again evident that anxiety appeared to influence the behavior of a significant number of students. This was particularly evident when a student asked to represent her four years of language learning in higher education on the blackboard. She did this in a graph form, calling her first year on the Portuguese-English course a year of 'trauma,

[25] An article based on this research project entitled 'Anxiety and inhibitive factors in oral in the classroom: a study of third year English language specialists at the Catholic University in Viseu' was published in 2002 in *Máthesis*, 11, 287-309.
[26] The duration of the recording was approximately 50 minutes.
[27] An article based on this research project entitled 'Language Anxiety: Part and parcel of the foreign language classroom', was published in 2005 in *The APPI Journal*, Year 5, no. 1, Spring, 10-15.

torture and silence', the second year, as she came to realize her problems, one of 'disappointment', and the third and fourth years ones of 'struggle' and 'seeing English as her second language'. This contribution also appeared to encourage other students to relate some of their own experiences, some of them anxiety-related. Their worries seemed to centre on what their colleagues and teachers would think of their language skills as well as themselves as individuals.

As far as the FLCAS was concerned, scores indicated that foreign language anxiety was evidently a factor to be taken into consideration. There were indications, for example, that a significant number of students agreed or strongly agreed that they worried about not quite being sure of themselves when speaking English in the classroom, they worried about making mistakes, became nervous if the teacher asked them questions they had not prepared in advance, and they also stated that other students spoke the language better than they did.

However, after looking at the scores and the percentages, there was no doubt that what seemed to be of greater interest was the interaction with the students and how they actually talked about their language learning experiences. I began to ponder what the actual behavioural and interactional differences would be for students who scored 100, 77 and 116, for example. What, in fact, did these scores *really mean* as the students interacted in the classroom? What could they tell me about their behavior? Here the caveat of Williams and Burden seems especially pertinent:

> What they tell us is that about two-thirds of any population will score within the average range on that test. Only a small minority will score at either extreme…In dealing with averages and statistics we appear to have lost track of the individual. This kind of approach does not help us to deal effectively with such issues as how individuals make their own sense of the process of learning a language, or how we as teachers can best help our learners, given that they are all different. (1997:94-95)

In a recent publication, Ushioda (2009) goes further and seriously questions whether, in fact, psychometric approaches with their emphasis on using instruments to measure and make predictions about certain traits individuals possess in a given population are of notable significance for research and teachers. Echoing Williams and Burden, Ushioda says that individual difference research is less about individuals and more about grouping people together "who share certain characteristics" (2009:215).

Although Ushioda's focus is that of motivation, the general thrust of her argument is, in my view, eminently applicable to anxiety and other affective factors because language anxiety research has largely been psychometric and quantitative. Although Ushioda concedes that such research may increase our knowledge about individual difference characteristics and how these may help to explain the types of "learning behavior they lead to" (ibid.), and

also inform us about particular "types of learners in an abstract collective sense" (ibid.), she suggests that, ultimately, such research will not furnish researchers and teachers with the insights into learners' actual behaviour in their given contexts.

Ushioda claims that, from this perspective, people have been stripped of their agency and individuality, and their actions represented as being largely shaped by these trait characteristics. Hence, as she is writing about the self and identity and how these relate to motivation, she strongly advocates a shift from learners to people or persons, because "language learner…is just one aspect of their identity" (ibid.). In accordance with Lantolf and Pavlenko (2001), Ushioda advocates that we "we need to understand second language learners as people, and as people who are necessarily located in particular cultural and historical contexts" (ibid.).

This view is one which I wholeheartedly subscribe to at the present, and although I do not want to portray myself at the time of my second project as already firmly acquainted with the terms and theoretical approach as delineated by Ushioda, by the end of my second project I was already contemplating my Master's thesis, and – ontologically and epistemologically speaking – was moving steadily in this direction as a researcher. In fact I used the Burden and Williams' citation above both in my project for the Master's as well as in the publication based on that project. In sum, then, I found myself moving slowly and inexorably away from a commitment to using self-reports, especially the FLCAS, as somehow being fundamental to my research interests, to a perspective which centered on the students' behaviour in the classroom in naturalistic contexts.

As a teacher-researcher investigating my own classroom, then, the more fruitful data came from watching, listening and interacting with the students. In one discussion we talked about the physiological symptoms of anxiety, how teacher evaluation of students' contributions could often trigger negative and prolonged emotional reactions, and how, in a similar vein, their colleagues' reactions were also of significant importance in how they thought of themselves and how they dealt with their language learning experience. It was in this discussion that I also began to reflect more consistently on the relationship between anxiety and proficiency, more specifically with the well-established notion that language anxiety is likely to arise in those with lower proficiency.

This view was entirely contradicted in this second project by a Portuguese student who had spent fourteen years living in Australia, and who had returned to Portugal with her parents to live. This student, who very rarely visibly participated in my English classes, revealed that she felt acutely aware of her Australian accent which had been the source of

'many comments' made by her secondary school colleagues, an experience which had carried over into her English classes in higher education. These comments had been derogatory in her view and, in her own words, had led her in her English classes "to just sort of let other people do the talking… and I listen". As a Portuguese-English bi-lingual, she described her English speaking skills as 'reasonable'! It seemed clear, then, that factors other than levels of proficiency could contribute to anxiety in language learning. On the other hand, this revealing episode did appear to confirm the view established by other researchers (Foss and Reitzel, 1988; Horwitz, 1991, 2001; MacIntyre, 1999; MacIntyre and Gardner, 1989, 1994a; Young, 1990, 1991) that anxious students, often with self-esteem[28] issues, are less likely to engage in spoken interaction.

More importantly for me as a researcher, however, was the revelation that, in methodological terms, an important source of data was the learner's language learning history and that collating such data is likely to have rich, explanatory potential in terms of trying to understand students' behavior in the classroom, and that such data is only likely to be revealed in and through interactive or introspective data collection methods, and not through questionnaires which tap into the generalisable characteristics of individual differences. As Ushioda points out, reducing "learning behavior to general commonalities cannot do justice to the idiosyncrasies of personal meaning-making in context" (2009: 219).

A feature of the project that left a lasting impression on me was using video recordings of my own classes. This research tool not only allowed me to revisit and analyse certain aspects of the recorded class, but it also intensified my interest in the discourse – verbal and non-verbal communication – as well as opening my eyes to the methodological potential of video recordings used within other research approaches and carried out in different contexts.

Therefore, in my next study on LA, which was for my Master's dissertation, I now knew that I wanted to focus on student interaction in the classroom. Furthermore, I could see how my previous research was helping to shape the methodological choices of this project.

Firstly, constraints on time and achievable research goals led me to think that a longitudinal project in which I could study fewer students in greater depth a more suitable methodology. This resulted in an ethnographic approach in which the case study students could be observed within the classroom interacting with their other colleagues and myself as

[28] Ortega (2007) has recently explored the relationship between language anxiety and self-esteem.

their teacher, and data could be collated using a variety of sources that would bring into greater focus the perspective and voices of the research participants.

The research design of this project was, however, affected by changes in my professional life. In November, 2001, I left the university at which I was working and took up a post as an English assistant at the Escola Superior de Educação de Leiria. This meant I was not able to begin working at the beginning of the academic year with a group of students with whom I was already familiar. On the other hand, it seemed like an opportunity, because, unlike the group I had planned to work with, I did not know these students, had no knowledge of their language learning experiences, and, perhaps most importantly, I sensed that this was an opportunity to ascertain whether the experience of language anxiety obtained in students studying in another higher education context. The students were also on a teacher-training degree, albeit a four-year integrated degree as opposed to the five-year course that included a year-long teaching placement in the fifth and final year that was characteristic of university teaching degrees at that time.

Although I had begun to question the suitability of the FLCAS for studying language anxiety in interactive contexts, and its influence over my thinking was, undoubtedly, waning, I still felt sufficiently influenced by the thinking that research on language anxiety should include some kind of 'measurement' of this emotion that I incorporated it into the research design of my Master's. However, I used it as a complementary method in order to select two 'more anxious' and two 'less anxious' students. This decision to select these four students was a suggestion of my Master's supervisor, and also led me to avoid the *a priori* assumption that research participants should be anxious ones. Spielmann and Radnofsky's comments are enlightening on this point. Whilst commenting on the lack of serious challenge to the 'epistemological soundness' of the FLCAS, these researchers cite Price's (1991) interviews with 'highly anxious' students 'as one of the few attempts at qualitative study' of language anxiety, but also emphasize its taken for granted methodological stance of studying the anxious:

> She [Price]…assumed that interviewing highly anxious students would be more telling than interviewing all participants in a setting, as if studying the negative should allow us to draw conclusions about the positive (2001:261)

My reading of Spielmann and Radnofsky's work as well as reflection on my own experience of anxiety therefore initiated greater consideration of the issues related to facilitating and debilitating anxiety and whether the contrasts and dissonances between those participants who were more anxious and those who were less so could shed greater light on the

understanding of anxiety. Such thinking also impacted on the terminology used in this project as I designated the four case studies 'less anxious' and 'more anxious' students, thereby consciously recognizing that anxiety is perhaps better seen existing along an emotional continuum as opposed to discreet either or categories[29].

I decided to employ a range of research data collection methods over the four-month period that would allow me to achieve data triangulation. I designed lessons in which all students, not only the case studies, had to do what I considered to be activities likely to cause more anxiety such as talking in front of the class, explaining grammar to their colleagues, and talking whilst being video-recorded. By the same token, other activities were not expected to invoke anxiety, such as group work and written exercises. Indeed, the focus of this research project was that of anxiety related to speaking activities. Comment sheets filled in by all students at the end of each class were designed to capture their more immediate feelings, whilst the case studies were asked to keep a diary over the research period and to write a language autobiography based on Tse's (2000) language autobiography questions. The latter methods, together with a semi-structured interview with the case studies – largely based on the interview from my first project – aimed at eliciting both spontaneous and more considered reactions to their language learning experience, especially the lessons, constituted the methodology of this research project. The lessons themselves – some video-recorded – also allowed me to study their behavior in classroom interaction whilst talking about their language learning experiences. Again a role play similar to the one used in the second project was implemented.

As in the previous two projects, the data indicated that anxiety conditioned behaviour in both the 'more anxious' and 'less anxious' students. Indeed, one of the students who had been denoted as a 'less anxious' turned out to be the most anxious of them all, whereas one 'more anxious' student seemed more likely to experience anxiety than her 'more anxious' colleague. Furthermore, positive and negative formal language learning experiences, perfectionist tendencies, a love of languages, an excellent level of proficiency but a tendency to become anxious indicated that the 'less anxious' student was, in fact, 'more anxious', and further complicated the picture of the overly simplistic categories often attributed to learners in the language anxiety literature. Indeed, this participant seemed energized, motivated and anxious – simultaneously experiencing contradictory tendencies which, to a markedly lesser extent, also existed in the other participants.

[29] My decision to use this terminology was further reinforced after I read Gregerson and Horwitz's (2001) work on perfectionism and language anxiety in which they use 'non-anxious' and 'anxious' to denote the participants in their work.

No clear relationship was found between oral participation and the experience of anxiety. Indeed, while I fully concede that anxiety may also be related to individuals' personalities, my first three research projects suggested student anxieties had roots in their language learning history, their particular experiences in their language classes as well as their future concerns as language teachers.

In fact, one of the lasting impressions that this project left on me as a researcher was that it made sense – methodologically speaking – to collate data using various methods in order to generate a data-rich picture of learners' trajectories that stretch from the past, through the present and into the future.

After carrying out these research projects with future teachers of English in their language classes, it seemed logical and compelling for me to progress to researching language anxiety in the high-pressured context of the teaching placement. Indeed, one of the recurring themes and concerns of the case studies in my third project was their upcoming TP – in which their knowledge, language abilities and performances in the classroom would be systematically assessed.

When reading the methodological approach (see Chapter 3) adopted for the present study, it is hoped that the connections and sense of continuation in relation to my previous research can be clearly seen, but that the departures are also notable and understandable in the light of my own progression as a researcher – not least the abandonment of self-reports to 'measure' anxiety and my greater interest in capturing the participants' perspectives by using research approaches and methods that accentuate and orientate to their own words and interpretations.

In relating both my experience and research, however, it is quite clear that there are notable differences between myself, at the time of my participation on the Master's course, as a language learner in Portuguese, and the subjects of my previous research and, more specifically, this study, the trainee teachers on the verge of becoming professional language teachers. Perhaps the difference that immediately stands out is that of proficiency levels. However, to simply assume that higher proficiency will result in lower anxiety and, conversely, that lower proficiency will determine greater anxiety is, as my own research indicates, a somewhat simplistic projection which assumes a straightforward linear relationship that neglects the very social context and the social actors who are shaped by but also shape their social environment.

A key reason, then, for relating both my experience and research is to illustrate the complex wide-ranging effects of anxiety, both positive and negative, on a person in a language

learning context. Whilst not wanting to oversimplify the language learning process through this reflection on my own trajectory as a language learner and teacher, I do strongly feel that my experience on the Master's course at Aveiro constituted, in Block's terms, a 'critical' moment that has subsequently shaped my overall attitude and approach to teaching and learning as well as directly influencing my approach to research.

Although, learning an additional language in a foreign language context does not provide the same degree of sustained contact with another language and culture as a second language learning environment, and therefore usually lacks the constant challenge to one's primary cultural references that induce such critical moments, the practicum – with its tension-rich setting, attendant high-pressure, and significant consequences for trainees' professional futures - may well come close to constituting a critical moment for these student teachers. In sum, the language teaching practicum would appear to be a promising setting in which the phenomenon of language anxiety can be studied and researched.

I will now shift the focus from my personal reflection on anxiety to the exponential and sustained rise of interest in emotion and affective considerations in education and language learning, in which language anxiety figures prominently.

PART 1 – THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

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Chapter 1. The emotional dimension of teaching, learning and research

> With a burst of new interest, scholars in the social sciences and the humanities are talking about emotion, and the public is joining in. There are several reasons. Sheer intellectual curiosity compels us to try to understand whatever is mysterious, and emotions are mysterious to most people. They are complicated physical, mental, social, moral, and cultural phenomena that provide new frontiers for human understanding.
> (Planalp, 1999:1)

> Emotions are dynamic parts of ourselves, and whether they are positive or negative, all organizations, including schools, are full of them.
> (Hargreaves, 1998:835)

This chapter charts the sustained interest in emotions and how they have been established as an integral and vital consideration within educational contexts. The increasing willingness on the part of SLA researchers to turn to social theories in contiguous areas of the social sciences to inform and structure their research in SLA, what Block (2003) calls 'The Social Turn in Second Language Acquisition'[1], is addressed, and how this shift in thinking has further accentuated the importance of emotions and affective factors in language learning. The role of affect in language teaching and learning are then addressed as are the concepts of communication and emotions in the context of the classroom, and how studying the complexity of emotions necessarily involves a multimodal approach to communication because emotions – and by implication, anxiety – may be evident not only in the words and expressions of individuals, but also in their interactional and communicative behaviour, that is to say in their very movements, gestures, facial expressions and prosodic features as well as the way they use space and resources at their disposal.

1.1 On affective education

As a prelude to focusing on the emergence of affect in language learning, this section considers the steady, continued and sustained rise in the interest of affect and emotions across society and a wide range of academic fields, with a special attention being given to educational contexts.

[1] The actual title (2003) of this volume that discusses this paradigm shift in SLA.

Emotions have sustained the interest of great thinkers and intellectuals throughout history but it now seems justifiable to claim that emotions and affective issues are not simply part of the intellectual diet of a limited number of academics and a variety of specialists but in fact now constitute the very stuff of everyday life and are part of the fundamental considerations of an ever-growing number of citizens. Indeed, it is difficult to believe that there was ever a period in history in which people took as great an interest in emotions and feelings and the impact they have on our lives as our societies do today.

In both academic circles and popular culture, it is a complicated task to think of areas of human study and interest that remain untouched by our fascination with emotions and emotional issues. In relation to academia and education the fascination with emotions has intensified and flourished across disciplines, leading to rich areas of shared interest as well as multiple perspectives to view affect.

With respect to education, the intense and sustained concern with 'emotional intelligence' (Goleman, 1996, 1998), its potential for bringing about positive change in society, and hence its widespread influence on and inclusion in education policies is, perhaps, one of the reasons that emotions now constitute an area of common concern for scholars and ordinary people alike in today's global age. Paul Ekman, a psychologist and one of the world's leading experts on facial expressions and nonverbal behavior, cannot be more direct when he states that, "Emotions determine the quality of our lives. They occur in every relationship we care about – in the workplace, in our friendships, in dealings with family members, and in our most intimate relationships" (2003: xiii). Wierzbicka, in her introduction to her treatise on emotions across languages and cultures, cites the biologist's Charles Birch's claim that "Feelings are what matter most in life", but whilst declining to align herself fully with Birch, she does go on to say that "…they matter a great deal; and it is good to see that after a long period of scholarly neglect, feelings are now at the forefront of interdisciplinary investigations, spanning the humanities, social sciences, and biological sciences" (1999:1).

When explaining his reasons for embarking on a scientific exploration of feelings and emotions that would eventually lead to the publication of *Emotional Intelligence*, Goleman also refers to this notion of 'scholarly neglect' when he speaks of feelings, as part of the study of human mental life, as having been "surprisingly slighted by research over the years, leaving the emotions a largely unexplored continent for scientific psychology" (1996: xi). In education, too, the neglect of emotions has also been noted. Hargreaves (2000), a researcher and academic at the forefront of bringing emotions onto the educational agenda, points to "teaching, learning and leading" as "always *irretrievably* emotional in character" (emphasis in original) but emphasizes "the disturbing neglect of the emotional dimension in the

increasingly rationalized world of educational reform" (2000:811). Similarly, in a special issue – on emotions and identity – of Teaching and Teacher Education, van Veen and Lasky refer to the fact that "In previous decades emotions were largely neglected in educational research on teaching and teachers" (2005:895). However, the latter authors also acknowledge that in recent times "more attention has been paid to the role of emotions in teaching and teachers' professional lives" (ibid.), a claim supported, in the same special issue, by Zembylas when he asserts that "Educators have become increasingly interested about the role of emotion in teaching" (2005:936), an argument given further credence when taking into account some of the key publications in this area in the last ten years (Boler, 1999; Day, 2004; Day and Leitch, 2001; Hargreaves, 2000, 2005; Nias, 1996).

As for the field of second language acquisition (SLA) and second language teaching, it can be argued, given the importance attributed to individual differences in the language learning process, that emotions have been recognised – at least since the early 1970s[2] (Brown, 1973; Chastain, 1975; Moskowitz, 1978; Stern, 1983; Stevick, 1980) – as important factors in acquiring a second language[3]. The fact that individual differences – a number of them affective in nature, including motivation and anxiety – are often considered integral components of language learning models[4], would appear to point to a consistent concern with emotional or affective variables in language learning.

At this juncture, and as I have already referred to 'feelings', 'emotions' and 'affective' factors, I think it is an opportune moment to take the term 'affect', a label that effectively subsumes the three terms used above, and which is used with great frequency in education, especially in language teaching and learning, and attempt to establish a suitable working definition that is of relevance to the present study and which can be used as a point of departure from which to go on to explore the influence it exerts upon education, the teaching-learning process and the individuals involved, namely the students and teachers. However, given the focus of this project, particular attention will be paid to the emotional nature of teaching as experienced by teachers themselves, more specifically, the trainee teachers, the principal participants involved in this research.

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[2] Gardner (2002:161), in his discussion of the social psychological perspective on SLA, alerts us to the fact that affective factors in SLA were even being discussed in the late 1940s when he mentions Arsenian's (1945) review of research on bilingualism in which , among other things, he referred "to the role of affective factors in second language acquisition".

[3] One of the first academics to systematically address the importance of affective factors in SLA was Brown (1973), who in the early 1970s was alerting researchers to the fact that "Affective variables have not been adequately investigated in the study of second language acquisition" (1973:231)

[4] See for example, Krashen's Monitor Model, an important component of which is the affective filter hypothesis, and its highlighting of negative emotions as inhibiting the acquisition process; also Gardner's Socio-Educational Model, which includes anxiety and motivation as individual differences as potential negative and positive influences respectively on language learning.

The term 'affect' is centrally concerned with our emotions and how this influences our behaviour. In *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, the first listed meaning of 'affect' is denoted as 'produce an effect on' and 'to move; touch the feelings of'. Its origin is attributed to a combination of the French words 'affecter' or 'affect' and the Latin term 'afficere', themselves denoting influence and action (facere 'do'). The third meaning of the word 'affect', which is indicated as pertaining to the discipline psychology, is defined as "an emotion, a feeling, or a desire, especially leading to action". Information as to its etymology indicates that it is a term derived from the German term 'Affekt', itself derived from the Latin term 'affectus' meaning disposition.

In their article on emotive communication, Caffi and Janney (1994) refer to cognitive psychology's tendency to see affect ranging from 'hot' to 'cold' extremes, with 'hot' largely referring to emotions only as opposed to 'cold', which denotes "…human preferences, attitudes, or likes and dislikes, and to adaptive choices related to these" (1994:328). The above authors, however, opt for a definition often used in linguistics that is essentially used as a synonym for 'feeling', which, in the authors' own words, subsumes not only notions of "…emotion, mood, and attitude, but also notions of character and personality, and notions related to interactional linguistic phenomena" (ibid.:328). This definition is of particular relevance to this study because as will be seen, emotions and affective reactions are often revealed, displayed or oriented to in the linguistic choices that speakers make.

In a similar definition, Jane Arnold and H. Douglas Brown, two authors strongly associated with research into affective factors in language learning, state that affect "… has to do with aspects of our emotional being…aspects of emotion, feeling, mood or attitude which condition behaviour" (1999:1). I interpret this notion of behaviour, as including both linguistic and non-linguistic actions. Again, the relevance of this definition to this study is of importance given that emotions are not only evidenced in linguistic but also in nonverbal phenomena, including paraverbal, kinesic and proxemic behaviour.

This notion of emotions and feelings exerting influence on our actions is an important one. Goleman confirms this view when he says:

> All emotions are, in essence, impulses to act, the instant plans for handling life that evolution has instilled in us. The very root of the word *emotion* is *motere*, the Latin verb "to move," plus the prefix "e-" to connote "move away," suggesting that a tendency to act is implicit in every emotion." (1996:6, emphasis in original)

Earl Stevick, on the other hand, cites Dulay, Burt and Krashen's (1982) definition of affect which adds another dimension to that of emotions influencing our actions, and which is

of particular relevance to teachers and educators, and which I consider as an important one for this study as it complements that of Arnold and Brown's definition, and stresses the external, contextual influences on students' behaviour:

> One's 'affect' toward a particular thing or action or situation or experience is how that thing or that action or situation or experience fits in with one's needs or purposes, and its resulting effect on one's emotions. The inclusion of emotion along with needs and purposes is not surprising when we consider that emotions are commonly responses to how one's various needs and purposes are or are not being met. (1999: 44)

Stevick then proceeds to give an example of how the need to do maths may cause panic in some people, how the sight of symbols and the need to feel competent and the need to present a competent image to others can lead to "emotions such as anger and discouragement, as well as physical symptoms such as nausea or sweaty palms" (ibid.:44). He also gives an example from language learning. He relates an account of how the preference for tightly organised activities of one of his ex-students was not being met by the emphasis on less structured activities. Being too stubborn to complain openly to the teacher, it seems the student "developed a …psychosomatic reaction that required a week's hospitalisation" (ibid.: 44). Of Stevick's use of this definition of affect and the two examples he uses to clarify it in practice, I would like to make three interrelated points which will lead on to a broader discussion of affect.

Firstly, although Stevick's two examples are of negative emotions, it is relatively simple to imagine the converse of these situations, and see the needs or purposes of students being met and leading to positive emotions and outcomes, such as increased motivation resulting from classroom activities, for example. It is, then, a particularly useful definition of affect in the context of education, as we can see how teachers, to some extent at least, may be able to influence students' affective reactions. As Arnold and Brown point out, one of the reasons for studying and understanding affect in language learning is that "…attention needs to be given both to how we can overcome problems created by negative emotions and how we can create and use more positive and facilitative emotions" (1999:2).

Secondly, it is interesting that Stevick, a well-known advocate of affective and humanistic approaches, should use two examples of negative affect to illustrate his choice of definition. However, whatever his reasons for doing so, this does reflect the fact that various classifications of emotions by scholars are weighted towards the negative rather than the positive. For example, LeDoux (1998: 112-113) cites Sylvan Tomkins and Paul Ekman's classifications. The former proposes eight basic emotions: surprise, interest, joy, rage, fear,

disgust, shame and anguish. The latter proposes a shorter list of six basic emotions with universal facial expressions: surprise, happiness, anger, fear, disgust and sadness. In the educational context, then, although the latter type of experience related by Stevick is likely to be a unique occurrence that only a handful of teachers, fortunately, will have to face, it is quite possible that teachers and other agents in the educational process will eventually have to deal with students experiencing stressful situations resulting from negative emotional experiences. Anxiety, for example, the central focus of the present research project, may "…wreak havoc with neurological conditions in the prefrontal lobe of the brain, preventing memory from operating properly and thus greatly reducing learning capacity" (Arnold and Brown, 1999:2)[5].

Thirdly, Stevick mentions the emotional and physiological effects that his students experienced. Implicit in this process, of course, are the students' thoughts or the cognitive aspects of learning. This brings us to the question of "neurological conditions" referred to above because the significant advances made in the neurosciences have done much to further our understanding of how man thinks, feels, acts, and speaks not only in educational contexts but in society itself.

In fact, one of the reasons for the recent upsurge in interest in affect has been the significant inroads that the neurosciences have made into how the brain functions, with one of the most notable – and certainly most visible results – of this progress being the recognition that both emotion and feelings[6] are essential for rational thought and our own emotional well-being.

The neurologist, António Damásio, has been one of the foremost figures at the vanguard of this research, and his words leave little doubt as to the importance that emotions and feelings exert on our thinking and, ultimately, on our lives:

> At their best, feelings point us in the proper direction, take us to the appropriate place in decision-making space, where we may put the instruments of logic to good use. We are faced by uncertainty when we have to make a moral judgment, decide on the course of a personal relationship, choose some means to prevent our being penniless in old age, or plan for the life that lies ahead. Emotion and feeling, along with the covert physiological machinery underlying them, assist us with the daunting task of predicting an uncertain future and planning our actions accordingly. (1994: xvii)

[5] Goleman (1996: 27) makes this point when he states that "signals of strong emotion – anxiety, anger, and the like – can create neural static, sabotaging the ability of the prefrontal lobe to maintain working memory."

[6] Damásio (2004: 49) makes a distinction between emotions and feelings, that is to say emotions are changes in body state in response to a positive or negative situation whilst feelings are perceptions of these changes. LeDoux (1998: 40) also states "We know our emotions by their intrusions (welcome or otherwise) into our conscious minds. But emotions did not evolve as conscious feelings. They evolved as behavioural and physiological specializations, bodily responses controlled by the brain, that allowed ancestral organisms to survive in hostile environments and procreate."

Indeed, Damásio contends that 'Descartes' error'– the title of his now well-known book – was to completely discount the possibility of emotion and other complex functions of the body exerting any influence upon the mind. In Damásio's words:

> This is Descartes' error: the abysmal separation between body and mind, between the sizeable, dimensioned, mechanically operated, infinitely divisible body stuff, on the one hand, and the unsizeable, undimensioned, un-pushpullable, non-divisible mind stuff; the suggestion that reasoning, and moral judgment, and the suffering that comes from physical pain or emotional upheaval might exist separately from the body. Specifically: the separation of the most refined operations of the mind from the structure and operation of a biological organism. (1994:249-250).

In his most recent book, Damásio (2010) focuses on how the conscious mind comes into being, illustrating the importance of feelings not just in helping us to inform and take the decisions in our lives, but how these very feelings are integral to the processes that bring our identities into being. In Damásio's words, "the construction of a conscious mind depends, at several stages, on the generation of…feelings" (ibid.: 9). Emotions, then, are intrinsic to the building blocks that establish our identities and the images we claim as uniquely ours:

> …the decisive step in the making of consciousness is not the making of images and creating the basics of a mind. The decisive step is *making the images ours*, making them belong to their rightful owners, the singular, perfectly bounded organisms in which they emerge (2010:10, emphasis in original)

Another well-known neural scientist, Joseph LeDoux, has also carried out extensive research on emotions, and makes the point that "Since the time of the ancient Greeks, humans have found it compelling to separate reason from passion, thinking from feeling, cognition from emotion" (1998: 24). This Cartesian approach, according to LeDoux, has resulted in far-reaching effects on our thinking and institutions:

> Plato, for example, said that passions and desires and fears make it impossible for us to think. For him, emotions were like wild horses that have to be reined in by intellect…Christian theology has long equated emotions with sins, temptations to resist by reason and willpower in order for the immortal soul to enter the kingdom of God. And our legal system treats "crimes of passion" differently from premeditated transgressions. (1998:24)

In fact the idea that emotions are disruptive, negative influences which need to be controlled or even purged so as to free our minds to function without interference as we go about our lives has been at the heart of much Western thought. Planalp (1999:1) says that emotions in this tradition "are viewed as beastly, infantile, crazy things that must be controlled for society to operate smoothly and rationally, or so everyday talk and practices suggest". Wierzbicka (1999:17) opines that this attitude derives from a particularly dominant Anglo-academic

psychology and Anglo-American culture, saying that the implication of this hostility towards emotions is "that a person's "normal state" is a state of "composure", and that an emotion constitutes a departure from this "normal state". Wierzbicka says that such thinking would be difficult to locate in Italian, Russian and German culture, and cites Goethe's embracing of "glorious feelings" as being indicative of cultural values diametrically opposed to the Anglo-American tradition. From Goethe's point of view, such "glorious feelings", says Wierzbicka, "are not something that has to be controlled or something that threatens to impair, or interfere with, "organised behaviour"; rather they are positive forces that "give us life" (1999:18).

Yet as Wierzbicka herself acknowledges, there do exist dissenting voices within the Anglo-American tradition, one of these being the American philosopher Robert Solomon who has the following to say:

> Emotions are not just disruptions of our otherwise calm and reasonable experience; they are at the very heart of that experience, determining our focus, influencing our interests, defining the dimensions of our world. Emotions...lie at the very heart of ethics, determining our values, focusing our vision, influencing our every judgement, giving meaning to our lives. (1995, cited in Wierzbicka, 1999:18)

Solomon also questions an especially dominant view of these traditions that tend to see individuals as being victims of emotions, that emotions are swirling passions that "render us passive" that emotion, essentially, "is something that happens to us" (2004:17), and which remain beyond the influence of human agency. Indeed, Solomon proposes that as individuals we possess a certain degree of agency and, therefore, choice over emotions, and that we are not simply reacting to feelings beyond our control.

In the study of anxiety, too, there has been a tendency in Anglo-American academia to perceive anxiety as an upsetting and unruly emotional state, an uncomfortable emotional experience better eliminated whereas some European thinkers, more in line with Goethe's vision of feelings, have seen anxiety as residing at the heart of human experience, therefore providing alternative perspectives to those that have largely been put forward in Anglo-American psychology, perspectives which have been particularly influential in the study of language anxiety. Indeed, as will be seen further on in this study, some thinkers have seen anxiety as akin to an existential state, manifesting itself at the crossroads of identity, freedom and choice.

Thus the combination of dissenting voices backed up by strong, innovative research, has firmly challenged the notion that cognition and emotion should be viewed as distinct processes. Nevertheless, given the long-standing influence of cognitive science in academia,

LeDoux feels it is unsurprising that cognitive science "…exists to study rationality, so-called cognition, on its own, independent of emotions" (ibid.:24). Like Damásio, LeDoux sees emotion and cognition as indispensable to each other, and underlines the consequences of a misplaced emphasis on cognition: "…minds without emotions are not really minds at all. They are souls on ice – cold, lifeless creatures devoid of any desires, fears, sorrows, pains, or pleasures" (ibid.: 25).

Yet it is not only cognitive science that has prioritised the study of cognition; education has also consistently placed greater value on cognition than emotion, although recent trends indicate that a concern with emotions is gradually forcing itself on to research and educational agendas. Perhaps the most well-known and influential impetus to highlight the synergy between emotion and cognition as opposed to viewing them as parallel but separate processes, is Daniel Goleman's extraordinarily popular notion of 'emotional intelligence'. Emotional intelligence is the awareness of one's emotions and feelings, and being able to identify, educate and to put these feelings to positive use in our relationships. It is this notion of 'emotional intelligence' and its potential to underpin theory, practice and policies that has come to influence educational thinking and policy in many countries around the world. Goleman regards what he sees as 'the old paradigm' of rationality divorced from emotion being challenged by 'the new paradigm' that "…urges us to harmonise head and heart" (1996:29):

> In a sense we have two brains, two minds – and two different kinds of intelligence: rational and emotional. How we do in life is determined by both – it is not just IQ, but *emotional intelligence* that matters. Indeed, intellect cannot work at its best without emotional intelligence. (1996:29, emphasis in original)

Goleman urges educators to develop children's emotional intelligence for essentially two reasons. Firstly, it is likely to help them to be more successful in life. Being able to motivate oneself, relate to and empathise with others are all part and parcel of emotional intelligence, which may enhance intellectual intelligence and, hence, our opportunities in life. Goleman cites Howard Gardner's Multiple Intelligences Theory as also being of great relevance because two out of the eight intelligences Gardner identifies – those of interpersonal and intrapersonal – are of great significance to emotional intelligence. However, according to Goleman, "Gardner and those who work with him have not pursued in great detail the role of *feeling* in these intelligences…as his work is so strongly informed by a cognitive science model of mind" (ibid.:41, emphasis in original). Secondly, Goleman stresses the need for what he calls an 'expanded mandate':

> Emotional literacy implies an expanded mandate for schools, taking up the slack for failing families in socializing children. This daunting task requires two major changes: that teachers go beyond their traditional mission and that people in the community become more involved with schools. (1996:279)

The reason for such an impassioned plea to society and its educators is that Goleman sees violence, selfishness and greed as threatening the very fabric of society, but he sees a way forward when he asserts that "There is growing evidence that fundamental ethical stances in life stem from underlying emotional capacities" (1996: xii).

Indeed, it is apparent that society and education have incorporated such ideas into their thinking, institutions, practices and words not only from a desire to address the emotional as well as the cognitive and physical concerns of people, that is, the whole person, but from a deep-seated concern to make society a better place. As Arnold (1998b:8) says, "In architecture, medicine, crime prevention, athletics and psychology, to name only a few of these areas of experience, there is a growing concern for more humanistic approaches and for the affective side of life."

It is of particular relevance that Arnold refers to humanistic approaches because although there can be no doubt that the recent and ongoing research and discoveries in the neurosciences have done a great deal to highlight the central role of affect and emotions in man and society, twenty years before Goleman, the psychologist Carl Rogers was also seriously doubting the efficacy and moral fibre of mainstream educational institutions which led to his celebrated comment, which now seems prescient in the light of Goleman and others' concerns:

> They have focused so intently on the cognitive and have limited themselves so completely to "educating from the neck up", that this narrowness is resulting in serious social consequences. (Rogers, 1983:40-41)

When Rogers stated his concerns, the humanistic school of thought in psychology was beginning to exercise a growing influence on all learning – language learning included. Carl Rogers, whose classic works, including *Freedom to Learn*, have significantly shaped educational thinking, is, perhaps, along with Abraham Maslow and Erik Erikson, its most well-known advocate. It is in the North American context that Rogers and the humanist movement's influence have been greatest, but their impact has also been felt in Europe. In Portugal, for example, Tavares and Alarcão in their book on developmental psychology and learning include an analysis of the humanist movement's relevance in the educational context "…até pelo impacto que os livros de Carl Rogers tiveram em Portugal" (1985:111).

Rogers was concerned with studying the "whole person", but whilst recognising the physical and the cognitive, his main concern was with the "emotional being" (Brown, 1994a:84). Like Bruner, Rogers stresses the importance of learners learning about the learning process itself, of being open to and able to cope with the dynamic and ever-changing demands of society. Moreover, Rogers advocates that learners should fulfil their natural potential for learning in a climate of 'unconditional positive regard', where teachers help learners to meet their goals in a relationship that encompasses warmth, empathy, trust and friendship. Rogers' oft-quoted and celebrated words have always resonated with those involved in education, but in a present-day world where the 'knowledge society' and accelerated change have become defining characteristics of our communities, it can be justifiably claimed that they are now more relevant than ever:

> The only man who is educated is the man who has learned how to learn; the man who has learned how to adapt and change; the man who has realised that no knowledge is secure, that only the process of seeking knowledge gives a basis for security. (1983:120)

In fact, such are the similarities between the humanist movement and the broad paradigm known as 'affective education' that the terms 'affect' and 'humanism' are often used interchangeably.

Whilst Rogers was not specifically addressing language learning, his influential ideas were rapidly taken up and applied in other areas of education, language learning included, for example, in 1978, Gertrude Moskowitz's *Caring and Sharing in the Foreign Language Class: A Sourcebook on Humanistic Techniques* was first published. Over the years Moskowitz has been one of the most enthusiastic proponents of humanism in education in general and language teaching in particular. Despite, its focus on the foreign language classroom, a brief perusal of the many humanist bibliographical references and opening two chapters serve to illustrate the book's defining educational framework and inspiration. In many ways, Moskowitz's following words embody much of the essence of both affective and humanistic education:

> Today there is an area of education receiving attention, and its spread seems related to this concern for personal development, self-acceptance, and acceptance by others, in other words, making students more human. The terms used to describe this type of instruction are "affective," "confluent," "psychological," "emotional," or "humanistic" education. All these try to accomplish similar aims: *combining the subject matter* to be learned with the *feelings, emotions, experiences, and lives* of the learners…Traditionally education has poured the content into the student. Affective education draws it out of the student. It recognises that anyone who teaches is automatically dealing with students' feelings, which are always present. These are bound to affect learning and should be put to use in teaching. How you feel about what you learn as you learn influences how you learn. (1978: 12, emphasis in original)

The reference to the 'jug and mug' theory of education, that is, the teacher pouring knowledge into the 'passive receptacle' that is the student, is significant. Thanks to the work of psychologists and educators such as Rogers and their insistence on taking into account the lives, interests and feelings of learners, educational thinking and practice came to embrace notions such as negotiation, critical thinking, cooperation, learning as a process of discovery and a journey towards autonomy rather than what Paulo Freire dubbed the 'banking concept' of education, which Freire explains thus:

> …the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiqués and makes 'deposits' which the students patiently receive, memorize, and repeat. This is the 'banking' concept of education, in which the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits…but in the last analysis, it is men themselves who are filed away through the lack of creativity, transformation, and knowledge in this (at best) misguided system. (1972:46)

Taking inspiration from Rogers and Freire, to name but two influences, an affective view of learning often places the teacher and student in somewhat different roles from those foreseen in the traditional model of knowledge transmission in education. The students are now seen as being at the centre of the learning process itself, actively constructing their own meanings and understandings, exercising a greater choice over lesson content and activities, and developing as persons, or in Rogers' terminology, working on becoming a 'fully functioning person'. On the other hand, the teacher becomes more of a 'facilitator', helping and guiding the learners towards the goals of learning whilst encouraging and maintaining a healthy and non-threatening climate in a classroom characterised by negotiation, cooperation, active learning and creative exercises. Both teacher and students learn from each other in a symbiotic relationship of teaching and being taught. This is the 'problem-posing education' of Freire in which dialogue is the fuel for the engine of learning, "…a process in which all grow" (Freire, 1972:53). For Rogers "…students grow by being in contact with someone who really and openly is" (1983:84).

This latter sentiment is taken up and transferred to the language classroom by Arnold:

> From the point of view of affective language learning, *being* is just as important as *doing*; a good language teacher *knows* and *does* but most essentially *is*. This does not mean that language teachers no longer need, for example, a firm command of the language being taught or proper training in language teaching methodology. It means that these skills will be much more effective if teachers are also concerned with their own emotional intelligence, as this can make a great deal of difference in the language learning process from the point of view of the learner. (1999: 4, emphasis in original)

Such a view of emotional intelligence informing our decisions as teachers is a central issue in an interview in *Cadernos de Educação de Infância*[7] with Helena Águeda Marujo, a researcher who has done much to promote emotional intelligence and affective issues in Portugal[8]. In this interview, she explains how teachers can channel and use their emotions *in* practice by reflecting *on* their practice. Although recognising the inseparable nature of emotions and cognition, she advocates that we begin to recognise that what we feel influences our thoughts and vice versa:

> …funcionalmente, para que eu treine e perceba que posso mudar é mais fácil reconhecer o que sinto e penso quando digo àquele miúdo que é insuportável, que não o posso aturar. O que sinto a seguir? Raiva? Frustração? Ou penso que fui eu que escolhi a minha profissão e o menino também tem coisas boas para as minhas emoções começarem a tornar-se mais positivas? Esta distinção é muito prática e decerto nos vai ajudar a transformar e a ter emoções cada vez mais positivas. (2003: 10)

Such a reflective approach on the part of teachers implies they should not only be aware of their students' feelings and thoughts, but also of their own in helping to construct a healthy learning environment. Although Marujo is ostensibly addressing nursery school and the first cycle of education in Portugal, she does go on to say that the fun and warmth often associated and experienced in these two stages of education should be present throughout the years of schooling, and that *even*[9] teenagers really like teachers who call them by their first name and take an affective interest in them.

From a personal point of view, I have drawn on ideas from affective education that continue to inform my own teaching, and as a polytechnic teacher I see no reason why such underlying values should not apply to higher education. Indeed, I would advocate that emotional intelligence and affective education only really make sense if we carry such values and what we have learned into our adult lives. As Williams and Burden say, "Learning is certainly part of the process of education, but to be truly educative it must give a broader value and meaning to the learner's life" (1997:6). Whether Marujo includes higher education in her concept of 'escolaridade', is not clear but she does say "Até nós adultos quando participamos em cursos de formação temos necessidade de falar, dizer piadas, trocar papelinhos, e não raras vezes 'gozar' com os professores..." (2003:8). In other words, all

[7] *Cadernos de Educação de Infância*, 2003, 66, 4-10.
[8] She is the co-author of *Optimismo e Inteligência Emocional* published in 2001 by Presença, Lisboa.
[9] It is interesting that Marujo should use this word – "*Até* os adolescentes adoram ter professores que os tratem pelo nome e se interessem por eles afectivamente" (2003:7, my emphasis). Here the author may be using this word either as a rhetorical device to dispel readers' possible preconceptions about 'unlovable and difficult teenagers', or to express genuine surprise that teenagers should like such qualities in their teachers. My interpretation favours the first explanation.

students, irrespective of age, including teachers in professional development, are not only likely to feel the need for the affective dimension in their education and interaction with others, but will probably reap affective benefits in the process.

It is also worth mentioning at this juncture that emotions also play an important role in research as well as teachers' professional development as has been pointed out by McLaughlin (2003). In general terms, emotions in research, as in other areas of education and society, have been viewed with suspicion, something likely to threaten the 'validity' of objective, scientific research.

However, McLaughlin asserts that emotions have a role to play in research, for example, she says that researchers, "…especially those examining their own practice are asked to see things differently and this involves a great risk and challenge to their feelings of professional and intellectual security" (2003:69). Being aware of and able to deal with emotions that arise from the research process – whether positive or negative – can help to shape the research process itself. An example that McLaughlin gives of positive emotions contributing to the research process is how teacher-researchers' "…empathic understanding of their students developed" (ibid.:72) as they studied the data they had collected, and were struck by just how much the students were revealing about themselves. An example of negative emotions impacting on research is how one teacher-researcher was forced to question her own practices and experience doubts about her performance: "I know what students want from me…and I think well actually, I wasn't giving it to them" (ibid.:72). What is of interest here is that both negative and positive emotions experienced during the research process resulted in greater self-awareness on the part of the teacher researchers and their own practices whilst also increasing their knowledge of their students. Ignoring one's emotions in McLaughlin's view only leads to a poorer understanding of the context one works in: "Emotional blindness will not enhance the research process: it will only drive underground the examination of assumptions and processes in individuals and groups that hinder fruitful exploration" (ibid.:76).

Such a perspective is a valuable one for this project in which I have been in close contact with fellow colleagues and former students, more specifically I have been present in classrooms in which I have observed former students as student teachers and in which colleagues have carried out their professional duties as supervising teachers. Furthermore, the object of the research is to study an emotion deemed by many to be at the very heart of the learning and teaching process.

Affective education, then, has the potential to enrich students, teachers, and researchers at all levels of education, from nursery school, through primary and secondary school, and on to higher education, and research itself.

It is also important to recognise that affect in education is not limited to particular disciplines, but is in fact eminently adaptable to an interdisciplinary approach. In the United States (cf. Goleman, 1996:261-287) subjects on school curricula explicitly focusing on 'emotional literacy' are increasing rapidly. Goleman thinks the present concern with emotional literacy, has roots in the affective-education movement of the 1960s and 1970s, in which Rogers' ideas featured significantly. However, Goleman feels that the present emotional-literacy movement "…turns the term *affective education* inside out – instead of using affect to educate, it educates affect itself" (1996:262, emphasis in original). Hence, subjects such as science, social studies, health and English are vehicles in which to approach such issues as drug use and its effect on families, violence in relationships, and teenage pregnancies.

In language learning, Arnold and Brown acknowledge this 'bi-directional' relationship when they say:

> Attention to affect can improve language teaching and learning, but the language classroom can, in turn, contribute in a very significant way to educating learners affectively. Ideally, we keep both directions in mind. (1999:3)

In many respects this encapsulates much of the beauty of language teaching, whether mother tongue, second or foreign language teaching. The unlimited range of themes allows for the exploration of these in multiple ways, and such a rich variety is likely to be more appealing and motivating to students. Rivers sums up this sentiment when speaking about foreign and second language teachers: "We are the most fortunate of teachers – all subjects are ours. Whatever the students want to communicate about, whatever they want to read about, is our subject" (1976:96).

Yet the influence of affective education has moved well and truly beyond the boundaries of academic disciplines and it is now becoming increasingly evident that the influence of affect and the importance of emotions are now being recognised not only as a force for change at the level of all subjects, but also as factors inspiring and influencing educational movements and policy in countries.

In Europe the influence of affective education is clearly evident. In the United Kingdom, for example, the acronym SEAL – Social and emotional aspects of learning – has become common place terminology in schools and education. The British Government's

Department for Children, Schools and Families has implemented The National Strategies, professional development programmes for teachers, practitioners and managers working in all levels of schooling in order to help them improve teaching and learning. SEAL is viewed as one of the key programmes of The National Strategies to enhance positive feelings and working relationships between teachers, pupils and the school community.[10] SEAL is also an acronym for the Society for Effective Affective Learning, designating itself as one of the foremost leading forums in the world for affective education, and promotes alternative, non-conventional, some might say "unconventional"[11], methods such as Neuro-Linguistic Programming, Sugestopedia, Gardner's Multiple Intelligences Theory, humanistic psychology and holistic learning among others in a bid to put the affective firmly on the educational map. In an overview of SEAL's objectives, Allyson Roberts, advocates that:

> …learning cannot be effective unless the affective, emotional blossoming of an individual is recognised and supported. This is not to the exclusion of cognitive learning, but to the recognition of the importance of the whole person…Attention now needs to be given to how we can overcome problems created by negative emotions and how we can create and use more positive, facilitating emotions. (2001:119-120)

Another organisation, in this case a pan-European one, is also endeavouring to spread the word of the benefits of affective education. The *European Affective Education Network* (EAEN), based at Warwick University, England, was established in 1994 . The following description of its concerns and aims is taken from the EAEN's own website[12]:

> The EAEN has an interdisciplinary membership of scholars researchers, and practitioners interested in the "affective" dimension of the educational process. This dimension has as its focus the personal, social, moral, cultural and spiritual development of students, and is concerned with feelings, beliefs, attitudes, interpersonal relationships and personal well being. Though "affective education" is the term used by the network, it is recognised that this is not the only term that can describe the work referred to, and that for some of those interested in the area such terms as counselling, guidance, values education, pastoral care, personal social education, moral education, or emotional intelligence will be more familiar. As far as the network is concerned, these terms and a number of others describe areas which either correspond or overlap with the affective. The network's aim is to provide a forum for the exploration of issues that fall under the remit of affective education, and serve as a platform for the presentation and discussion of both scholarly and more practical work on affective development and related topics. A longer term aim is to increase general awareness of the significance of the area, and through this to influence the development of educational policy in Europe.

[10] Available at: http://nationalstrategies.standards.dcsf.gov.uk/inclusion/behaviourattendanceandseal (accessed November 2010).
[11] "Alternative" and "non-conventional" are used in the sense that they relate to practices that offer a substitute for the conventional ones; "unconventional", semantically speaking, may have negative overtones that relate to the strange, peripheral and marginalized.
[12] Avaliable at: http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/wie/neothemi/sneill/eaen/ (accessed November 2010).

The EAEN has already organised several conferences around Europe, the the most recent having taken place in Copenhagen, Denmark in 2005, Adana, Turkey in 2007 and Ayr, Scotland in June 2009. The conference in June, 2001 was held at the University of Porto, with Isabel Mendes, a researcher and member of staff at the Faculdade de Psicologia e Ciências da Educação at the University of Porto, being one of the organisers of this conference as well as one of editors of the 1998 publication, *Affective Education: a comparative view*[13].

The salient features that arise from these programmes and organisations' aims are their interdisciplinary nature, their incredibly diverse areas of interest, albeit with a firm emphasis on the learners' emotional and human condition, and how education can exercise an influence for the greater good in wider societal concerns.

In relation to language teaching in Europe, affect is now firmly established on the educational agenda. Humanistic conferences are held regularly, and presentations at language teaching conferences often directly address affective issues in language learning and teaching, for example, humanistic conferences in language teaching frequently take place in Portonovo, Italy, with the latest having been held in August 2008, whilst Pilgrims Language Courses held their 35th Conference in August 2009, at the University of Kent, Canterbury, UK, under the title *Humanising Language Teaching in the 21st Century*[14]. Affective issues continue to be of key interest in publications, too. Jane Arnold's *Affect in Language Learning* was a publication that was partly shaped and inspired by the Humanistic Conference in Seville, Spain, in 1995. Pilgrims also has its own online magazine, *Humanising Language Teaching*[15] and other publications (cf. Arnold, 1998a, 1998b; 1999; Daubney, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008; Daubney and Araújo e Sá, 2008a, 2008b; Dewaele, 2002a, 2000b; Dewaele and Pavlenko, 2002; Dörnyei and Ushioda, 2009; Rubio, 2007) attest to the growth and great interest in this area.

In the Portuguese context, *Intercompreensão*, the Escola Superior de Educação de Santarém's language didactics journal, dedicated its 6th edition (*Razão e emoção*, 1997) to the discussion of reason and emotion in language teaching, citing Damásio's work in the neurosciences as its principal inspiration to look for alternative approaches to the language classroom, while the 9th edition (*As línguas na Europa: Intercompreensão: desafios e acções*, 2001) contains two contributions directly related to affect.[16] Also in 2001, the above institution held a conference entitled *Intercompreensão em 2001-Ano Europeu das Línguas:*

[13] Lang, P., Katz, Y. and Menezes, I. 1998. (eds.). London: Cassell.
[14] Avaliable at: http://teachers.pilgrims.co.uk/teachers/anniversary/default.asp (accessed November 2010).
[15] Available at: http://www.hltmag.co.uk/ (accessed November 2010).
[16] The two articles are Roberts, A. 2001. *An introduction to society for effective affective learning* and Bento, T. and C. Ferrão Tavare, 2001. *Marcas de afecto no discurso de professors native speakers em sala de aula*.

desafios e acções, in which one of the papers presented considered the role of the neurosciences in language teaching. At the University of Aveiro, Helena Araújo e Sá organised a seminar on emotions in interaction in collaboration with Christian Plantin[17] whilst at the same university recent theses[18] presented for the Master's degrees in Didática de Línguas and Supervisão respectively have contributed to the understanding of affect in educational contexts.

At the level of national curricula, too, it is evident that affective issues are a growing concern. Arnold refers to the sweeping reforms undertaken in Spain, where "…two of the significant changes are the introduction of values education, including the EFL classroom, and concern with the emotional side of the learner" (1998a:238), and also points to Finland's National Board of Education's decision to "…recognise 'the importance of supporting a holistic personality development of the learner, democratic citizenship education, active learning through learner involvement, and ethical reflection and the respect of cultural diversity'" (ibid.: 238). In the UK, too, affective education has been recognised by the UK Government's concern to develop pupils' 'emotional self-awareness' within the PSHE (Personal, Social and Health Education) and Citizenship curriculum. SEAL, as mentioned above, is a programme within The National Strategies, and is part of the primary and secondary school curricula, with an emphasis on managing emotions within the classroom, not only a strategy for pupils, but also fundamental for teachers, too, and draws openly and heavily on Goleman's notion of 'emotional intelligence'. This concern has largely come about, Radford (2002: 25) says, as a response to "…a statutory curriculum in which much emphasis is given to the development of cognitive skills, and the importance of evaluating pupil progress on the basis of standardized tests", but also in recognition of the USA's concern with "problems of social disaffection and…emotional impoverishment in the school culture" (ibid.:25), which Goleman has done much to highlight.

[17] Director of Research of the Institute for Humanities and Social Sciences at the Centre national de la recherche scientifique in Paris. See Plantin's homepage. Available at:
http://icar.univ-lyon2.fr/membres/CPlantin/index.htm (accessed November 2010).

[18] Bento, M. T. 2000. *Marcas de poder, de cortesia e de envolvimento interpessoal no discurso de professores native speakers em sala de aula*. Unpublished Master's thesis. Aveiro: University of Aveiro, Portugal.
Gonçalves, M. L. 2002. Para uma aprendizagem significativa: a gestão personalizada do currículo ou a gestão do eu-afectivo. Unpublished Master's thesis. Aveiro: University of Aveiro, Portugal.
Grácio, G. 2002. *A dimensão interpessoal na interacção supervisiva: um estudo de caso em contexto de estágio integrado*. Unpublished Master's thesis. Aveiro: University of Aveiro, Portugal.
Daubney, M. 2004. *Language anxiety in oral communication in the classroom: a case study of future teachers of English*. Unpublished Master's thesis. Aveiro: University of Aveiro, Portugal.
Melo, P. 2008. *Afectividade e Aprendizagem da Leitura e da Escrita*. Unpublished Master's thesis. Aveiro: University of Aveiro, Portugal.

In Portugal, too, there is ample evidence that affective issues are increasingly being integrated into the national curriculum, with language learning being no exception. For example, in relation to curriculum organisation and management, Decreto-Lei n.º 6/2001 affirms that "…assume particular relevo…o aprofundamento da aprendizagem das línguas modernas...e da educação para a cidadania" whilst in Artigo 3.º - *Princípios orientadores*, point d) refers to the "Integração, com carácter transversal, da educação para a cidadania em todos as áreas curriculares". In Artigo 5.º c) the notion of cidadania is of special relevance in the curriculum area of 'Formação cívica'

…espaco…visando o desenvolvimento de consciência cívica dos alunos como elemento fundamental no processo de formação de cidadãos responsáveis, críticos, activos e intervenientes, com recurso, nomeadamente, ao intercâmbio de experiências vividas pelos alunos e à sua participação, individual e colectiva, na vida da turma, da escola e da comunidade.

This notion of citizenship education and the affective issues it encompasses[19] can be seen, then, as being of particular relevance to the learning of languages. In fact, English language programmes in Portugal, including those for the 2nd and 3rd Cycles in Basic Education as well as the secondary school programmes, provide ample scope for both teachers and pupils to engage with affective issues in the language classroom. For example, in the 2nd Cycle programme, one of the aims is to, "Promover a educação para a comunicação enquanto fenómeno de interacção social, como forma de incrementar o respeito pelo(s) outro(s), o sentido de entreajuda e da cooperação, da solidariedade e da cidadania", and " Promover o desenvolvimento equilibrado de capacidades cognitivas e socio-afectivas, estético-culturais e psicomotoras" (1996:7). Translating these into frameworks for action for the language classroom, the same programme's objectives include: "Experimentar na sua prática atitudes de responsabilidade, cooperação e solidariedade; Desenvolver atitudes positivas perante universos culturais e sociais diferenciados – o(s) colega(s), o professor, a(s) cultura(s) alvo; Descobrir a sua identidade no confronto de ideias e na expressão de opiniões pessoais" (ibid.:9). Such aims and objectives, potentially allow for a rich input of themes and language within a programme that emphasises the communicative paradigm (ibid.:5), and do not only serve to develop the whole person in the Portuguese context, but are also in keeping with the spirit and principles of the overall aims of the Council of Europe, which have been translated by the Council for Cultural Cooperation into the language learning domain in the form of the *Common European Framework of Reference* (CEF).

[19] An example of a student's textbook on citizenship education in Portugal is *Formação Cívica. Um guia prático de aprendizagem: o essencial para desenvolver uma educação para a cidadania*, published in 2003 by Asa, Porto. Some of the themes of the book include 'teenage pregnancy', 'the drug debate', 'interpersonal relationships', and 'the world of work'.

The aim of the Council of Europe as defined in Recommendations R (82) 18 and R (96) 6 of the Committee of Ministers "…to achieve greater unity among its members" (CEF, 2001: 12) has seen language teaching and learning oriented by such a political objective, with the aim of encouraging preparation for "…democratic citizenship a priority educational objective" (ibid.:14).

However, the existence of such educational aims and objectives at both the European and national level does not automatically mean that such worthy objectives are taken up, embraced and promoted by all schools and/or teachers in their local contexts. Referring to language learning, Tudor reminds us of the simplistic notion of seeing the curriculum being implemented in a conventional top-down manner:

> The official syllabus certainly does influence what takes place in the classroom, but not in a linear or easily predictable manner. The reality of classroom teaching and learning emerges rather from the teacher's interpretation of the syllabus or materials in use, and how this interpretation interacts with the perception of the learners involved, as well as with the forces present in the broader context in which teaching is conducted. (2001:16)

As far as affective issues and innovative methodology in Portugal are concerned, Marujo, for example, recognises the existence of these 'broader' constraints that limit their effective introduction, not the least of which is the prevailing educational ideology and mentality of those working in education. In words that echo those of Freire, Marujo points to a transmission of knowledge model of teaching and learning in compulsory education in Portugal:

> O ensino obrigatório ainda se baseia nos valores centrais do Estado Novo. Prevalece a ideia dos meninos passivos, quietinhos que não critiquem nem ponham em causa seja o que for. Quanto mais silencioso, melhor para podermos passar a informação. (2003:8)

In the domain of language didactics and language learning, too, such pedagogical thinking appears to still exert an influence. Cabral de Sousa (2001), for example, commenting on the context of change that has taken place in English language teaching in Portugal in recent years, describes the scientifically up-to date language programmes in Portugal and what she considers to be the correct methodological options recommended therein, but opines that what teachers actually do in practice may bear little resemblance to these options:

…não me parece, no entanto, como é natural em todos os processos de mudança que a generalidade dos professores tenha assumido atitudes e práticas muito diferentes das que sempre enformaram e constituíram as suas rotinas. (2001:91)

In fact, Cabral de Sousa feels that "…a realidade das nossas escolas revela a persistência de uma prática pedagógica que enfatiza a aquisição de conteúdos e sobrevaloriza a avaliação de produto" (ibid.: 92).

Indeed, a continued adherence to particular forms of teaching and learning in times of change – and by implication resistance to other paradigms and methodologies – remains a concern for a number of researchers and teachers working in higher education. Araújo e Sá (2002a), for example, raises her concerns at teachers' apparent ignorance of and indifference to "…novos paradigmas educacionais emergentes e tão divulgados na literatura da especialidade" (2002a: 130), and to what she sees as lack of interest in the results of research conducted in didactics.

However, a factor that may constrain the risks teachers are prepared to take – and new teachers often perceive the adopting of new methodologies and practices as constituting risks – is the present climate of change in education, and the emphasis on the standards agenda with one of its key objectives being the evaluation of teacher performance and competencies. Day (2004:5) refers to the agenda of standards as an "international trend towards the development of measureable teaching competencies as a means of assessing teaching standards." In Portugal, the controversial, much debated and extensively resisted and resented model for teacher assessment, which is being implemented at the present time, is also a factor that is unlikely – at least in the short term – to encourage teachers to experiment and reflect on new methodologies and educational ideas. In actual fact, it may be argued that the standards agenda will probably encourage teachers to focus further on measurable student outcomes in terms of achievement in order to ensure positive results in their own assessment. As Day says:

Over time, the temptation for managers to judge teachers exclusively against sets of competencies, rather than using them as benchmarks, may become as overwhelming as it is for teachers to judge pupil progress only against their results in tests that focus upon a relatively narrow range of achievement. (2004:5)

In his discussion of the emotional practice of teaching, Hargreaves (1998) argues that as opposed to an approximation and greater understanding of each others' emotions, teachers and students may end up becoming emotionally further apart and misunderstood with one of the reasons for this being the increasing workload of teachers in a climate of change:

> Among teachers...this misunderstanding arises not so much because individuals do not want to care or because they are personally deficient in emotional intelligence, but because so much about the structures of schooling (timetables, numbers of student contacts, one-way assessment systems and preoccupation with subject matter content), and about the ways we try to reform schooling (targets, benchmarks, standards, rational planning and committee work) leave little time, space or encouragement for successful emotional understanding with students to occur. (1998:839-840)

There may well be a link between these factors and research itself. At the centre of much recent educational research related to the emotions (Day, 2004; Day and Leitch, 2001; Hargreaves, 1998, 2000, 2005; McLaughlin, 2003; Nias, 1996; Zembylas, 2004, 2005) is the recognition that researchers as well as those directly involved in teaching should engage with one's own emotions and place the investment of the self at the centre of the research process in order to enrich it and combat the overemphasis that has been placed on the cognitive. However, as Hargreaves points out, emotions are not always placed at the top of educational and investigative agendas:

> Educational policy and administration, and most of the educational research community pay little or no attention to the emotions. What is at stake for them are increasingly rationalized, cognitively driven and behavioural priorities of knowledge, skill, standards, targets, performance, management, planning, problem-solving, accountability, decision-making, and measurable results. (2000:812)

In key respects, then, the research process may mirror the concerns of teaching and its inclination to ensure greater certainty. In teaching's concern to impose greater certainty through the means of methodology, we may see a parallel preoccupation in research's traditional preference to gravitate to more cognitive, positivist paradigms of research that aim to secure, with greater scientific assurance, more 'objective' results.

Emotions and feelings, then, despite the successful efforts in bringing these on to the educational agenda in recent years, are often still viewed through suspicious eyes. Damásio, one of the key contemporary thinkers and researchers to champion the importance of incorporating emotions into our thinking and practices, points to this guarded attitude to affect when he says that "the mention of feelings often conjures up an image of self-oriented concern, of disregard for the world around, and of tolerance for relaxed standards of intellectual performance" (1994:246).

Furthermore, as teaching and research continue to be affected by a climate of change in education and society, so research is constrained by the need to show its value by results-oriented policies. Qualitative research, a paradigm especially related and relevant to the investigation of emotions, identity and affective variables in educational contexts, is particularly vulnerable in this respect. In fact, Hammersley (2008:1) discusses at length the

policy 'shift towards a more functional conception of social research' (2008:4), and opines that qualitative research is facing a 'crisis':

> It has recently come under increasing external pressure to demonstrate its value, and in particular its practical value for policy makers and practitioners of various kinds. Like other forms of publicly-funded activity, it is now being required to show that it 'adds value', and there have been attempts to steer funds back towards quantitative research, partly on the grounds that this alone can provide evidence of 'what works' in terms of policy and practice (2008:1)

Whilst Hammersley is largely referring to trends in Anglo-American contexts, there is little doubt that his reflections obtain for research in Portugal. Like teaching, research reflects and finds itself shaped by broader historical, hierarchical notions of investigation, teaching and learning as well as broader global trends in education, and one such consequence of these factors is that attention to affective issues both in and outside of the classroom is unlikely to be encouraged in this climate.

A further connection between research and teaching relates to Araújo e Sa's (2002a) opinion, cited above, that teachers remain indifferent to or ignorant of new emerging educational paradigms. Perhaps one of the reasons for this, apart from the preoccupation with teacher assessment and increasing administrative tasks, may be the sense that teachers, as potential consumers of research, do not sufficiently identify with the process of research itself, research texts and the voices expressed therein. The reasons may be manifold and may include: suspicions concerning the word 'research' itself, a word that invokes associations of something vaguely threatening, eminently theoretical and distant from their practice[20]; they may see themselves as inadequately qualified to read and evaluate research texts; and the texts themselves, couched in scientific terms and written in impersonal, third-person narratives, do not speak directly to them or they are unable to recognise in these texts either themselves or the contexts in which they work. Such a scenario is likely to reinforce the notion of research as distant and divorced from their professional lives. In many respects, such attitudes on the part of teachers may signal a lack of affective involvement and identification with research and its respective written reports.

[20] Canha and Alarcão (2008: 13) refer to the continued, albeit reduced, danger of didactics in Portugal as being perceived, as it has been historically, as hierarchically separated in terms of theory and practice, with researchers being firmly associated with the theory and teachers with the practice. Whilst advocating – and citing greater evidence for – the approximation of both theory and practice and researchers and teachers, characterized by open, not mutually exclusive, domains and practices, they say that history tells us that it was not always like this and still is not in some cases.

It was from this perspective that at the University of Aveiro, the project *Línguas e Educação: construir e partilhar a formação*[21]was conceived and set up in order to encourage greater contact between teachers, trainers and researchers working in language education. In fact the central objectives of this project were to stimulate a culture of collaboration and networks between research and teacher formation, to contribute to the personal and professional development of those taking part in the project as well as aiming to promote better practices in language education through reflection on these. However, further collaboration and projects of this nature are likely needed to overcome long-standing suspicions between the teaching and research communities.

In the UK, for example, tensions between the research and teaching community were highlighted in a recent debate that took place at the 2009 IATEFL annual conference, where Rod Bolitho and Catherine Walter debated the following motion: Research in ELT is too often not done for the benefit of teachers or learners – it is for the researchers.

One of Bolitho's lines of argument included viewing research with a "healthy scepticism" because "classrooms are living, dynamic phenomena, full of variables and complexities" (2010:220) but researchers focus on a drastically reduced number of these variables in order to satisfy their "thirst for 'rigour'" (ibid.), and their research ends up being "virtually useless as a basis for generalisable conclusions" (ibid.). Other factors Bolitho identifies include a condescending attitude on the part of researchers who have a tendency "to talk over teachers' heads at ELT conferences, preferring to indulge in self- and mutual citations rather than addressing the needs and interests of their audience" (ibid.:220-221), as well as not reporting their research findings to the teachers and institutions that allowed the researchers to conduct their investigations in their classrooms. Generally speaking, the overall thrust of Bolitho's arguments reveals a significant degree of doubt as to the benefits that teachers reap from research. In Bolitho's own words:

> Teaching English to a good standard on a day-to-day basis is challenging and revealing, and there is no reason why teachers should not trust the theories and principles that emerge from their reflecting on their own practice and from accumulated practical experience at least as much as those that are 'handed down' from researchers. (2010:221)

However, Catherine Walter, although freely admitting that teachers will not cease to have theories about language and language learning if they are not familiar with research findings, feels that teachers do need to know about research in applied linguistics in order to be

[21] This FCT-funded Project, coordinated by Ana Isabel Andrade, ran plenary sessions and group work for the participants from October 2008 until July 2009.

working on more well-informed theories of learning. Walter also claims that researchers do, in fact, "find time to write for teachers...and go to teachers' conferences" (ibid.:222) despite hectic academic schedules. In her final analysis, Walter suggests the solution lies in dialogue:

> Dialogue with researchers will at the very least help teachers to examine their assumptions. Researchers are actually doing a lot to foster this dialogue. Perhaps we need to look at how the mediators in the language teaching community – the writers and teacher trainers – can do a better job. This may lead to the realisation that researchers and teachers are working together in the same enterprise. (2010:222)

From this point of view, another event in Portugal, the colloquium entitled '*Da Investigação à Prática: Interacções e Debates*', organised at the University of Aveiro in February 2008, can be seen as a forward-thinking attempt to bridge this gap between researchers in didactics, including language didactics, and teacher trainers and practising teachers in Portugal. In presenting the objectives of the colloquium the organisers state the following:

> Se, por um lado, as práticas docentes anseiam uma maior ancoragem nas mais recentes investigações realizadas, por outro, os professores sentem que a investigação *fala muito DOS professores*, mas *fala pouco COM* eles. Assim, este colóquio surge no contexto da necessidade de estabelecer diálogos e interacções entre investigadores da UA e professores das escolas de Ensino Básico e Secundário, visando dois objectivos mais latos como sejam potenciar a articulação entre investigação educacional, a inovação e as práticas profissionais e promover a criação e o estreitamento de redes de colaboração entre a UA e as escolas. (2008:7, emphasis and capitals in original)

I attended this colloquium, and was particularly interested in the way the opening plenary conference was organised so that the two speakers[22] took it in turns to speak to the audience, but they also interacted with one another, with one posing questions to be discussed before the other attempted to 'answer' or relate their ideas on this theme. This was, in all likelihood, a deliberate embodiment of the conference's main objective to reduce the distance between researchers and teachers, to initiate interaction and dialogue, to encourage teacher trust and affective involvement, and to place the researchers centre stage, so to speak, in a more open, direct relationship with their audience.

As far as the present project is concerned the relevance of these tensions between researchers and teachers and the resulting attempt at fomenting dialogue and interaction is significant in several ways.

[22] Manuel Bernado Canha and Isabel Alarcão. The title of their plenary conference paper was *Investigação e Acção em Didáctica: Suscitar o debate, criar comunidade, construir caminhos*.

Firstly, I consider myself as both a teacher and researcher, with a firm belief that this project is making a novel, albeit modest, contribution to language didactics in the Portuguese context. Discussing my work with both researchers and teachers, then, makes sense to me.

Secondly, as the focus of this project is on pre-service teachers on their TP, the systematic inclusion, engagement with and reflection on new educational paradigms and methodologies which arise from research projects in both national and international contexts – with affective factors often underlying their rationale – should be significant components of both pre- and in-service teacher training courses. As Brown says, "there are far too many research findings pouring in, to assume that a teacher can confidently assert that he or she knows everything that needs to be known about language and language learning" (2002:11). It therefore makes sense that teachers, including pre-service teachers, are able – within reason and taking into account local constraints – to experiment with their approach to language teaching. To quote Brown again:

> The interaction between one's approach and classroom practice is the key to dynamic teaching. The best teachers are able to take calculated risks in the classroom: as new students' needs are perceived, *innovative pedagogical techniques* are attempted, and the follow-up assessment yields an observed judgment on their effectiveness. (2002:11, emphasis added)

It is also perfectly reasonable to advocate that – in principle at least – pre-service teachers should already have been exposed, on their institutional courses, to new theories of language and language learning as well as some of the more innovative approaches to language teaching.

Thirdly, researchers should (re)consider writing research texts in a more accessible and involving manner, without abandoning high quality scholarship. It is no surprise, therefore that increasing calls from scholars to marry scholarly work with the powerful and the personal (Holliday, 2007; Pavlenko, 2005) are becoming more widespread. In her volume, *Communicating Emotion* (1999), Sally Planalp sums up this burgeoning sentiment amongst a growing number of scholars when she says,

> In writing this book, I have tried to overcome the dry academic style to which I have been socialized. I am losing patience with it. Instead, I am trying to make research more accessible to a wide range of readers, including advanced students and interested laypersons, without sacrificing its scholarly integrity and precision. (1999: xv)

One of the key factors, then, in attempting to move teachers away from more traditional methodologies and getting them to reflect on their own and alternative practices, as well as trying to bridge the gap between researchers and the researched, is likely to

involve a greater recognition of the emotional nature of both teaching and research, and how such a recognition is likely to enrich the whole educational process, from classroom practice to research, and the latter's realisation in written form.

What can be said so far, then, about affective education? It appears to place the learner as a whole person at the centre of the educational process; the learners themselves can be active agents in negotiating their route through this process; it values greatly the feelings, emotions and experiences that learners bring to the classroom and generally tries to correct the bias towards the cognitive in education without excluding it; in turn these experiences, feelings and positive emotions may not only facilitate learning but also be incorporated into the curriculum and the process of research itself; it aims to emotionally and cognitively prepare the learner for the demands of society; and in some respects it aims to make learners better people in order that they contribute in a positive way to their given communities.

The above discussion of affective education is a broad outline indicating how affect has been and can be incorporated into education, from all levels of schooling to the activity of research itself, but it also has pointed to what consequences may arise in its absence, and how its absence may be partly explained by a commitment to educational policies and methodologies underpinned by a rationale that is seen to ensure greater certainty and objectivity within education systems, disciplines or research fields. While it has touched on how affect influences the learning process and has made passing references to language learning, the next section will consider how affect has specifically emerged in language teaching and learning, and will also attempt to identify the role it plays in the context of language learning and teaching, and how this is of relevance to the present study.

1.2 The emergence of affect in language teaching and learning

In this section, I consider the emergence of affect in SLA as a growing influence and consideration on those working in language teaching contexts. As we have seen in the preceding part of the study, this ever-increasing and active interest in emotions and feelings in language learning is also a reflection of a wider interdisciplinary interest that is evidenced in the social and human sciences as well as neurosciences and the importance that these academic fields attach to this area of human interaction and life.

In focusing more closely on the influence of emotions within the field of language learning and teaching, it can be seen that the importance of affect has not only been reflected

in the gradual and increasingly complex focus on the individual's engagement with the task of learning a foreign language, but also in the recognition that language learning takes place in socially and historically situated settings, usually in the formal context of the classroom. Hence, the role of the teacher and the relationships they establish with students in and through interaction and the social practices that are established therein are of great significance.

Affect has also been increasingly recognised in the re-conceptualisation of language and its fundamental role in learning. This changing perspective of language has shifted from a structural, linguistic system in its own right, to a functional perspective in which language is used by social actors to achieve their goals through speech acts within given contexts or communities, and through to a more refined perspective of language as essentially an interactive and social means of expressing identity and constructing meanings. Accompanying these changing viewpoints, learning has also moved from a relatively straightforward notion of transference and acquisition of knowledge to a view which conceives it as mediated participation in given communities, where language is used to gain access to and become members of these communities, in Wenger's (1998) terms, 'communities of practice'.

However, it is important to point out that second language researchers and the language teaching profession have not simply jettisoned previous theories and practices and moved into new and mutually exclusive research paradigms, methodologies and theories of language. As Young rightly points out:

> In fact, most of the research framed by one theory or approach almost inevitably overlaps with the next one…explaining how learners acquire a foreign language is a huge undertaking not easily simplified. For the moment, we know that behaviorism, cognition, and affect collectively offer researchers in second language acquisition significant insights into how the brain works to acquire new knowledge, to develop different language skills, and to learn foreign languages, in general. (1999c:20-21)

Nevertheless, in the last twenty years, the role of affect has steadily emerged and now stands recognised as an important and integral, if not crucial, influence in explaining the degree of success language learners have in acquiring a second language. For example, Stern's claim that "…the affective component contributes at least as much and often more to language learning than the cognitive skills" (1983:386) reflects the shift in SLA to recognise the influence of affect as well as cognition, whilst Earl Stevick's famous assertion that language learning depends "...less on materials, techniques and linguistic analyses, and more on what goes on inside and between the people in the classroom" (1980:4) emphasises the increasing

importance that was placed and has been placed on the interpersonal and intrapersonal dispositions of both learners and teachers when learning a language.

Whilst there is still an evident degree of debate and uncertainty as to the extent of the influence of affect and the precise role that it exerts upon the language learning process, the numerous publications on second language learning and second language acquisition and their attendant references to affect bear witness to the pivotal position it now occupies in the language learning literature. Indeed, it is increasingly difficult to find general publications on language learning and language teaching that do not include one or a combination of references to affect, affective variables, the affective domain, the affective filter, affective strategies or the considerable number of individual learner differences, many of which are considered to be affective in nature[23]. Moreover, recent publications based on research carried out in Europe (cf. Arnold, 1999, 1998a, 1998b; Burden and Williams, 1997; Daubney and Araújo e Sá, 2008a, 2008b; Dörnyei and Ushioda, 2009; ELT Documents 113, 1982; IATEFL Issues, 1998, No. 145; Mihaljević Djigunović, 2006; Robinson, 2002), North America (Ehrman and Dornyei,1998; Gardner and MacIntyre, 1993a, 1993b; Horwitz, 1988, 1991, 1996, 2001; Larson-Freeman, 2001; MacIntyre, 2002; Ohata, 2005a, 2005b; Stevick, 1982, 1990, 1999; Young, 1990, 1991, 1999a), and Asia (Finch, 2001; Stroud and Wee, 2006; Yan and Horwitz, 2008; Zeng and Murphy, 2007), dedicated solely or related significantly to affect, further emphasise its growing and bona fide acceptance on the part of SLA researchers and the language teaching profession.

As we shall also see in the next section of this chapter, affect has been increasingly linked to recent research in identity in language learning (Block, 2003, 2007, 2008; Dörnyei and Ushioda, 2009; Lantolf, 2000; Lantolf and Pavlenko, 2001; Norton, 2000, 2001) and incorporated into a recent paradigm shift in SLA towards recognising and incorporating concepts and theories informing social theory and sociocultural theory into SLA in order to enrich the overall perspective of how a language is learnt, a shift which has been of relevance to this project, because as Block (2007) and Norton (2000) make patently clear, anxiety can be viewed as an affective factor that arises in the very social interaction as individuals go about expressing and constructing their identities in given social contexts and social practices, and not simply conceptualised as an emotional reaction 'leaking out' in the behaviours of individuals.

[23] Brown (1994a), (1994b); and Hedge, (2000) are just three of the introductory texts to the field of language learning and teaching that include discussion of the aforementioned areas.

The reasons for this steady increase in influence correspond, as we have seen, with continuing developments in the neurosciences, biological sciences, education, and also the fields of SLA in the second half of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first.

In Portugal, like other countries, LD is still a relatively young discipline. In fact, in the words of Ferrão Tavares', "Considera-se, aliás, muitas vezes, que o texto fundador da disciplina em Portugal é a conferência proferida, em 1991, por I. Alarcão" (2002:16). This paper was presented at the 'II Encontro Nacional de Didáctica e Metodologias do Ensino' at the University of Aveiro in 1991 by Isabel Alarcão, in which she characterised Curricular Didactics as a dynamic, developing, emergent discipline.

In relation to LD, its vibrant, interdisciplinary, and emergent nature is still very much evident. In fact, its emergent and dynamic nature was reflected in the title chosen by the Sociedade Portuguesa de Didática das Línguas e Literaturas (SPDLL) for their first national conference in Portugal, held at the Faculdade de Letras, Coimbra University in February 2002: *Didática das Línguas e Literaturas em Portugal: contextos de emergência, condições de existência e modos de desenvolvimento*.

Outside the borders of Portugal, language teaching methodology in both North America and Europe has made, generally speaking, a gradual, but overlapping, transition from behaviourist-influenced pedagogy and methodology in language teaching, with its emphasis on the objective, the visible and the descriptive - what Brown (1994a:12) calls the "what" characteristics of linguistics and psychology - to an emphasis on the cognitive movement, with its emphasis on process, rationalisation, analysis and insight - what the same author (ibid.:12) refers to as the "why" characteristics of linguistics and psychology - to the inclusion of affect to further explore and enrich the "why" and the "how" questions asked of second language learning. Such a transition has meant an increasing focus on the learner, which as noted in the previous section, has led to a concern for the whole person – physical, cognitive and affective – with the affective side of learning gradually emerging as a factor that cannot be ignored in the teaching-learning process.

It was behaviourist psychology, dominant in the 1940s and 1950s, and structural linguistics that provided the hugely popular Audiolingual Method with its theories of learning and language respectively. Until its apparent decline[24] in the late 1960s and 1970s due to the

[24] However, Cook, (2001: 210) has this to say: "Though ostensibly it is out of fashion, the influence of audiolingualsim is still pervasive. Though few teachers nowadays employ a 'pure' audiolingual style, many of the ingredients are present in today's classrooms…Many teachers feel comfortable with the audiolingual style and use it at one time or another in their teaching." Williams and Burden, (1997: 12) also opine that: "In spite of its shortcomings, a structural or audiolingual approach has nevertheless dominated language teaching around the world …It can be quicker and easier to teach…teachers who lack confidence tend to be less frightened of these techniques…and it can be used by teachers whose own knowledge of the target language is limited." Cf. also Cabral

adoption of more cognitive-oriented and communicative methods, it personified the language teaching profession's preoccupation with "uncovering" and using the "best" method for teaching languages.

Such an emphasis in the classroom means control and power over the teaching-learning process, as well as the learning objectives, firmly remain in the teacher's hands, whilst the role of learners consists in following the model structures specified by the teacher.

Indeed, when students do have chance to contribute, it is often within a model of teacher-learner interaction that is characterised by the controlling and controlled 'initiate-response-follow-up' pattern of classroom discourse, usually a teacher-led activity in which 'display' questions initiated by the teacher usually significantly outnumber referential questions. As van Lier says, students' "opportunities to exercise initiative...or to develop a sense of control and self-regulation (a sense of ownership of the discourse, a sense of being empowered) are extremely restricted in the IRF[25] format" (2001: 96). However, despite general agreement that IRF is a hierarchically controlled pattern of classroom interaction, there are researchers who envisage "ways of exploiting the structure to positive effect" (Richards, 2006b:54). Araújo e Sá e Andrade (2002), whilst acknowledging this high degree of teacher control and organisation of classroom talk, see the learners' responses to the teacher as constituting the joint construction of classroom interaction, therefore the learners having " como principal função o preenchimento dos 'espaços discursivos'" (ibid.:23).

It was Chomsky, however, who shifted the focus of language learning away from behaviourist-inspired methods to the mind and its creative properties, and hence, closer to the learner. Bruner (1978) seemed to sum up this shift in opinion when he suggested that Chomsky had freed "…us from the paralysing dogma of the association-imitation-reinforcement paradigm" (cited in Richard-Amato, 1988: 14) although it is generally acknowledged that his theories have never greatly contributed directly to language pedagogy (cf. Richard-Amato, 1988: 13; Young, 1999c: 15; Savignon, 1997: 41). Nevertheless, in the 1960s, cognitive psychologists, along with linguists influenced by Chomsky, continued to concentrate on the mind for answers to human learning, an endeavour in which one could begin to see how affect was emerging as a consideration within this paradigm shift.

One example of a cognitive theory moving towards a greater consideration of affect is David Ausubel's 'meaningful learning theory' (cf. Brown, 1994a: 79), which posited that learners needed to be disposed to the learning tasks that were personally meaningful to them

de Sousa's (2001) interpretation of the rise and fall of structuralist methods, and their influence in the Portuguese context.

[25] Initiation-response-follow up . Also referred to as 'IRE', initiation, response-evaluation.

and to relate the new learning task to their existing knowledge. This, Young says, "…attempts to bridge the gap between information a learner is about to acquire and the learner's current knowledge" (1999c: 16). It is, of course, relatively easy to see how material that personally interests the student will involve him or her affectively in the learning process. Indeed, it may be no coincidence that such activities are often referred to as 'warm ups' in English – a type of mental exercise that triggers attention, interest and motivation – bridging the gap between the 'cooler' regions of cognition and the 'warmer' regions of emotion and involvement.

Young characterises this preoccupation on the part of SLA research and LD with the cognitive in the following way:

> The cognitive movement significantly influenced language-learning research, which in turn served to inform language-learning pedagogy. Since the 1970s, the language teaching profession has moved, however slowly, to recognise language learning as a process in which one exploits resources the learners bring to the foreign language class, such as their varied experiences and preexisting knowledge. (1999c:17)

However, although interest in cognitive factors, hugely inspired by the impetus that Chomsky had given to SLA and language teaching and learning, led to innovative developments in the language teaching world, it was the rise of communicative language teaching (CLT) and the re-conceptualisation of language underpinning it which led to wholesale rethinking of teaching-learning goals, which in turn encouraged greater consideration of affective issues and the central role they would occupy in this new teaching paradigm.

Among the researchers and academics who began to turn their attentions to communication and language in social contexts, it was, perhaps, Hymes and Halliday who were largely responsible for concentrating minds on the very social nature of language and language use, and therefore provided the impetus which in turn led to the rise of the communicative movement.

Hymes challenged Chomky's narrow concern with linguistic competence, and urged the necessity of seeing language in the wider sense of communicative requirements, and not as a phenomenon whose chief interest lay in the mind. Whilst Chomsky's overriding concern centred on the 'ideal speaker-hearer', and its almost glorious isolation from the social context, Hymes championed the eminently social nature of language. On the ideal speaker-hearer, Hymes has this to say:

> Of this world, where meanings may be won by the sweat of the brow, and communication achieved in labor, little is said. The controlling image is of an abstract, isolated individual,

almost an unmotivated cognitive mechanism, not, except incidentally, a person in the social world. (1972:272)

Hymes, then, emphasised the very social nature of language and the speech community in which people learnt how to use it, and in his own words describes how children learn to communicate in such a community:

> He or she acquires competence as to when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner. In short, a child becomes able to accomplish a repertoire of speech acts, to take part in speech events, and to evaluate their accomplishment by others… A model of language must design it with a face toward communicative conduct and social life. (ibid.:277-278)

He therefore saw language embedded in social contexts, which only served to highlight the inadequacy of Chomsky's notion of linguistic competence, and therefore had a considerable influence on the rise of the notion of 'communicative competence'. Such competence not only includes verbal utterances but kinesic (Birdwhistell, 1970) and proxemic behaviour (Hall, 1966), too. Smiles, body language, gestures, eye contact, physical space, clothing, touch and smell all feed into the complex range of communicative behaviour at our disposal. Indeed, nonverbal communication is noted for its pivotal role in establishing relationships and its intimate connection with affect[26]. As Le Doux says, "A picture may be worth a thousand words, but bodily expressions are priceless commodities in the emotional marketplace" (1998: 112).

Halliday, however, went further than Hymes and saw the distinction between 'competence' and 'performance', as unnecessary. Language for Halliday can only be considered in its social context, as a way of doing things, "…a functional view of language, in the sense that we are interested in what language can do, or rather in what the speaker, child or adult, can do with it" (1978:16).

This is a view of language deriving from the influence of Searle and Firth's notion of language being a series of speech acts, social acts with purpose and intent, and which are designed to bring about particular effects. From Halliday's perspective, the linguistic forms the child hears are less important than the fact that the child sees them related to the social environment around him or her. His is a vision of language as inherently social with

[26] Watzalwick et al.'s (1967) interpretation of human communication makes a distinction between 'analogic' and 'digital' communication, the former being classed as "virtually all non-verbal communication" (1967: 62), and the latter as "words", that is to say the content/information of the message is conveyed in the words whilst the relationship aspect of the message, that is, "how the message is to be taken" (ibid.: 52), is conveyed in non-verbal communication. The use of non-verbal communication is, then, from this perspective an important means in establishing effective, affective relationships between people through interaction. Applied to the pedagogical encounter this view of communication has obvious implications for the classroom climate and relationships established in the classroom between teacher and students.

interaction between people being the manifestation of its very nature. In this author's words, a "functional theory is not a theory about the mental processes involved in the learning of a mother tongue…it is concerned with language between people…In this perspective, language is a form of interaction, and it is learnt through interaction…(1978: 16)

Translated into the language classroom, such characteristics see a firm emphasis being placed on language learners' real world communicative needs, and how they go about achieving these functional goals by using the language. Learners' personal interests and real world motivations therefore came increasingly to be seen as prerequisite components of a language curriculum, and as SLA and language learning pedagogy became increasingly focused on the learner and the cognitive processes of learning itself, so too the concern for the affective or emotional being of learners became increasingly evident.

One of the most well-known examples of explicit attention to affect is Krashen's (1981, 1982) notion of the 'affective filter', a type of psychological vetting system that facilitates the acquisition of language if the learner is exposed to input that is pleasant and involves the learner affectively, yet conversely filters out input that is not meaningful or unpleasant. This has been a particularly powerful metaphor in language teaching, the reason being that it succinctly captures the dual need to attend to the learners and their learning environment.

Indeed, Malamah-Thomas (1987:8) makes a distinction between classroom transaction and 'classroom interaction', the latter involving communicating "for more personal purposes" (ibid.). This type of communication, according to Malamah-Thomas, is "responsible for the overall classroom atmosphere or ambience" (ibid.:16).

Nevertheless, it is in what Malamah-Thomas refers to as 'classroom interaction' as opposed to 'classroom transaction' that the role of affect in the language classroom has been most noticeable. This author also stresses the extent to which classroom interaction depends on attitudes and emotional issues:

> It can proceed harmoniously...or it can be fraught with tensions. It can be a positive state, where the interactants feel that something worthwhile is being achieved as a result of the interaction, or it can be a negative one. Every interaction situation has the potential for co-operation or conflict. How the situation actually develops depends on the attitudes and intentions of the people involved, and their interpretations of each other's attitudes and intentions. (1987:8)

In fact those who have favoured the implementation of affective procedures in language learning have done so because one of their central aims has been to reduce anxiety and potential conflict and make the classroom a psychologically comfortable and positive

experience for language learners. Indeed, such procedures have characterised some of the humanist movement's principal concerns in language teaching circles in the last thirty years.

However, it is worth noting that the sustained interest in affective issues has not always been met with widespread approval. In fact, the role of affect in language learning in recent years has become somewhat controversial, sometimes encouraging those working in the language teaching and learning community to take up somewhat simplistic either/or positions in relation to affect and the role it plays in the language classroom. In many respects, this either/or position is encapsulated by Gadd (1998), who uses Moskowitz and Atkinson's views to illustrate this schism:

> Moskowitz (1978: 4) asks 'What greater knowledge can we give our students than knowledge of themselves?, to which Atkinson (1989: 270) drily retorts: 'Knowledge of the language we are teaching them, perhaps?'

Hence, teachers favouring an affective methodology are sometimes accused of neglecting students' real world needs (cf. Gadd, 1998; Atkinson, 1989). Instead of looking outwards at a range of language functions learners will need in the real world, they are deemed to have a tendency to look inwards, concentrating on learners' inner-emotional worlds and how they can get learners to express their feelings associated with this inner-self. As such they are also viewed as promoting limited language use and having an inadequate theory of language.

Perhaps the most striking manifestation of the concern for affective and humanistic factors in language teaching was the appearance in the 1970s and 1980s of the methods Nunan (1989: 97) dubbed as "designer" due to their prescriptive and oft-claimed suitability for all language learners. H. Douglas Brown traces the move away from audiolingualism towards these new methods in the following way:

> The age of audiolingualism, with its emphasis on surface forms and on the rote practice of scientifically produced patterns, began to wane when the Chomskyan revolution in linguistics turned linguistics and language teachers toward the "deep structure" of language and when psychologists began to recognize the fundamentally affective and interpersonal nature of all learning. The decade of the 1970s was a chaotic but exceedingly fruitful era during which second language research not only came into its own but also began to inspire innovative methods for language teaching. As we increasingly recognized the importance of both cognitive and affective factors in second language learning, certain teaching methods came into vogue. These methods attempted to capitalize on the perceived importance of psychological factors in language learners' success. (1994a:95)

The most well-known of these methods were Suggestopedia (Lozanov, 1979), Silent Way (Gattegno, 1972), Community Language Learning (Curran, 1972), Total Physical

Response (Asher, 1977) and The Natural Approach (Krashen and Terrell, 1983). In the Portuguese context, suggestopedia was brought to the attention of the language teaching and research community by Ferrão Tavares (1997, 1999b). Yet despite this proliferation in language teaching methods and the eye-catching terminology used to denote them, there are guiding principles that appear common to them all. As Williams and Burden note:

> First, they are based more firmly on psychology than linguistics. Second, they all consider affective aspects of learning and language as important. Third, they are all concerned with treating the learner as a whole person, and with whole-person involvement in the learning process. Fourth, they see the importance of a learning environment which minimises anxiety and enhances personal security. (1997:37)

However, despite second language acquisition researchers and teachers' continuing interest in affective characteristics, the declining interest in finding *the method* on the part of the language teaching profession seemed to confirm one thing: the realisation that language learning is such a complex undertaking involving so many physical, cognitive and affective variables that it was unlikely that these methods could prove a successful formula for all learners. As H. Douglas Brown notes in his advice to language teachers:

> There are no instant recipes. No quick and easy method is guaranteed to provide success. Every learner is unique. Every teacher is unique. And every learner-teacher relationship is unique. Your task is to understand the properties of those relationships.(1994a: 15)

David Nunan concurs:

> It has been realised that there never was and probably never will be a method for all, and the focus in recent years has been on the development of classroom tasks and activities which are consonant with what we know about second language acquisition, and which are also keeping with the classroom dynamics itself. (1991: 228)

In fact, many SLA researchers (cf. Kumuravadivelu, 2006; Brown, 2002) and practitioners in language teaching circles now refer to the 'post-method' era, an indication of the abandonment of searching for *the* method, an admission, so to speak, of this over-simplistic universal notion, and a recognition of the complexity and intricate social contexts in which people go about the task of trying to learn other languages, and the parallel need to bring previous findings and knowledge together in what Brown (2002: 11) calls an 'integrated approach'. Nevertheless, some of the methods referred to above, had the merit of leading to a further focus on the learner, the social environment in which learning took place as well as learners' psychological characteristics, and this focus helped to consolidate these concerns as part of a legitimate agenda in language learning and SLA.

This increasing focus on learners as individuals was also reflected in the research conducted in the 1970s that studied the attitudes and behaviours which characterised more or less successful language learners. One of the key motivations behind this research was that if attitudinal – including affective characteristics – and behavioural characteristics of "good learners" could be identified, then the profiles that would emerge "…might provide an agenda for strategy training with less successful learners" (Tudor, 1996: 10). One characteristic of the good language learner that Rubin identified was that "…he or she is uninhibited and willing to make mistakes" (in Oxford, 2001: 169). Naiman et al. (1978) "…added that good language learners learn to think in the language and deal with affective aspects of language learning" (ibid.: 169).

This notion of the successful language learner has exerted a certain influence on this study because in my own experience as a learner, teacher and researcher, I have found that students are often unaware of what type of learning strategies – including sustained reflection on the nature of language learning, their beliefs concerning language learning and their emotional competencies in this process – they can use in order to engage with and come to a better understanding of particular difficulties they may be facing.

In two of my previous studies in Portugal, (Daubney 2001, 2002), I found that future teachers, in their English language classes, were frequently scared and/or reluctant to make mistakes, a factor which seemed to contribute to their reluctance to visibly participate in lessons. The fear of making mistakes, the parallel concern with how and when they are corrected and the sense of evaluation that they are constantly exposed to in language learning have been identified in language anxiety research (Daubney, 2001, 2002, 2004; Gregersen and Horwitz, 2002; Horwitz, 1996; 2001; Kitano, 2001; Ohata, 2005a, 2005b; Price 1991; Young, 1990, 1991) as key factors in contributing to learner anxiety.

Such factors are of particular concern if we consider Horwitz's (1996) assertions that if language teachers do not feel at ease when using the target language, then they may use, consciously or unconsciously, strategies so as to avoid using the target language 'publicly and actively' (1996: 366), not exactly behaviour we would usually associate with successful language learners.

In other words, and of central relevance for this project, future teachers, including those on their teaching placement, may eventually take such avoidance strategies into their classrooms, continuing a cycle of evading interaction which, in turn, may subtly and, in many cases, negatively influence the behaviour of pupils. As Horwitz opines, "If the teacher does not

appear comfortable speaking the foreign language, how can students be expected to believe they will be able to speak the language" (1996: 366).

There is a danger, however, that such non-participation – engendered by fear of mistakes and the possible consequences of these – may be mistaken, by teachers and other pupils, as manifestations of other attitudes such as boredom or non-cooperation. As Hargreaves (2000) has pointed out in the field of general education, 'emotional misunderstanding' is as ingrained in classroom practice as 'emotional understanding'. In Hargreaves' view, given that emotional understanding is unlike cognitive understanding in its step-by-step, more linear development, emotional understanding, can, in his words, be instant in its impact:

> Emotional understanding occurs instantaneously, at a glance, as people reach down into their past emotional experiences and "read" the emotional responses of those around them. Teachers scan their students all their time, for example, checking their appearances of engagement, or responsiveness. (2000: 815)

The reasons for and effects of language anxiety will be looked at in greater detail in the following chapter, but given anxiety has the potential to impact on the learner's cognitive, emotional and behavioural levels, it is an opportune moment, I feel, to stress that although emotional reactions can be instant and significant in their consequences, the building of emotional relationships which favour learning, as Hargreaves points out, invariably take time and patience:

> Because emotional misunderstanding leads teachers to misread their students' learning, it seriously threatens learning standards. Importantly, emotional engagement and understanding in schools (as elsewhere) require strong continuous relationships between teachers and students so they learn to "read" each other over time. (2000: 815)

It would therefore appear reasonable to stress the pertinence and importance to the pre-service teachers of this study, as well as practising teachers, teacher trainers and supervisors, to have a greater degree of awareness in relation to the importance of emotion in classroom interaction, and how strategies may be incorporated into classroom practices so as to diminish the likelihood of emotional misunderstanding.

Indeed, such awareness fits squarely with the key concept of reflection in education. In relation to teachers and initial teacher education, in the last twenty five years, researchers, educationalists and those involved in teacher education and supervision – both inside (Alarcão, 1993; Alarcão and Roldão, 2008; Vieira, 1993; Vieira, Moreira, Barbosa, Paiva, Fernandes, 2010) and outside (Pollard, 2005; Schön, 1983, 1987) Portugal – have stressed

the importance of reflection in helping teachers develop a better understanding of their work, the underlying attitudes and beliefs which underpin this, and how such awareness can lead to improvements in their practice.

At a time when education seems to be focused on learning outcomes, objectives and standards, the interaction and emotional understanding that are intimately linked to these very learning outcomes, are likely to be found further down the list of priorities of teachers – including language teachers – as they go about reacting to and putting into practice policies implemented by the larger school communities and governments. Hargreaves describes how macro agendas may constitute a risk to these relationships:

> They can create a frenetic pace of teaching that allows no time for relationships and understanding to develop...and that reinforces a subject-centered organization of schooling which makes integration difficult and fragments the interactions between teachers and the excessive number of students they are required to teach. In this sense, emotional understanding in schools is either fostered or frustrated by school structures and priorities. (2000: 815)

Teachers' awareness of socio-affective strategies and their own emotional competence, then, has an important role in sustaining understanding, interaction and relationships in the classroom, particularly in times of change. Therefore, although not a central concern of the present project, I do think the research on the "successful language learner" is of relevance here in the sense that developing strategies necessarily involves reflection on what strategies to use, how and when to use them and, perhaps, most importantly of all, why use them. It was through this research that learners were encouraged to begin to identify strategies that might work for them. Indeed, identifying one's weaknesses in language learning and possible strategies to overcome or better deal with these, has led to the recognition of affective strategies as bona fide ways of improving one's language learning. As Oxford says, "Affective strategies include identifying one's feelings and becoming aware of the learning circumstances or tasks that evoke them" (2001:168).

As for anxiety, recognising when and why one becomes anxious and developing strategies to learn how to deal with this emotional experience should facilitate the learning process. In a study (2001) carried out with my then university students studying to be language teachers, I found that talking about when and why they felt anxious and what they could do to better cope with such feelings, led to positive reactions on the part of the more anxious students, more specifically they felt better prepared for language learning in the classroom. However, the fact that I was discussing their language learning and their language learning history with them also had a significant impact on my own perceptions of myself as a teacher, and how, as a consequence, I came to question and reflect on my own teaching style,

the methodology and the materials I used, how I managed or negotiated classroom interaction, and how, eventually, this led me to reflect on my professional identity as an English as a foreign language teacher, and indeed my own experience of anxiety.

There is no reason, therefore, to view affective strategies as solely relevant to learners in the more narrower sense of the word; trainee teachers, teachers, and teacher-trainers are also stand to benefit from systematic reflection. Such reflection could, for example, involve reflecting on their questioning techniques and the wording of their questions in the foreign language, and whether these could be underlying pupil silence or short or unenthusiastic responses. Possible reasons for such responses may include over-long or over-complicated answers, a lack of interest in the topic or theme being discussed, or an active dislike of the teacher to name but a few of the many factors that could contribute to such a scenario. Reflection on such issues, then, can move practising teachers towards a better understanding of their own teaching contexts, whilst simultaneously moving them closer to research activity. As Seliger and Long assert:

> Good language teachers have always acted like researchers, realizing that language teaching and learning are very complex activities which require constant questioning and the analysis of problematic situations...Important questions can lead the language teacher to shrug them off or step back, observe dispassionately, form hypotheses about what has taken place, and then carry out his or her own research in the class (1983: vii-viii)

The successful language learner research of the 1970s, however, has been recognised as problematic because although it did eventually emerge that more successful learners do display certain behavioural characteristics, (cf. Hedge, 2000: 79; Oxford, 2001: 169; Tudor, 1996: 10-11), it was, in fact, too simplistic a notion for less successful learners to merely adopt "good" language learner behaviour because such behaviour was often embedded in each learner's own personality, personal history and learning circumstances.

In fact, more recent perspectives on the 'good language learner'[27], (cf. Griffiths, 2008), now advocate that greater attention be paid to the social context. In fact Norton and Toohey (2001), reviewing and constructing a critique of the good language learner research, served notice that research had not given due consideration to the social context, in their words, the 'situated experience' (2001: 10), but had instead focused on the psycholinguistic aspects of internalising linguistic forms and meanings. In discussing motivation and the notion of good

[27] The notion of successful/good language learners continues to be an area of interest in SLA, with Griffiths' (2008) recent publication on good language learners testifying to this continued interest in how good language learners and their particular characteristics can help shed light on the language learning process

language learners, Ushioda cites Norton and Toohey in considering the importance of negotiating admission and possible acceptance into given communities:

> The success of good language learners depends very much on the degree and quality of access to a variety of conversations in their communities...the extent to which the surrounding social practices facilitate or constrain learners' access to linguistic resources of their communities will affect the quality and level of language learning success. (2008: 23)

This view is in keeping with the view of language learning that has emerged in recent years in SLA research and which has begun to pay increasing attention to social factors, a view that has painted a far more complex picture of language learning than the learner strategy research had previously depicted.

Such complexity is partly recognised by Tudor when he opines that learners' interaction with the language learning process emerges from very individual attitudes, beliefs and experiences. Nevertheless he gives due credit to this line of investigation and the strategy research that followed on from it because of the impetus it gave to initiating research in individual differences:

> The learner strategy research of the 1970s was pivotal in that it opened up a research agenda which has led us to explore the complexity of students' interaction with their language study, an agenda which has made us appreciate the individuality of each learner, and of their interaction with language study. One of the main lines of investigation in this area has related to individual differences among learners. (2001: 12)

Such individual differences that Tudor refers to, many of them affective in nature, include: personality variables such as motivation, anxiety, self-esteem, inhibition, extroversion, introversion and risk-taking; learner attributes such as age and attitude; and cognitive and meta-cognitive characteristics such as learner strategies, intelligence, learner beliefs and learning style. By helping language learners both to identify the strategies they can use as well as their favoured learning style, the latter defined by Tricia Hedge as a "…preferred way of approaching learning and processing information" (2000: 18), the learner strategy research of the 1970s, according to Tudor, "...provided our profession with the methodological and conceptual parameters which have guided subsequent research into learner training and learner autonomy" (1996: 11).

In sum, the learner strategy research not only paved the way for key notions in learning, such as learner autonomy, but also contributed to the impetus in the steady rise and sustained interest in researching individual differences in SLA (Dörnyei and Skehan, 2003;

Larson-Freeman, 2001; Oxford, 2001; Oxford and Ehrman, 1993; Robinson, 2002; Skehan, 1989). This focus on the individual nature of learners and their relationship to the learning process has reflected and reinforced the parallel attention that has been devoted to affective factors, therefore enriching and broadening the complex picture of language learning, whilst also complementing and bringing a certain balance to the dominant cognitive perspective which has held sway over SLA research.

Stimulated and shaped by humanism and a growing concern with emotional intelligence, this research has undoubtedly led to a greater consideration of learner feelings, the personality of the learner, and a concern for providing the right conditions in the learning environment – in foreign language situations this usually refers to the language classroom and the interpersonal relationships and methodology established therein, whereas in second language contexts the naturalistic environment, and all that this entails, is being referenced. This focus on attempting to understand the individual is to be lauded, and constitutes one of the overriding concerns of research into affect and how this has promoted and instigated significant positive changes in language teaching.

For all intents and purposes, then, the research into individual differences would appear to focus primarily on the unique characteristics of learners, with the very terminology shaping our perceptions of this apparent central concern for each person learning a second or foreign language.

The fact that several affective individual differences are often referred to as 'personality' or 'affective' variables only serves to reinforce this perception of SLA research and language teaching as fostering and embracing the undisputable importance attributed to emotions in the learning process, with emotions from this perspective complementing cognition as opposed to being considered by educationalists and psychologists, as Arnold notes, as "the Cinderella of mental functions" (1999:1). Indeed, Elaine Horwitz, a scholar largely renowned for her research into language anxiety, has this to say in her Foreword to Rubio's (2007) recent volume on self-esteem in language learning:

> We have truly come a long way from the early years of language aptitude research when the likelihood for success in language learning was conceived of primarily in cognitive terms. At this moment in language teaching history, the role of affective variables and the necessity of focusing on the emotional states of learners are readily acknowledged by the language teaching community. (2007: ix)

In this brief overview I have attempted to delineate some of the reasons why affect has come to be seen as an important area of language learning: the increasing focus on the individual learner and his or her needs – both external and internal – rather than on any

overriding attempt to apply or discover a universal method suitable for all language learners, the gradual emergence of a conception of language that has encouraged a more interactive, social and interpersonal dimension, and a recognition that affective issues can be incorporated into language learning and LD, namely in a more holistic approach that integrates feelings and emotions rather than an approach dominated by cognitive considerations.

In the following section, however, I will briefly consider the notion that although affect has now emerged from the shadows of cognition, and firmly established itself as a fundamental tenet of language learning and teaching and SLA research, it has, by and large, remained a consideration within an overarching and influential perspective of learning and language that remains very much shaped by cognitive psychology, a perspective whose focus centres on the individual and the inner mental life.

Such a perspective has strongly influenced research into anxiety as well as other affective variables. However, this research project is an attempt to examine anxiety from a much more interactive, discursive perspective than has generally been the case in LA research. In the next section, therefore, I discuss how an increasingly influential perspective of SLA informed by social and poststructuralist theories has come to constitute a paradigm shift, or the turn to the social, and how this shift has provided the present project not only with an alternative framework to view affect but also underlies and informs the way I have researched anxiety.

1.3 On the social turn in second language learning: rethinking affect

This part of the study looks at how the influence of social theory has provided SLA researchers with alternative perspectives on how to approach affective factors in language learning, and how these viewpoints move the study of affect away from a dominant cognitive focus that sees emotions as residing within the individual to a standpoint that stresses how emotions are shaped and managed in and through the social context of learning.

As the previous section on the emergence of affect in language learning has attempted to show, the increasing consideration given to affective variables has taken place within the overall shift in paradigms of language learning from behaviourist to cognitive focuses, through to a more integrated, holistic, overlapping approach, with the influence of affect as a key consideration in language learning and SLA research being part of this perspective. Yet despite deserved consideration and acceptance, affective variables have both emerged from and largely remained a consideration within a psycholinguistic approach that essentially

views language learning as an individual mentalist activity, with the social context and constraints in which this activity takes place being seen as largely tangential to the acquisition of language.

Such a perspective has been strongly informed by cognitive models which remain extremely influential in education in general and SLA research in particular. It is no surprise, then, that the information-processing models of cognitive science provide SLA with the theoretical basis for its own models of input-interaction-output (cf. Gass, 1997; Skehan, 1998). In other words, the central consideration has been how the individual learner psychologically accesses and processes the language data in his or her environment. Breen points this out when he says that researchers and SLA theories in the last thirty years have:

> ...promoted and accounted for language acquisition as primarily the interface between learners' mental processes and the grammatical system of the target language [and] have pursued a research agenda that seeks to account for generalizable patterns of development across all learners. Intervening variables other than the cognitive and linguistic that may either enhance or seriously inhibit such development are likely to be positioned as a distraction from this agenda. (2001b: 173)

So whilst language teaching, as noted previously, has moved away from the futile search for a universal method to implement in the classroom, much SLA research, underpinned by cognitive psychology, has resolutely stuck by attempts to explain language learning in terms of universal characteristics common to language learners. Affective and social variables from this perspective, then, are reduced to important but secondary 'actors' in the overall plot of acquiring an additional language, members of the supporting cast so to speak, of undoubted importance to the dynamics of SLA but, in comparison with the cognitive 'stars', of significantly less consequence in the final reckoning in the plot of what it takes to learn an additional language. This perspective is manifest in Long's words: "Social and affective factors, the L2 *acquisition* literature suggests, are important, but relatively minor in their impact, in both naturalistic and classroom settings" (1997: 319, cited in Breen, 2001b, emphasis in original).

However, seeking to widen the parameters of how language learning can be conceived, Breen counters this idea with his assertion that more social-oriented approaches can further enrich this largely psycholinguistic perspective:

> It may be claimed that a different, complementary and equally valid research purpose is to uncover those variables that are likely to account for *differences* in the achievements of second language learners. And among such variables will be a range of social and affective factors. (2001b:173, emphasis in original)

Breen's contention that such a research agenda is a possibility, together with indications that an increasing number of researchers (Atkinson, 2002; Block, 2003; Breen, 2000a; Firth and Wagner, 1997; Lantolf and Pavlenko, 2001; Norton, 2000; van Lier, 2000, 2004) are investing in and implementing alternative research approaches informed by social theory cannot, however, hide the fact that much SLA research has remained distant from or, from a more critical standpoint, neglectful of the social context of language learning.

Such neglect of the social context and social nature of learning, as Block (2003: 97) points out, largely derives from the influence of behaviourism and cognitive science upon SLA. As was discussed in the previous section, cognitive science was largely responsible for wrestling SLA theory and practice away from the stranglehold of behaviourism. However, whilst obviously manifesting clear differences, these two paradigms do in fact share common concerns, the most important being the belief in a Cartesian mind-body dualism, and the conception of "two distinct human life systems: one material (the outer life) and one mental (the inner life)" (Block, 2003: 97). Whereas behaviourists believe the mental to be a realm beyond the reach of researchers, cognitive scientists see it as their central focus. Nevertheless, the belief – common to both schools of psychology – that the inner and outer lives "are separate and each can be (and should be) studied independently of the other, has remained unquestioned" (ibid.). This has resulted in a predilection, on the part of both schools of psychology, for controlled, laboratory experiments, largely divorced from naturalistic contexts, and, a firm focus of interest on the average human being. In Block's words:

> ...cognitive scientists, like their behaviourist predecessors, have shifted to the margins of psychology phenomena such as attitude, motivation, intentionality and emotion. This has allowed them to concentrate exclusively on an idealised psychology of the average human being: observable behaviour for the behaviourists and information processing for cognitive scientists...the human mind is still conceived of as dependent on external stimuli to which it responds...the adoption of the computer metaphor of input-output does not disguise the fact that there is still a view of mental behaviour as systematic and mechanistic. (2003:97)

In seeking the answers to how certain stimuli bring about corresponding reactions, these schools of psychology are, then, seeking to determine cause and effect. Harré and Moghaddam, stern critics of what they call 'traditional psychology', have this to say:

> ...behaviourists assume causes to be in the "stimuli" in the environment, psychoanalysts assume causes to lie in an unconscious, and cognitive psychologists look for causes in "cognitive mechanisms". In one way or another, then, the traditional schools have looked for a "hidden causal hand" that would explain behaviour. (2003b: 2)

However, this view of human behaviour has come under increasing criticism, from within cognitive science itself, other fields of psychology, as well as education, with scholars strongly advocating that psychology and learning be conceived of in terms of a different paradigm. Harré and Moghaddam (ibid.), for example, refer to the emergence in the latter part of the twentieth century of a 'second psychology', a psychology that is more concerned with what they term "performance style", as opposed to "performance capacity", the former concerned with "the way people do things and the meanings ascribed to what they do" whilst the latter with "how well individual humans do on specific tasks" (ibid.: 3). Traditional psychology, including behaviourism and cognitive psychology, has principally focused on "performance capacity", with the aforementioned authors claiming that one of the reasons for its pervasive influence is its reductionism and its tendency "to reduce explanations to the smallest units possible" (ibid.: 2). On the other hand, the emergent 'second psychology', its focus on 'performance style', is more expansive because it situates the individual in social networks, requiring of psychology new attitudes and directions:

> An important feature of social behaviour is the collaborative construction of social reality and the mutual upholding of particular interpretations of the world. By implication, then, psychology should also explore collective processes rather than only focus on isolated individuals in static situations. (2003b: 3)

In what Harré refers to as the 'dynamic paradigm' of psychology, both the focus and methodologies of study are radically altered. In terms of focus, "analysis of actual episodes of social interaction as unfolding sequential structures of meaning, ordered in accordance with local rules, conventions, and customs of correct conduct" (ibid.) are emphasised, whereas in terms of methodology observation of real life episodes take preference over experiments, and analysis of participants' "justificatory and interpretative accounts" are used to "identify the projects to the accomplishment of which a social interaction was directed and the rules and conventions in accordance with which it was managed" (ibid.).

An emergent field of increasing importance and influence that broadly aligns with this dynamic paradigm is that of discursive psychology. Academics working in this field have come to eschew the notion – as championed by cognitive psychology – that language is simply "a window on, or expression of, the workings of cognitive procedures" (Wooffitt, 2005: 115). Instead, their point of departure is that language is used "to perform interactional or interpersonal functions. It studies what people *do* in language" (ibid., emphasis in original). In Benwell and Stokoe's (2006) view, the initial objective of discursive psychology was to

challenge the hegemony of traditional psychology in a similar manner to which conversational analysis and ethnomethodology had challenged traditional sociology. It draws on Wittgenstein's and Austin's language philosophy, Vygotsky's constructivist theories as well as insights from the sociology of scientific knowledge, especially Gilbert and Mulkay's (1984, cited in Wooffitt, 2005:17) seminal work, which suggested that "social activities are the 'repositories' of multiple meanings", where the "same circumstances can be described in a variety of ways to emphasise different features (Wooffitt, 2005: 17). Bethan and Stokoe state discursive psychology's radical focus in the following terms:

> DP comprises a fundamental shift from treating psychological states (for example, anger, intention, identity) as operating behind talk, causing people to say the things they do...DP challenges the traditional psychological treatment of language as a channel to understand underlying mental processes, and the experimental study of those processes...it studies how common-sense psychological concepts are deployed in, oriented to and handled in the talk and texts that make up social life. Thus language is not treated as an externalisation of underlying thoughts, motivations, memories or attitudes, but of *performative* of them. (2006: 40, emphasis in original)

So how do these paradigm shifts relate to affect in language learning and SLA research, and what relevance do they hold for this research project? These paradigm shifts in psychology and other fields in the social sciences have themselves impacted upon SLA, especially in the 1990s and the beginning of the 21st Century, with a growing number of SLA researchers drawing on social theory, sociocultural and socio-cognitive perspectives as well as poststructuralist notions and theories to understand and explain the very social activity of language learning. This is important in two ways for this study.

The first reason is that language learning is seen by an increasing number of researchers, myself included, as a sociocultural activity and not, as has been the dominant paradigm in SLA, as first and foremost a cognitive process.

Secondly, and related to the first reason, affective factors within this paradigm, what Block (2003) refers to as the 'social turn in SLA', have been rethought and problematised, conceptualised not as relatively stable, internal individual differences but states that are, to a significant extent, socially constructed, a result of the tension arising out of the interaction between human agency and social structures (Norton, 2000, 2001: Norton and Toohey, 2001). Obviously, this paradigm shift, as will be seen later in the study, has important implications for methodological considerations in the research design of this project.

In SLA, then, cognition and emotions have traditionally been seen as internal states or processes with learners' language and behaviour being perceived as external indications or

clues of these internal states. Given cognitive psychology's ontological and epistemological concerns, and the subsequent influence these bring to bear on research methodologies, it is no surprise that psychometric and experimental approaches, for example, have been widely applied, a notable characteristic of such research being a peripheral interest in the social context. Researchers putting greater emphasis on social factors, however, reject this separation of the social and cognitive and its underlying mind-body dualism. In Block's words:

> There is...a growing number of scholars who subscribe to the view that mental processes are as social as they are individual and external as they are internal a view quite different from that traditionally envisioned by IIO[28] researchers"(2003: 93).

Indeed, interaction and discursive practices, contrary to how they have often been perceived as related to learning in "indirect ways, by feeding the cognitive processes that are going on in the brain and mind of the learner" (van Lier, 2000: 246), are seen as central to or, in fact, constituting learning itself. van Lier, in putting forward what he terms 'an ecological perspective' of social-interactive learning, says this perspective challenges three premises that underlie "standard scientific thinking" (2000: 45):

1. It challenges reductionism and favours the notion of emergence.
2. It challenges the idea that not all cognition and learning can be explained in relation to processes that take place in the mind.
3. It attributes to the social activity and interaction of the learners much more than an indirect role on learning.

On the last point, van Lier's words are particularly resonant:

> ...an ecological approach asserts that the perceptual and social activity of the learner, and particularly the verbal and nonverbal interaction in which the learner engages, are central to an understanding of learning. In other words, they do not just facilitate learning, they *are* learning in a fundamental way (2000: 246, emphasis in original)

van Lier contends that the "learner is immersed in an environment full of potential meanings" and that learning is about acquiring increasing levels of proficiency "in dealing with the world and its meanings" (ibid.), and hence, his claim that "...to look for learning is to look at the

[28] Input-interaction-output – a model of language acquisition that Block sees as being the dominant and representative model of language acquisition from a psycholinguistic perspective. Block cites Gass's (1997) SLA model of language acquisition as representative of this perspective.

active learner in her environment, not at the contents of her brain". This is not, according to van Lier, to relegate cognition and what goes on inside the head to the inconsequential but to recognise that:

> ...cognition and learning rely on both representational (schematic, historical, cultural, and so on) and ecological (perceptual, emergent action-based) processes and systems...Language itself is therefore also both representational and ecological...inherently dialogical. (2000: 247)

Central to van Lier's perspective is what he calls 'ecological linguistics', a "study of relations (of thought, action, power) rather than objects (words, sentences, rules)" (2000:251). Yet within this dynamic, emergent and action-based view of learning and language, verbal, nonverbal, proxemic and kinesic features of language play their part, leading van Lier to declare that the "Totality of meaning-making in...conversation is not merely linguistic; it is semiotic. In terms of language learning, language emerges out of semiotic activity" (2000: 252). Within the social context or environment in which such interaction takes place, opportunities or 'affordances' exist for the learner to engage actively, but constraints in the form of social structures and the actions of other individuals will influence whether such affordances are taken up by learners.

This view of learning, then, as van Lier says, is very much in keeping with other theories placing the emphasis on the social nature of learning such as situated learning, 'legitimate peripheral participation' (Lave and Wenger, 1991), 'communities of practice' (Wenger, 1998) and 'participatory appropriation' (Rogoff, 1995).

In these theories, the emphasis is on participation though doing, the constant transformation of the self and how, through these transformations and activity, we become members of certain communities. In situations of good will and acceptance, we gain access to communities of practice through 'legitimate peripheral participation', a process which Wenger describes as "mutual engagement with other members, to their actions and their negotiation of the enterprise, and to their repertoire in use" (1998: 100). Rogoff's notion of 'participatory appropriation' is also of relevance here. As many cognitive scientists see learning as the interaction between new knowledge and pre-existing knowledge being transformed into new mental schema, Rogoff sees a similar process, but one eminently social in nature, based on 'participatory appropriation', which she defines as "the personal process by which, through engagement in an activity, individuals change and handle a later situation in ways prepared by their own participation in the previous situation" (1995: 142).

The participation metaphor, as Block says, dovetails with sociocultural theory (Pavlenko and Lantolf, 2000) in three ways: firstly, it "socialises the mind" (2003: 104)

through mental activity that not only takes place in socially-historically situated contexts but in a 'third place' not solely in the 'self' or 'other'; secondly, it activates the mind in that knowledge is not seen as something static and fixed, being transferred – to use the conduit metaphor – from one place to another, but something that is actively and constantly (re)constructed, in other words, to use Sfard's memorable phrase, "the permanence of *having* gives way to the constant flux of *doing*" (1998: 6, emphasis in original); and finally, it contextualizes the mind as learning is seen as a process of gaining access to and becoming a member of a given community. Becoming a member of a given community also involves our sense of selves and identities. Wenger (1998), who puts forward the theory that learning is very much a process of 'social participation', makes explicit this connection between discursive practices and identities in the following way:

> Participation here refers not just to local events of engagement in certain activities with certain people, but to more encompassing process of being active participants in the *practices* of social communities and constructing *identities* in relation to these communities. Participating in a playground clique or in a work team, for instance, is both a kind of action and a form of belonging. Such participation shapes not only what we do, but also who we are and how we interpret what we do. (Wenger, 1998: 4, emphasis in original)

Such views are highly relevant to this project because from these perspectives, it is possible to view trainee teachers as actively engaging in 'legitimate peripheral participation' as they endeavour to 'join' the teaching community by carrying out the social practices of teaching and constructing their identities in this new context. As teachers we constantly invoke pupil or student participation as a key factor in explaining the quality of life and learning in our classrooms or, indeed, the lack of it. For language teachers and language students, participation and interaction sit at the heart of learning and identity construction. It is perhaps fitting, therefore, that Sfard uses the participation metaphor to complement the acquisition metaphor, as it goes some way to succinctly summing up the shift from thinking about learning as an internal, cognitive process to a view that posits learning takes place in through interaction in social contexts. The learning as participation metaphor encourages us to perceive learning "as a process of becoming a member of a certain community" this in turn necessitating the "ability to communicate in the language of this community" (Sfard, 1998: 6).

Again, in relation to this project and its principal object of study, that of anxiety, wanting to belong to certain communities and making considerable efforts to achieve this objective, may well be a source of anxiety. Furthermore, and in accordance with van Lier's perspective of learning, the emotional aspects of learning are also likely to be evident in the behaviour of the teachers in their given environments, and therefore further justifies moving

away from research methodologies that largely rely on judging learners' emotional reactions from self-reports or their reflections on their experiences. As will be seen in Chapter 3, such concerns will significantly shape the type of research approach and methods used.

Bonny Norton (2000, 2001), who has also embraced social theory in order to explore the social constraints acting upon the individual, and whose research has focused on identity in language learning, posits that "SLA theorists have struggled to conceptualise the relationship between the language learner and the social world because they have not developed a comprehensive theory of identity that integrates the language learner and the language learning context" (2000: 4). Although Norton's work is chiefly related to second language learning contexts, the poststructuralist framework that informs her work provides an alternative vision of the complex and intimate connections between identity and language learning, which can also stimulate and enrich existing perspectives of foreign language learning situations.

Although I will specifically address the relationship between anxiety and identity in the following chapter, at this point I feel it is important to stress that Norton's work is also emblematic of the social turn in SLA, a significant concern of hers being the interaction between individuals and their social contexts, and how these impact on the identities of these people. Moreover, she also points to the complex networks between affective factors and the contexts in which they are produced, therefore further undermining the perspective that views affective variables as stable personality traits of the learners:

> Second language theorists have...assumed that learners can be defined unproblematically as motivated or unmotivated, introverted or extroverted, inhibited or uninhibited, without considering that such affective factors are frequently socially constructed in inequitable relations of power, changing over time and space, and possibly coexisting in contradictory ways in a single individual. (2000: 5)

Indeed, Norton takes the most researched and, in the eyes of many SLA scholars, the most important affective variable in language learning, that of motivation, a variable that has been at the heart of cognitive and social psychology, and reconceptualises this as 'language investment' (2000: 10), because "debates on motivation in ...SLA do not capture the complex relationship between power, identity and language learning that I have observed in my research" (ibid.). Norton, then, clearly views investment as relational:

> The notion of investment...conceives of the language learner as having a complex social history and multiple desires. The notion presupposes that when language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with target language speakers, but they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the world. (2000: 10-11)

Norton's notion of investment is a clear influence on Ushioda's (2009) 'person-in-context relational view of motivation', a view of motivation – and by implication of other affective factors – as being socially constructed, our understanding of which is likely to be further enhanced through research falling within the paradigm shift constituted by the social turn in SLA.

Whilst motivation, given its close relationship with anxiety, is discussed in the next chapter, at this point I would like to briefly discuss Ushioda's (2009) conception of this affective factor because I see it as being of relevance to this study in two significant ways.

Firstly, her conception of motivation reflects many of the key features of the 'social turn' in SLA, in which researchers have come to consider social theories and their respective frameworks, concepts and references as a way of enriching perspectives of how a second language is learned. Secondly, much of what Ushioda has to say about motivation is also, in my opinion, highly relevant for the (re)conceptualisation and study of anxiety and other affective variables.

Ushioda points out that the study of motivation has been significantly influenced by North American social psychology and cognitive motivational psychology research traditions. Ushioda cogently argues that such traditions with their focus on 'psychometric approaches' tell researchers little about learners and their complex interaction with and in their given environments:

> In essence, one might say that research on individual differences focuses not on differences between individuals, but on averages and aggregates that group people together who share certain characteristics, such as high intrinsic motivation or low self-efficacy... *But individual difference research can tell us very little about particular students sitting in our classroom, at home, or in the self-access centre, about how they are motivated and why*. (Ushioda, 2009: 215-216, emphasis added)

Indeed, such a view corresponds with my own experience of researching anxiety. However, research methodologies, frequently characteristic of how emotions are researched, often reflect and reinforce the notion of emotions being internal to the individual, personality traits which are relatively stable and therefore researchable in the sense that they can be 'measured' through self-report scales often favoured by more positivist research paradigms.

Ushioda, therefore, advocates a relational model as "Linear models of motivation which reduce learning behaviour to general commonalities cannot do justice to the idiosyncrasies of personal meaning-making in social context "(2009: 219). Here is Ushioda's summary of her current view of motivation:

> I mean a focus on real persons, rather than on learners as theoretical abstractions; a focus on the agency of the individual person as a thinking, feeling human being, with an identity, a personality, a unique history and background, a person with goals, motives and intentions; a focus on the interaction between this self-reflective intentional agent, and the fluid and complex system of social relations, activities, experiences and multiple micro- and macro-contexts in which the person is embedded, moves, and is inherently part of. My argument is that we need to take a relational (rather than linear) view of these multiple contextual elements, and view motivation as an organic process that emerges through the complex system of interrelations. (2009: 220)

At this point, I would like to say that in the above quotation I could replace the reference to motivation with anxiety, and this would be an accurate account of how I presently view anxiety. Indeed, myself and Araújo e Sá, have put forward a similar view for studying language anxiety:

> ...language anxiety has been little studied in Portugal and, in our opinion, needs to be studied from a longitudinal perspective that better accounts for the ups and downs and subtle influences that language learning exerts upon subjects' identities and affective states. Self reports simply cannot capture the dynamic interplay of multiple factors shaping teachers and students' affective states over a period of time. In fact the quest for generalisations in quantitative research often loses sight of individuals and their particular contexts. (2008a:48)

In relation to this study, then, we can postulate that anxiety be conceived as a cycle based on the anticipation of performance, the performance itself, and reflection on performance. We can see the performance as the trainee teachers' language classes, whilst from the perspective of reflection on their performance, the post-observation conferences between mentors and trainees present the opportunity to analyse the context in which possible sources and feelings of anxiety are discursively shaped and managed, and which are likely to constrain their anticipation of subsequent performances in classes as well as the performances themselves.

Given that the central focus of this project resides in attempting to identify anxiety and anxiety-related behaviour in contexts of interaction, including those that are part of the TP cycle, I now turn my attention to the question of emotions in communication and interaction.

1.4 Communication, interaction and emotions

The preceding discussion highlights the sustained increase in attention given to affect in education and language learning, and how a growing number of voices in SLA are now advocating that frameworks and concepts used in social theory and other areas of the social sciences inform research so as to further enrich perspectives and theories on how second languages are learned. It seems an appropriate moment, therefore, to examine why emotions

are such an important facet in both our personal and social lives, and how they are inseparable from communication and interaction.

As clearly indicated by Planalp, communication, interaction and emotions are intimately and inextricably linked, and constitute key processes and activities of human beings:

> Emotion is what gives communication life. A conversation between emotionally involved partners is bright and lively, but a meeting without feeling is deadly dull. Without feelings, we might be like Mr. Spock, the Vulcan on Star Trek, who has no emotions and participates in conversation rationally, but more likely we wouldn't care enough to participate at all...Without emotion, nothing makes any difference; we are indifferent. (1999:10)

Such remarks echo the findings of Damásio (1994), who demonstrated that individuals with brain injuries that had left them emotionally impaired were capable of interacting but that their lack of feeling and inability to express appropriate emotions rendered them, in his words, "uninvolved spectators" (1994:44).

Within the broader notion of communication, the view of interaction, which has become increasingly influential in the last thirty years, is one that sees interaction as a circular, transactional and complex process, a process involving the joint co-construction of meanings carried out by two or more persons in their particular social contexts. This is the view of interaction to which this study subscribes. In relation to language learning, the previous section has indicated how some researchers, such as van Lier, stress the semiotic, multimodal nature of interaction, and how, in relation to learning another language, language emerges from this meaning-making process.

Models of communication, however, do not always stress a reciprocal and interdependent relationship. As Planalp points out, some models of communication have conceived of this human activity as a linear process[29], neat and compartmentalised transmission of messages from a given speaker to his or her hearer, the latter then assuming the role of speaker while the former speaker assumes the role of listener, in what Planalp (1999:40) refers to as the 'boxcar' model, that is, transporting the message content from one place to another: "the message being loaded into a boxcar (encoded), sent on its way on some track (channel), and unloaded at the other end (decoded)" (ibid.). Internal noise, such as distractions in the mind of the hearer, or, external noise, such as the volume of nearby

[29] Planalp (1999:40) cites Shannon and Weaver's (1949) model of communication as an example of a linear conception of communication largely concerned with the transmission of a message from sender to receiver.

speakers or the sounds of machinery, may impact on the message, and therefore constitute a threat to the clarity of what is being communicated in the message.

However, notwithstanding the influence that this model has exerted on our conceptualisation and understanding of communication, it does remain one-dimensional and over-simplistic, one that Planalp points out has "serious limitations" (1999:40). For example, Planalp says that this model implies that only one speaker can send a message at a time, that the message "either arrives intact, as sent, or it doesn't" (ibid.), and once sent the sender no longer 'has' it, and that encoding and decoding messages is a relatively simple exercise. In countering theses arguments, Planalp says that "People can talk at the same time and still understand each other, up to a point" (ibid.). Indeed, by drawing upon Bakhtin's work, Tannen (1989), emphasises the notion that both speaking and listening are not mutually exclusive activities:

> ...conversation is not a matter of two (or more) people alternately taking the role of speaker and listener, but rather that both speaking and listening include elements and traces of the other. Listening, in this view, is an active not a passive exercise, requiring interpretation comparable to that required in speaking, and speaking entails simultaneously projecting the act of listening: In Bakhtin's sense, all language use is dialogic. (1989: 12)

As for receiving or not the message intact, Planalp states that messages are often "interpreted in ways that make sense to the listener" (1999: 40), irrespective of speaker intention, while it is clear speakers retain what it is they have said. Finally, far from being a simple process, encoding and decoding messages are highly complex activities that are acquired through discursive practices in given communities over considerable periods of time. Indeed, as Arndt and Janney indicate, this is equally true of emotion messages in interaction:

> The expression of emotion is regulated by social sanctions, norms of interaction, and 'civilized' expectations that enable people to control their natural impulses...Growing up in a particular culture, people learn to modify or modulate signs of emotion in different situations to project certain impressions of their feelings and attitudes for the benefit of others. (Arndt and Janney, 1991: 529)

As will be noted in the following sections, such considerations in terms of emotion expression are important for my interest in anxiety because whereas some emotions appear easier – relatively speaking – to recognise than others, anxiety is particularly difficult to recognise because people may feel that the expression of certain emotions in particular contexts of interaction are likely to reflect negatively on them, and, hence, they may well attempt to disguise or suppress them. As Mehrabian says:

...in most cultures there are restraints imposed on the communication of affect, evaluation, or preference, particularly when these are negative. If a person experiences affect about an event but does not describe it, then there is an additional component accruing to his experience – the relatively uncommunicability of that affect. This unverbalized effect can interfere with the communicational process...it can lead to speech disruptions such as...slips, errors or false starts...or to blocking and hesitation. (1972:33)

Nevertheless, emotions whether positive or negative, emotions remain integral to human existence. In Goleman's words, "Emotions are contagious...We send emotional signals in every encounter, and those signals affect those we are with" (1996: 114-115). Although, some people may be naturally more sensitive to mood changes and, hence, more easily influenced by others – especially dominant partners, who may also exercise greater power – teachers and students exercise a considerable degree of influence on one another's emotional dispositions and involvement in classroom activities, which is likely to impact on learning. As Goleman says:

...studies in classrooms show that the closer the movement coordination between teacher and student, the more they felt friendly, happy, enthused, interested, and easygoing while interacting. In general, a high level of synchrony in an interaction means the people involved like each other. (1996: 116)

It is perhaps not surprising, then, that such movement and synchrony in interaction has invoked musical comparisons. In fact the metaphors of dancing[30], choreography and synchronisation that have often been used to capture the complex movements of interaction not only serve to provide a basis for understanding the degree of emotional, psychological and physical distance, as well as overall involvement, in interaction, but also help to explain how affect and emotional behaviour have come to exercise such an influential role in education.

In a recent publication, Farrell (2009: 6) refers to six principles of communication which only serve to undermine linear models, and of further interest to this study is that Farrell links these principles to communication in the classroom:

1. Communication is a process in constant change – that is, it is never static but always dynamic.

[30] Tannen (1989:18)) asserts that "Finding a way into conversation is like joining a line of dancers. It is not enough to know where other dancers have been; one must also know where they are headed…The sharedness, or lack of sharedness, of rhythm, is crucial for conversational outcome." Tannen also cites Scollon (1982), who compares interaction to ensemble in music: "As musicians use the term, ensemble refers to the coming together of the performers in a way that either makes or breaks the performance. It is not just the being together, but the doing together" (ibid.19). Goleman (1996:116) refers to John Cacapio's research on emotional synchrony between interactants: "…there's a dance, a synchrony, a transmission of emotions. This mood synchrony determines whether you feel an interaction went well or not."

2. Communication is a system of rules – although a dynamic and ever-changing process, communication consists of rules, with degrees of awareness of these rules often only being revealed when they are violated or broken.
3. Communication messages are both verbal and nonverbal – as Farrell says, "whenever we speak, we are sending both a verbal and nonverbal message" (ibid.). Among other functions, nonverbal language may reinforce the verbal message or it may, in fact, serve to undermine it.
4. Communication is transactional – as Farrell says in relation to communication in the classroom "when we are teaching *and* talking, we are also trying to understand our students' behaviors, facial expressions, and speech, just as they are also listening to us and trying to understand our actions and reactions" (ibid., emphasis in original).
5. The communication process involves mutual influence - "we note how others are responding to us affect how we act and react. We may adjust our teaching actions depending on the level of awareness; we may speed up, slow down, repeat, ask for a clarification, or make other such adjustments" (ibid.).
6. Communication occurs in a context that influences the process of communication – that is, the context, usually considered to be the immediate surroundings in which the interaction takes place, is an important shaping force on the type of communication that takes place. This is particularly evident in classrooms where the teacher-dominant Initiation-response-follow-up (IRF) pattern of interaction has been particularly pervasive in classroom communication, and where power remains firmly in the hands of the teacher, and is, generally speaking, significantly different from interaction in contexts other than the classroom.

These principles of communication are clearly influenced by Watzlawick et al.'s (1967) seminal work, in which they consider all human behaviour as communication. In their own, now celebrated, words:

> ...there is no such thing as nonbehavior or, to put it even more simply: one cannot *not* behave. Now, if it is accepted that all behaviour in an interactional situation has message value, i.e., is communication, it follows that no matter how one may try, one cannot *not* communicate. Activity or inactivity, words or silence all have message value: they influence others and these others, in turn, cannot *not* respond to these communications and are themselves thus communicating. It should be clearly understood that the mere absence of talking or of taking notice of each other is no exception to what has just been asserted. (1967: 48-49, emphasis in original)

Furthermore, Watzlawick et al. advocate that communication "not only conveys information, but at the same time it imposes behaviour" (1967: 51), what they refer to as the "report" and "command" aspects of a message, the former containing the content of a message, the data or propositional information so to speak, while the latter refers to "what sort of a message it is to be taken as, and, therefore, ultimately to the *relationship* between the communicants" (ibid.: 52, emphasis in original). The command aspect of a message, then, is meta-communicative in nature as it effectively involves commentary on the message itself. In addition, this aspect of communication is embedded in what the authors refer to as "analogic" communication whereas the "report" aspect is designated "digital" communication (ibid.: 61). While digital communication concerns the arbitrary relationships established between words and the things they name, and is particularly important for "the transmission of knowledge" (ibid.: 63), analogic communication "has its roots in far more archaic periods of evolution" (ibid.: 62) and, unlike the arbitrary nature of digital communication, there is a correspondence between the communication itself and what it refers to. Whilst advocating that analogic communication be seen as "virtually all nonverbal communication" (ibid.), Watzlawick et al. advocate a broad notion of nonverbal communication in order to better capture the broad spectrum of human communicative behaviour:

> We hold that the term must comprise posture, gesture, facial expression, voice inflection, the sequence rhythm, and cadence of the words themselves, and any other nonverbal manifestation of which the organism is capable, as well as the communicational clues unfailingly present in any *context* in which an interaction takes place (1967: 62, emphasis in original)

These considerations in communication theory have been of particular importance for studying emotion and affect in interaction in everyday and educational settings, namely classroom contexts (cf. Ferrão Tavares, 1999a), and are evident in certain observation instruments and schemes which have been used to investigate both teacher and student behaviour in classroom settings[31].

Taking into account these considerations on communication and interaction, emotions are likely to surface not only in the language used but also in the myriad features of interaction, including nonverbal communication, of both students and teachers. Therefore, in the following section, I will discuss how emotions can be expressed in interaction.

[31] For example, among the observation instruments devised to analyse classroom interaction that Malamah-Thomas (1987) discusses are Flanders' Interaction Analysis Categories (1970), Moskowitz's (1976) Foreign Language Interaction; and Allen, Fröhlich, & Spada's Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching – COLT (1984).

1.4.1 Communicating emotion and communicating emotionally

If we can say that emotions are truly inseparable from communication and interaction, then a logical consequence is to try to understand how emotions are expressed. In the next few pages, therefore, I will look at two broad approaches: firstly, one that sees emotions as the substance of the message itself; and secondly, a view which sees emotions as the property of the message.

In his discussion of motivation, anxiety and emotion in language learning, and the importance of emotions in human activity in general, MacIntyre (2002) draws on Silvan Tomkins' (1970) assertion that affect is "the primary human motive" (2002:61) to illustrate the constant influence of emotions on human behaviour:

> Emotion is continuously present, varying in type and intensity. We are always experiencing some sort of emotion. Emotion therefore pervades all of our activities. Given its function as an amplifier[32], emotion has some impact on everything we do; the stronger the emotion, the greater the impact. (2002:61)

If emotion is ever-present – to a greater or lesser extent[33] – in human interaction and communication, then how emotion is actually communicated is obviously of significant importance in this research project's attempt to shed greater light on the role anxiety plays in the behaviour and interaction of trainee teachers both inside and outside the classroom.

In his article on emotionality in conversations, Fiehler (2002) states that people can express emotions in two basic ways:

> They can give them expression in different ways or they can make them the explicit topic or subject of the interaction. Thus, we can distinguish between the practices for the expression of experiences and emotions and practices for the thematization of experiences and emotions. (2002:86)

Of course, these messages may be accompanied by an array of complex nonverbal clues that reinforce the particular emotion in question, for example, sadness may be indicated by low pitch level, falling or flat intonation, a slow rate of speech, a lack of stress in intonation, whispering and crying, and slow movements and a less rigid body posture[34].

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[32] MacIntyre (2002:61), again referencing Tomkins, says "Emotion functions as an amplifier, providing the intensity, urgency, and energy to propel behaviour."

[33] Arndt and Janney (1991:526) cite Alexander (1969:4) when they say "It is a truism that people rarely interact without…connecting some 'feeling quality' with what they experience."

[34] See Pavlenko's (2005:46-47) prototypical vocal cues of selected emotions, and Planalp's (1999: 43-51) discussion on emotion cues.

On the other hand, we not only communicate emotions but also communicate emotionally, or, as Planalp says, "the emotion itself may not be the substance of the message itself, but rather a property of the message" (ibid.).

To acknowledge further the complexity of these dimensions, Planalp also points out that the emotional topic and emotional tone may not necessarily coincide. So, contrary to emotion expressions being reinforced through 'prototypical' behaviours associated with particular emotions, individuals may express, for example, their anger by quietly and calmly intonating "you are making me angry", or, conversely, by declaring "I am not angry" in an angry tone of voice whilst simultaneously banging a table, clenching their fists and glaring. In other words, nonverbal and verbal communication may be "at variance with one another" (Knapp and Hall, 1997:13). However, if both types of communication appear to complement one another then, as the above authors make clear, "our messages are usually decoded more accurately" (ibid.:17), or at least much of the ambiguity, often evident in communication when signals are contradictory, can be reduced.

Unsurprisingly, then, and as noted in the discussion of Watzlawick et al.'s distinction between analogic and digital communication, the complex range of nonverbal behaviour is undoubtedly a most important factor in the expression of emotions, and in human communication in general. Discussion of nonverbal behaviour often falls under the terms *kinesics* – coined by Birdwhistell in the early 1950s – and *proxemics* – a word ushered into use by Hall in the 1960s – the former essentially referring to the study of body movement in communication, while the latter is concerned with the study of measurable, and acceptable, distances in terms of space and the organisation of space as people interact.

In terms of kinesics, the range of behaviour is extremely broad and complex. Knapp and Hall (1997:9-11) classify this behaviour as including gestures, posture, touching behaviour, facial expressions (such as smiles, and laughter), eye behaviour (such as gazes and stares, that is to say when, how and how long people look at each other or other objects in the immediate environment of the interaction), and finally vocal behaviour.

As for proxemics, Hall based his observations on North American culture, and devised four categories of distance, these being intimate, personal, social and public. The way people use these distances not only reflects a systematic application of cultural rules and expectations in communication, but also may be a fairly reliable indicator of the social distance between interlocutors. It is not uncommon, for example, to hear students complain of teachers who are distant and aloof, attitudes on the part of teachers which may be reinforced or indicated by a preference for spending considerable amounts of time behind

their desks thereby maintaining a certain distance – both literal and social – between themselves and the students.

Yet although proxemic and kinesic behaviour go hand in hand, teachers' principal use of non-verbal communication is often characterised (Knapp and Hall, 1997; Farrell, 2009) by the following:

- positioning that centres on the teacher's desk and the blackboard – both of which are usually located at the front of the classroom.
- using the blackboard or OHPs to communicate information to the students, usually as support as part of the pedagogical activities taking place but which may also include disciplinary procedures.
- nominating student turns in interaction with looks and/or gestures.
- threatening facial expressions, tone of voice and/or gestures in classroom management of interaction and disciplinary matters.
- using gestures, facial expressions and body language to explain and reinforce verbal explanations.
- moving around the classroom, going towards and standing next to students but often using the front of the classroom in order to maintain a more sustained contact with students.
- the manner in which they organise the layout of the classroom, including the positioning of tables and chairs, and whether they include adornments such as information and examples of students' work on the walls, windows and other areas of the classroom.
- using gestures, facial expressions and body language which may reveal the degree of their own understanding of student comprehension.
- smiling and laughing as well as other non-verbal clues to indicate degrees of involvement and closeness with students.

Of course, such a list can only indicate a fraction of the numerous possibilities, which, in turn, are also influenced by both cultural expectations and locally established patterns of behaviour. The relevance of such non-verbal features of communication for this study is that teacher anxiety may be expressed through some of these behavioural patterns, and as interaction is a process of constant negotiation and mutual influence, the students' non-verbal and verbal behaviour may, in fact, contribute to teacher anxiety. Students' principal use of non-verbal communication often contains the following features (Knapp and Hall, 1997; Farrell, 2009):

- raising and/or waving hands – to a greater or lesser extent – to indicate willingness to interact with the teacher or classmates.
- using or avoiding eye-contact with the teacher or classmates, normally as a way to indicate readiness to interact (for example, answer a question or engage in other classroom activities) but which may be used to ignore the teacher or classmates.
- laughing or smiling in the classroom.
- expressing degrees of interest in classroom discourse by their posture or behaviour (such as silence, yawning, facial expressions of interest or boredom, and sleeping).
- Getting up to move around the classroom or looking around the classroom from their seated position.

Given the uncertainties of the practicum and eagerness of trainee teachers to make an impression on their students, we may speculate that if certain features of student interaction, including non-verbal behaviour, do not help to satisfy the trainees' expectations and desired image of themselves as teachers, then this may play a part in influencing their anxiety. Being ignored, facing a lack of enthusiasm or student silence, and seeing signs of boredom, for example, are not likely to increase trainee confidence. Furthermore, the ambiguities and possible misunderstandings that are often evident in the language classroom may also foment teacher anxiety, for example, whilst humour in the classroom is often viewed as a positive affective feature of communication, used by teachers as a tool for classroom management and to exert authority, to remind students about present or future objectives, and to elicit and contribute information (cf Daubney, 2010), it may also be seen as a threat, a disruptive influence in the classroom, or function as a way to exclude others, and hence exercise a considerable influence on the identity of a given class and individuals within it, including that of the teacher.

However, whilst Planalp readily affirms the importance of nonverbal communication in her discussion of how and why emotion is communicated, she also warns against dismissing the verbal expression of emotion:

> Despite the common wisdom that nonverbal communication is the prime medium for emotion and despite the dominance of nonverbal channels for communicating emotion in the research literature, the verbal expression of emotion is also very important. (1999:48)

Indeed, Planalp and Knie point out the very complexity of studying these two areas – "Nowhere is this more apparent than in the study of messages of emotion" (2002:55) – and that such complexity has often resulted in researchers focusing on one at the expense of the

other, leading to a reductive perspective of the communication process. As these two authors point out:

> If nonverbal clues modify, augment, illustrate, accentuate, and contradict the words they accompany...focusing on the words alone cannot capture their richest and most subtle meanings.(2002: 55)

In fact Planalp points to an extremely important feature of the communication of emotions when she says it is far from common for people to actually explicitly refer to their emotional states: "Coming right out and saying, "I'm angry" or "I'm feeling depressed today" is rare" (1999:48). This view is also put forward by Fiehler:

> Most often, ...the topic of verbal communication will be something other than emotion, but *besides and at the same time* people communicate emotions by the manner in which they communicate about the topic. (2002:86, emphasis in original)

For Planalp, as well as other researchers, then, verbal expression includes other factors apart from the topic of conversation that need to be taken into account, and which are not always clearly differentiated in the discussions on verbal and nonverbal behaviour. Indeed, Mehrabian suggests the term nonverbal behaviour may, in fact, be a misnomer because "a variety of subtle aspects of speech frequently have been included in the discussions of nonverbal phenomena" (1972:1)[35]. Planalp gives examples of this subtlety when she says that "More subtle verbal indicators of emotion are word choice, language intensity, verbal immediacy, and restricted vocabulary" (1999:48).

These considerations have been taken into consideration in this study because, as suggested above, if people are unlikely to make their emotions the explicit topic of discussion, especially when some emotions are considered socially unacceptable or inappropriate in certain social situations, then looking for ways to identify and characterise teacher-anxiety is likely to bear greater fruit by considering a range of ways that anxiety may be communicated.

Indeed, if one looks at the items on Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (Horwitz, 1986), it is clear the most well-known instrument for 'measuring' anxiety attempts to elicit levels of learners' anxiety through their identification with statements embodying emotional communication as opposed to statements directly related to anxiety.[36] To better

[35] The subtle aspects that Mehrabian (1972:1) mentions include "fundamental frequency range and intensity range, speech errors or pauses, speech rate, and speech duration".

[36] For example, 'I get upset when I don't understand what the teacher is correcting', 'I feel very self-conscious about speaking the foreign language in front of other students', 'I tremble when I know that I'm going to be called on in class', and 'I'm afraid that other students will laugh at me when I speak the foreign language' are items on the

study anxiety, the methodology of this project involves an effort to study the behaviour of trainee teachers in different contexts because this variety of contexts not only constitutes method triangulation but is also likely to invoke different emotional reactions on the part of the participants.

Planalp says that emotion may be expressed through a range of physiological cues, facial cues, gestures and body movements, verbal cues, and action cues, and some of these are likely to involve the experience of emotions which are largely beyond the conscious control of individuals, in Planalp's words "manifestations of physiological reactions that are largely *uncontrollable* at the time they occur" (1999:46, emphasis in original). Blushing, vomiting, sweating, trembling, nervous laughter, and a rapid heartbeat are examples of such manifestations. Yet emotions are also embodied and behavioural, and people may walk up and down, fidget, scratch their heads, play with their hair, bite their finger nails, shake or clench their fists, and jump up and down in anger or delight to name just a few of the ways that emotions may be deemed to be evident in the behaviour of people. As we will see in Chapter 2, such manifestations and behavioural clues have been discussed in the language anxiety literature. However, whilst some of these manifestations are clearly behavioural, they are not necessarily priming people for action.

However, emotions do prime or prepare people for action, with the most basic distinction being the 'fight and flight' responses originating from man's primordial survival needs. When discussing action cues, Planalp refers to people who report that when they are emotional they may, among other things, "fix dinner, throw things, bang things around, slam doors, kick things, bring gifts..." but she also goes on to say that individuals' body movements may be "directed toward, away from, or against others" (ibid.:47). Here the distinction between kinesic and proxemics is often blurred with examples of this emotional behaviour including kissing, hugging, touching, tickling, hitting, slapping, sitting or standing close to someone.

What is of interest here is that Planalp's discussion of the way emotions are embodied or revealed in communicative behaviour points up a debate that is evident in the discussion of emotions that cuts across various fields – that is to say, the extent to which emotions in communication can be considered as either signs of underlying emotional states, closer to spontaneous reactions and behaviour, or, whether in fact, the expression of emotions in

FLCAS that attempt to detect anxiety through emotional responses as opposed to direct questions on anxiety itself. In fact the word anxiety is not used in any of the 33 items on the FLCAS and only one item – 'Even if I am well prepared for language class, I feel anxious about it' – contains the adjective *anxious*.

communication is more strategic and considered, socially regulated and guided by considerations that aim to manipulate or at least exercise a greater degree of influence over the contexts of interaction in which the expression of emotions takes place. In the next section, this complex debate is briefly considered.

1.4.2 Expressing emotions: spontaneous or strategic communication?

In the previous section, I discussed how emotions can be identified as the explicit topic of the message or, conversely, how they may be evidenced in the manner in which people talk and communicate about a given topic, although the topic itself may not be about a particular emotion. The latter case has been identified as being far more prevalent than the former. Indeed, as we shall see in the following sections on language anxiety, individuals learning foreign languages have often indexed their anxiety, not by saying they are anxious as such, but by saying they feel reduced as human beings, that their identities and sense of self as competent adults are threatened and called into question, and they experience a sense of uncertainty, a common feeling that descends upon them in language learning situations, a sense of uncertainty that, in the case of language students, may manifest itself, for instance, in short answers, silence or a general reluctance to interact in front of colleagues and the teacher.

However, whether or not they are identified in any of the above situations, the fact remains that emotions have often been perceived as spontaneous eruptions of feelings, resulting in them being described, conceptualised and reified in terms that are usually diametrically opposed to those associated with thought and cognition. As already indicated, LeDoux points out that 'crimes of passion' (carried out under the influence of strong emotions and, hence, characterised by a lack of control over one's thoughts and actions) are treated differently within many western legal systems to 'premeditated crimes', (carried out with foresight, consideration and planning). Given such powerful notions in our societies, it is no surprise that spontaneous expression of emotion is often viewed in a more positive light, with people more willing to understand and give the benefit of doubt to actions and words apparently carried out by individuals in emotional states than to behaviour which is thought to be more calculating and cognitive in nature.

However, whilst recognising these established beliefs, Planalp points to a far more complex picture:

> Spontaneity is, of course, honest and good; strategy is deceptive and bad...but the dichotomy does not hold up. Regulation is built into the very substance of the most genuine feelings. In addition to deciding consciously to feel this way and act that way, we also automatically and unconsciously orient our feelings to our goals and adapt to other people. Spontaneity and strategy blend seamlessly into one another such that they become virtually impossible to disentangle (Planalp, 1999:5)

Planalp's view, then, points to a continuum and dynamic synergies between emotions and thought, and not to distinct categories operating on separate levels, a view also put forward by Caffi and Janney (1994) in their discussion of emotive communication:

> The complexity of the interface between language, people, and affect is implicit in the observation that: (1) we can all express feelings that we have, (2) we can all have feelings that we do not express, and (3) we can all express feelings that we do not have, or feelings that we think our partners might expect or wish us to have, or feelings that it might simply be felicitous to have in a given situation for particular reasons. In short, we all seem to be capable of producing, modifying, and modulating linguistic and other expressions of affect more at less at will, in very subtle ways, in order to fit the personal and interpersonal exigencies of different occasions. (1994:326)

Indeed, in an important publication on affect in speech, Arndt and Janney (1991) use a tripartite heuristic in order to focus on the way communication can be better understood by viewing it as existing along a complex continuum. They identify "three conceptually distinct, but behaviourally interrelated types of speech communication" (1991:525), which they designate emotional, emotive and cognitive communication (see Figure 1 below).

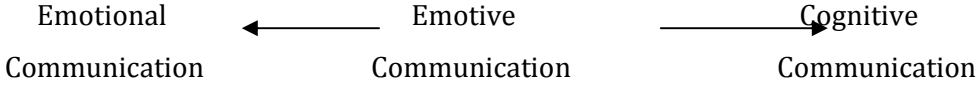

Figure 1 Arndt and Janney's types of communication in speech (1991)

Arndt and Janney start with the observation that emotions can be distinguished from moods, the latter being longer-lasting than former and usually not directly related to specific objects, and say "emotion is evoked by, and associated mainly with, specific ideas, things, or events and their subjective significance in the immediate situation" (1991:526).

Emotional communication is first discussed by these authors because, in many respects, it constitutes the archetypal behaviour associated with spontaneous demonstrations of emotion, "not causal but *caused"* (ibid.:527, emphasis in original). Rather than signalling intentional behaviour aiming at transmitting propositional content, this behaviour in the authors' words is cathartic in nature, functioning as a way to help speakers preserve their 'psychic balance' as opposed to being geared towards their partners' needs in interaction:

> ..it is basically a spontaneous, unplanned, instinctive externalization of internal affect that is not under conscious control and is not necessarily intended to communicate anything concretely to anyone. (1991:527)

Emotional communication, then, is instinctive behaviour, "an unconscious adaptive response to a situation" (ibid.:529) and may include: sudden cries of relief, surprise, disappointment; reflexive vocal displays of joy, anger, confidence, insecurity; spontaneous kinesic displays of excitement, nervousness, relaxation.

In order to contrast this behaviour with its polar opposite on their continuum, the authors then discuss cognitive communication, that is to say, "the signalling of referential or ideational information" (ibid.). Features of communicative behaviour such as prosody and kinesics, which may be more readily associated with emotional behaviour, are also evident in cognitive communication, including, for example, stress and intonation as well as illustrators (pointing) and regulators (raising hands for attention) (ibid.:528). Yet in contrast to emotional communication which is "psychobiologically acquired...and psychobiologically structured", cognitive communication is "culturally learned and culturally structured" (ibid.) and entails intention, reflection, and conscious activity considered functionally relevant for both partners. In Arndt and Janney's words:

> While emotional communication is an automatic nonsymbolic manifestation of internal affective states, cognitive communication is a complex symbolic activity in which people, relying on shared knowledge of semiotic systems or codes, express logical propositions about relations between concepts. (1991:528)

Having discussed the forms of communication at each end of the continuum, Arndt and Janney then turn to emotive communication – as its position on the tripartite continuum suggests, a fusion of both cognitive and emotional communication – and its focus on *how* people say things as opposed to *what* people say. Their starting point is Frijda's observation that "people not only have emotions, they also handle them" (1986:401 in Arndt and Janney, 1991:528), that is to say that emotive communication moves away from the spontaneous, unintentional behaviour of emotional communication to the intentional manipulation of affective behaviour or, in the authors' words "the conscious, strategic modification of affective signals to influence others' behaviour" (ibid.:529). Such behaviour may include the following: subtle shifts of verbal directness and intensity; variations of prosodic emphasis; intonation and voice quality; strategic gazes; facial activities; proxemic behaviour.

These features, according to Arndt and Janney (ibid.:537-538) can be included within the following three dimensions that essentially constitute emotive communication:

- Assertiveness: speakers perform non-propositional activities that others in their culture can interpret as signs of certainty/ uncertainty, confidence/insecurity, power/powerlessness, authority/respect, or dominance/submission (such signs may be evidenced in degrees of explicitness or vagueness of verbal references to topics, falling versus rising intonations, steep versus gradual pitch gradients, gaze versus gaze aversion, etc)
- Positive-negative value-ladenness: speakers perform activities that others in their culture can interpret as signs of pleasure/displeasure, satisfaction/dissatisfaction, eagerness/reluctance, affiliation/non-affiliation, like/dislike (such signs may be evidenced in degrees of positiveness or negativeness of verbal references to topics, evaluative tones of voice, smiling versus frowning facial expressions, etc)
- Intensity: speakers perform activities that others in their culture can interpret as signs of personal involvement/uninvolvement, or as signs of the relative importance of what is being communicated in the situation (such signs may be evidenced in degrees of strength or weakness of verbal references to topics, heavy versus light prosodic stress, loudness of voice, tense versus relaxed body postures, etc)

Unlike its emotional counterpart, this is communicative behaviour which is "more *causal* than caused" (ibid.:529, emphasis in original), and is shaped and monitored by a significant degree of cognitive activity, a feature which is evident in its functionality in interaction:

> ...if people were not to some extent able to consciously produce, recognize, and interpret emotive activities, these would be useless for reaching goals in different situations. (1991:530)

The abiding difference, then, between emotive and emotional communication, in the words of Caffi and Janney, is that the former "is...less a personal psychological phenomenon than an interpersonal social one" (1994:329). Indeed, Arndt and Janney's directly relate their discussion of the distinction between emotive and emotional communication to the interesting work on affect and feelings of the German philosopher Tetens. The authors refer to Teten's notions of 'initial feelings' and 'reflected feelings', that is, initial feelings essentially constitute the spontaneous experience of emotions, which gradually fade and give way to more measured consideration on these feelings, or in Teten's terminology 'reflected feelings'.

In many respects this discussion on spontaneous and strategic emotion behaviour points up a broader debate in the discussion and research of language and emotions in various fields, including linguistics, anthropology, psychology and the more recent field of discursive psychology. More specifically, as Pavlenko observes, the study of emotions has, in recent years, shifted from the study of emotion largely through vocal channels and emotion metaphors, to be increasingly dominated by two distinct paradigms. The first is what Pavlenko designates the 'communication of emotions'. In Pavlenko's view:

> This paradigm views language and emotions as largely separate phenomena and posits a one-to-one correspondence between emotions as inner states and their perception, interpretation, and expression (blood 'boiling' – feel 'anger' – scream loudly). Scholars working in this framework are commonly engaged in a search for verbal and non-verbal cues to pre-existing emotions in an attempt to integrate them in a more or less coherent manner...(2005:114)

The other paradigm, which Pavlenko calls the 'discursive construction of emotions', calls into question such linear and causal connections, and focuses "on rhetorical alternatives available to speakers" (ibid.). In other words, emotions and feelings are concepts and terms used strategically in interaction, and are constrained by the emotional, social and power relations of the context in which the interaction takes place.

> In this view, even the simplest 'emotion statements', such as "I feel angry" or "I am sad," are not taken literally as faithful descriptions of people's inner states (although they might be), but are considered as speech acts in the light of rhetorical goals the speakers may be trying to achieve (for example, to complain, prompt others to take a course of particular action, position themselves in a particular way with regard to certain events, and so on). (2005:114)

Indeed, Pavlenko points out that strategic uses of affect are learnt and mastered very early in cultures, and illustrates this by using the example of a small girl who says that she is very sad, and who reinforces this impression by simultaneously pouting and making sad faces but, as the author says, "what she really feels in reality is not sadness, melancholy, or nostalgia, but an overwhelming desire TO HAVE THAT TOY" (ibid., capitalisation in original).

Yet these two paradigms, while distinct in their basic assumptions, research methodologies and objectives, are not, unsurprisingly, "fully incompatible" (ibid.). Academics favouring the 'communication of emotions' approach, readily acknowledge speakers "use emotion categories to accomplish social goals" (ibid.) and, conversely, those scholars aligning themselves with the 'discursive construction of emotions' paradigm accept "the embodied nature of emotional experience" (ibid.).

However, Pavlenko points to an important consideration when she refers to how some academics still continue to make a distinction between referential, social and affective functions of speech: the referential, similarly to Arndt and Janney's 'cognitive communication', concerns the propositional content of utterances; the social refers to the way speakers "position themselves and are positioned as members of particular social categories" (2005:115); finally, the affective involves the ways "speakers signal their feelings, moods, and attitudes toward the referential content of communication" (ibid.), that is to say the notion of emotive communication put forward by Arndt and Janney.

Yet as Pavlenko says, whilst some scholars continue to invest in and adhere to this three-way distinction others "are increasingly apprehensive about the referential/affective dichotomy and consider both verbal and non-verbal aspects of discursive construction of emotions" (ibid.). In her discussion of emotions from a discursive activity perspective, Pavlenko disregards these distinctions and "assumes that affect performance accomplishes all three functions in question: it informs, it positions, and it expresses" (ibid.). Whilst admitting that such a position "blurs the distinction between 'sincere' and 'ritualized' emotion displays" (2005:116), Pavlenko also alerts us to the fact that deciding when communication is emotional or emotive is an especially difficult task. In fact subsuming the three functions of speech within a discursive approach allows researchers to take a broader and more flexible view of emotions. Therefore, Pavlenko introduces the concept of 'affective repertoires' which she describes as the following:

> ...an integral feature of situated language use, where emotion categories function not only to inform the interlocutors about the speaker's internal states, but also to inform interactional functions, to assign causes and motives to actions, to blame, to excuse, to legitimize, to account for events and phenomena, and to explicate the intricacies of social relations. (2005:116)

Such a position undermines a more deterministic view that conceives of persons as being largely guided by emotions, passive beings with little control over their actions, and like Ushioda's relational view of motivation (discussed in 1.3), attributes a greater degree of agency to individuals. In Pavlenko's opinion, such a view not only challenges what she considers the "artificial coherence" (ibid.) of cognitive models but also is better suited to capture a range of language functions:

> This approach allows us to move beyond the representational function of language (I am very angry at you) and to consider the multiple ways in which languages index affect without naming or pointing to particular emotions (ARRGH! You IDIOT!), and a variety of discursive goals speakers aim to achieve in performing affect. (2005:116)

For the present study, I have adopted Pavlenko's perspective as I think that the discursive perspective put forward by this author with its emphasis on emotion reactions being experienced, oriented to, and strategically used in interactional contexts, holds more potential for this project, and is a view that is closer to the paradigm of the social turn in SLA which is discussed earlier in this chapter. However, this perspective does not dismiss the notions of emotional and emotive communication and the light they shed on certain communicative behaviour. Indeed, it would be rash in an exploratory research project on anxiety, to dismiss perspectives that view emotions expressed in interaction as indicative of either stronger, spontaneous emotions – or as strategic moves to exert a greater influence on their interlocutors.

However as we shall see in Chapter 2, the wide-ranging effects of anxiety on communicative behaviour, and more recent suggestions in the research literature that propose that anxiety may be strongly linked to positioning and identity work in interactional contexts, allow us not only to focus on a range of communicative behaviour – whether emotive, cognitive or emotional – but also to embrace a paradigm that views emotions, cognition and social positioning as being simultaneously deployed and embedded in situated language use. This allows the focus of this study to move away from a more traditional view of emotions as simply underlying behaviour to a perspective which sees emotions arising and being shaped in interaction. Importantly, this also involves implementing a methodological framework whose focus shifts from self-reports to a greater interest in interactional contexts, therefore moving language anxiety research into relatively new waters.

In addition, such a perspective allows this study to draw on pre-existing concepts and categories – such as emotional and emotive communication, and the characteristics associated with each of these – to support the analysis of the data collected but to avoid restricting the analysis solely to these a priori categories.

The following chapter will focus on language anxiety as a constraining factor on learners' – and teachers' – behaviour in the language classroom. In fact, it can be argued that anxiety has been chiefly responsible for the large numbers of teachers and researchers who now contemplate a more prominent role for affect and the need for a positive classroom environment in which the reduction or elimination of this emotion has become almost a 'prerequisite' for a sound language learning classroom.

In this chapter, then, we have seen how emotions have assumed a prominent place in both SLA research and the language teaching community. The 'social turn' in SLA was seen as shifting the study of emotions away from a predominant concern with the internal feelings of individuals to a view that sees emotions being manipulated and managed in and through

interaction. Whilst the expression of emotions in social contexts may be spontaneous, we have also considered how emotions can be deployed and manipulated. Whilst not discounting the former view, the latter view appears to hold particular potential for exploring the contexts of interaction in which the trainee teachers of this study are regular and active participants. Taking these views into account, the next chapter narrows the focus and concentrates on an in-depth exploration of language anxiety and how the insights gained from these considerations will be related to the possible impact that this emotion might have on the behaviour of trainee teachers.

Chapter 2. Anxiety in language learning

> While anxiety is today perceived as something one needs to be able to control and hopefully in the long run get rid of – in short, as an ultimate obstacle to the subject's happiness – it is almost forgotten that philosophy and psychoanalysis discussed anxiety as an essentially human condition that may not only have paralysing effects, but also be the very condition through which people relate to the world.
> (Salecl, 2004: 15)

2.1 Anxiety: a pervasive influence in society

After having considered emotions in human interaction from a broad perspective in the previous chapter, I now turn to anxiety in language learning and teaching as the central interest of this study.

Firstly, I consider anxiety as a modern, omnipresent phenomenon, socially constructed as much as a psychological emotion residing within individuals, a word replete with powerful associations which have likely contributed to the way LA has been researched. I consider how some theories of anxiety, contrary to dominant theories deriving from cognitive psychology, consider anxiety to be a natural state of affairs and an essential feature of the human condition and may prove to be fruitful in reconceptualising anxiety as well as moving anxiety research in new directions.

Next, I move on to discuss LA's origins and how it has been researched before looking at two controversial debates which, to a significant extent, have characterised LA research: first, whether it is the result or cause of poor proficiency; second, whether anxiety can have positive as well as negative effects. I also consider other personality variables often linked to anxiety. I then examine and discuss the centrality of identity, and how recent theories have come to see identity as being constantly (re)constructed in interaction before considering the relationship between anxiety and identity in language learning due to its importance to the research design and the way I have analysed the data. I consider the wide-ranging effects of anxiety and then finish the chapter by suggesting that rethinking researching anxiety should be put firmly on the research agenda – especially taking into account the preceding discussion and its emphasis on social theory as providing and nurturing exciting research alternatives to the quantitative anxiety research which has dominated language anxiety research.

To think of anxiety as a constant and necessary factor at the very heart of the human condition – as some thinkers and scholars in the human and social sciences have advocated – is likely to be somewhat removed from the perspectives of many researchers and teachers working in the context of SLA and language teaching today. One of the main reasons for this, I think, can be largely attributed to the continuing influence of cognitive psychology on the field of SLA and how affective variables have been studied and researched, and hence the way many researchers and teachers presently view anxiety.

The conceptualisation of LA as a negative affective state that surges from within the learner, generating an emotional static that impacts negatively on the learning and acquisition of the given language is especially representative of the information processing model of human cognition, a dominant model both in cognitive psychology and emotion theories that can be evidenced in specific models of anxiety[37] applied to language learning and language acquisition.

Yet, there are significant indications that a growing number of researchers in SLA are drawing on ideas from social theory, with post-structuralist and post-modern ideas presenting visible and compelling arguments that SLA stands to benefit from borrowing concepts and ideas from contiguous disciplines in the social and human sciences as opposed to being over-reliant on cognitive psychology.

In relation to anxiety, there are perspectives within psychology, philosophy, sociology and social theory that view this emotion as integral to human activity, with the potential not only to inhibit our thinking and behaviour but also to stimulate creativity and tensions which in turn may trigger and alter our worldviews and behaviour, therefore contributing to our very existence as human beings.

Applied to anxiety research in language learning and SLA, such theories would, ostensibly, appear to be principally related to the facilitating versus debilitating anxiety debate (see 2.4.2), and they are, undoubtedly, relevant to the ongoing, and far from conclusive, discussion of whether anxiety can bring about positive changes in learning; however, a further, and very important, contribution these theories make is to help researchers reconceptualise both ontological and epistemological issues, that is to say issues concerning the nature of the research object and how researchers should set about studying it.

Drawing on these theories of anxiety, which largely depart from the way that LA has been viewed and researched, is an important tenet of this project, and whilst I do not aim to

[37] For example, MacIntyre (1999:35) acknowledges Tobias' (1979, 1980, 1986) cognitive model of anxiety in his own conceptualisation of language anxiety.

dismiss or reject in anyway the contributions of previous LA research, I do see this project as borrowing and embracing theories and ideas from both alternative views of anxiety and social theory in order to enrich the somewhat linear, clinical psychological approach that has been the hallmark of much research in this area.

The definition and development of language anxiety as an area of research will be looked at more closely in the following sections, but I think it is important, firstly, to discuss how anxiety has come to be generally viewed within many academic disciplines and society as a whole, and how other less visible views of anxiety, as well as influential tenets of social theory, have come to exercise a significant influence on this project.

A suitable starting point to better understand how one particular perspective of anxiety has risen to dominance in SLA is to recognise cognitive psychology's immense influence on the research and teaching of disciplines such as education, computer science, and neighbouring disciplines of psychology not to mention SLA itself. As previously indicated, the social turn in SLA is, in many respects, a paradigm shift that constitutes an effort to move away from the dominant information-processing model at the heart of cognitive psychology so as to include the very social nature of learning into models of SLA. The methods, key terms, and above all, the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of cognitive psychology have deeply influenced SLA and LA research as well as shaping how anxiety is perceived and interpreted in both popular culture and the media, a state of affairs that is likely to lead to the reinforcement and maintenance of this dominant conception as a determining factor in anxiety research.

Whilst an in-depth psychological discussion of cognitive theory is not necessary for the purposes of this study, I do feel that a brief outline of some of the key concepts and terms of this theory will give the reader a more concrete idea of its impact upon LA research and dominant conceptions of anxiety in popular culture.

Michael Eysenck is, perhaps, one of the best known advocates of the cognitive theory of anxiety, and places his discussion of this emotion at the centre of the classic debate on the primacy of affect or cognition:

> If it is the case that affective responses to all stimuli depend on prior cognitive processing, then it would seem to follow that theories of anxiety and other emotions should have a distinctly cognitive flavour. (1992: 3)

Eyesenck uses the terms 'low' and 'high trait anxiety' to designate and make a distinction between individuals whose vulnerability to anxiety will often depend on what information these individuals have retained and stored in their long-term memories. In

Eysenck's view, those who suffer from high trait anxiety have what Strongman (1998: 168) characterises as "more frequent and more highly organised sets of worries in long term memory" and these worries are more easily accessed because high trait individuals are more prone to negative mood states which facilitate such access to these memories. He sees anxiety "as an unpleasant and aversive state" (1992: 4) and possibly an emotion whose function, from an evolutionary perspective, is to "facilitate the detection of danger or threat in potentially threatening environments" (ibid.). This view, then, links anxiety to the physiological system, an emotion priming the body for a fight or flight action but an emotion induced and heightened by prior thoughts.

Such a view of prior thoughts posits that anxiety functions to detect imminent or future threats, clearly involves "attentional processes" and so, in Eysenck's view, the "cognitive system is of crucial significance with respect to the primary purpose of anxiety" (1992: 5). The fact that people as a matter of course regularly consider their futures, whether short- or long-term, is a function of the cognitive system, and anticipating the future "is highly relevant to anxiety" (ibid.). Negative thoughts about what is going to happen in the future is a particularly striking feature of anxiety from this perspective, with worry being a central – cognitive – feature of the overall experience of anxiety. Indeed, "individuals high in trait anxiety report worrying considerably more than those low in trait anxiety, and worry is the crucial defining feature of generalized anxiety" (ibid.). Eysenck then goes on to relate how cognitive therapy in clinical anxiety may well be able to play a significant role in helping patients to recover by 'normalising' thought patterns, which under the influence of anxiety are "unrealistic negative and self-defeating thoughts about themselves and about their circumstances" (1992: 6). In summarising Eysenck's contribution, Strongman opines that:

> What is important about Eysenck's theory of (trait) anxiety is that it draws attention to the importance of taking into account the cognitive system as well as the physiological and the behavioural. (1998:168)

In many respects, Eysenck's theory displays all the key notions that have been imported and adapted to LA research.This cognitive view of anxiety is not limited to academic circles, but is in fact a view which permeates and sustains a huge popular literature in self-help publications in which the emphasis lies on 'overcoming', 'reducing' and 'coping' with this condition. Online searches quickly reveal a staggering number of references to books, articles, sites, clinics and their respective treatments, techniques and support – all of which essentially correspond to the cognitive view of anxiety outlined above. Putting 'anxiety' in the search field of Google results in over 53 million results, with many of the results leading to

hundreds, if not thousands of respectable websites, academic articles and highly reputable organisations dealing with this topic[38] and huge amounts of information exist within and across European and non-European countries. In sum the pervasive influence of cognitive psychology in the conception of anxiety is evident in both academia and popular culture.

From a historical viewpoint, too, both in terms of popular culture and academic study, anxiety constitutes an important symbolic value in our lives, a word which appears to be particularly apposite in capturing the nature of the angst-ridden 20th and 21st centuries, and such is its power and deemed suitability for modern times that various historical epochs have been characterised as the 'Age of anxiety'. This expression was probably first used by the English poet W.H. Auden for the title of his (1948) poem in order to capture the existential uncertainty and unease of the post-war generation. May's (1977) classic study of anxiety makes reference to 'covert' and 'overt' anxiety, with covert anxiety related to pre-1945 society, a time when individuals recognised the more explicit causes of their anxiety, such as economic recession and fear of atomic warfare, whereas overt anxiety related to post-1945 society in which people were not only aware of the more obvious potential catastrophes facing humanity but also increasingly conscious of the deeper, more subtle causes of their anxiety, including alienation and psychological disorientation, and uncertainty with respect to values and acceptable standards of conduct.

Renata Salecl, a Professor of Law at the London School of Economics, writing more recently (2004) about the nature of this emotion, identifies three 'ages of anxiety': the first two appeared after the First and Second World Wars respectively as awareness of weapons of mass destruction and the despair at the enormous loss of human life combined to change the public mood, with the advent of the Cold War in the 1950s and 1960s only compounding this anxiety; the third age of anxiety Salecl identifies is from the 1990s onward, a period during which terrorism, computer viruses, the heightened awareness of diseases such as aids, the speed of technological progress and the changes being wrought on society by the inexorable process of globalisation have, perhaps, irrevocably altered the way individuals and societies now view their place and future in this new world.

Wilkinson, a sociologist working in the UK, is another author who has recently tackled what May calls the 'problem of anxiety', albeit from a sociological perspective. In the theories of key thinkers such as Marx, Weber and Durkheim, although anxiety is not explicitly referred

[38] One such example is the British Government's Department of Health-funded National Health Service website *Choices: your health, your choices*[38], which is also available in twelve different languages. The section on anxiety in this site contains a video presented by David Clark, Professor of Psychology at King's College, London, explaining how cognitive behavioural therapy can help those with anxiety disorders. Anxiety UK is also a UK national registered charity which was funded, until very recently, by the Department of Health.

to, Wilkinson says it "is clearly implied within their accounts of the insecurities, stresses and strains of our emergence as 'modern' people" (2001: 2). Weber referred to 'disenchantment', Marx to 'alienation' and Durkheim to 'anomie', with the latter, in Wilkinson's view, coming closest to an explicit formulation of anxiety when referring to the anomic personality as an emotion which is "over-excited and freed from all constraint" (ibid.).

Given such historical and present day views on anxiety and how it has been historically embedded in negative associations and events, it is not entirely surprising that this condition is presently considered a negative one, and therefore one to be reduced or eliminated.

Yet not all perspectives on anxiety, as the quotation at the beginning of this chapter indicates, see this emotion as something to be purged or reduced. In fact key thinkers saw, and see, anxiety as being part of the human condition.

Wilkinson (2001: 2), drawing on Rolo May's treatise, says that "it is only since the 1930s that the social sciences have begun to devote explicit attention to the problem of anxiety", with the influence of Freudian psychoanalysis "on the intellectual culture of Western societies" (ibid.) largely being the reason for this. As May says when referring to the growing explicit interest in anxiety at that time:

> Not only in the understanding and treatment of emotional disturbances and behavioral disorders had anxiety become recognised as the 'nodal problem', in Freud's words, but it was then seen likewise to be nodal in such areas as literature, sociology, political and economic thought, education, religion and philosophy. (1996:4)

In this landmark publication on anxiety May, who was a humanist psychologist, also acknowledges and cites other influential writers and thinkers, including Freud, Camus, Sartre, Kierkegaard, Spinoza, Pascal, who, directly or indirectly, considered anxiety as a key influence on the human condition whilst Salecl cites, among others, Freud and Lacan, as well as May himself. Yet while Freud focused on anxiety as a result or cause of repression, other thinkers took the view that anxiety was a phenomenological state of being. This view was greatly influenced by Kierkegaard, who viewed anxiety as particular to the human condition.

Kierkegaard's view, according to Strongman, "pivots on the idea that development and maturity depend on freedom, which in turn depends on being aware of the possibilities that exist in life" (1998: 162). As we draw closer to the maturity that is a result of this freedom, we have to deal with the anxiety which is a result of the possibilities we find ourselves confronted with, and to become self-actualised means dealing with this anxiety, which is inevitable, and comes close to May's notion that "anxiety is the dizziness of freedom."

At this point, I feel a brief reference to the subjects of this project, the trainee teachers, would appear apposite in the light of this discussion. Perhaps, trainees' anxiety from this perspective could be seen, at least partly, as arising from an array of choices facing them – methodological, disciplinary, interpersonal – both inside and outside of the classroom, and their attempts to deal with the tensions between the freedom and constraints that exist in their supervised practice.

Another characteristic of anxiety that Kierkegaard refers to is the distinction between fear and anxiety, with fear having a clear object whereas anxiety does not. This distinction between fear and anxiety is still made today, especially by those working in psychology. Indeed, as seen above, Eysenck sees anxiety as probably an emotion deriving from fear, and therefore priming humans for fight or flight responses. However, Wilkinson, says, "fears are understood to hold no necessary significance for our sociability" (2001: 22), and cites May (1977) and Sullivan's (1964) social view of anxiety. Sullivan, in particular, stresses its purely interpersonal nature and conceives anxiety as the result of social selves being threatened or undermined in relation to others, that is, anxiety is "exclusively linked to the social achievement of presenting and knowing oneself as an adequate human being" (in Wilkinson, 2001: 22), with anxiety being the underlying drive to escape oneself in the face of social failure as opposed to fleeing an external object or a given environment. Strongman also says, when discussing Kierkegaard's conception of anxiety, that "A fearful person moves away from a feared object, whereas an anxious person is in conflict and unsure" (1998: 166) and that anxiety "only develops after the development of self-awareness allows a person also to form a self-hood" (ibid.9). Whilst May sees fear as potentially harmful, he believes it does not attack our very humanity and values as anxiety does, and so for May the emphasis should focus on "the negative cultural value of the threatening uncertainty of the situation which arouses the experience of anxiety" (in Wilkinson, 2001: 22).

Indeed the pivotal, dynamic, intimate – one could almost say symbiotic – yet highly social relationship uncertainty shares with anxiety is explored by de Botton (2004) in his discussion on 'status anxiety', a prevalent notion in today's modern societies where success and our striving to keep up with others is, in de Botton's view, a key source of status anxiety. In his words, anxiety arises from how we perceive ourselves in the eyes of others:

> The attention of others might be said to matter to us principally because we are afflicted by a congenital uncertainty as to our own value – as a result of which what others think of us comes to play a determining role in how we are able to view ourselves. Our sense of identity is held captive by the judgements of those we live among...If they praise us, we develop an impression of high merit. And if they avoid our gaze as we enter a room or look impatient after we have revealed our occupation, we may fall into feelings of self-doubt and worthlessness. (2004:15)

Among the shaping influences on de Botton's thesis, are the views of William James, whose theories on self-esteem are of particular relevance to education and this project.

Anthony Giddens is also another influential voice who has contributed to the discussion on the nature of anxiety. Giddens centres his discussion of anxiety on what he sees as the very uncertainty inherent to social life. Drawing on the work of Harold Garkinkel, Giddens links anxiety to the need for 'ontological security', that is to say a prevailing continuity and order in events which serve to keep anxiety at bay, and it is in interaction where such routine and order is constructed and maintained. As Giddens says:

> To answer even the simplest everyday query, or respond to the most cursory remark, demands the bracketing of a potentially almost infinite range of possibilities open to the individual. What makes a given response 'appropriate' or 'acceptable' necessitates a shared – but unproven and unprovable – framework of reality. (1991:36)

Yet while such an intersubjective framework, established through routine and order, provides a "crucial bulwark against threatening anxieties" (1991: 39), Giddens also says that "On the other side of what might appear to be quite trivial aspects of day-to-day action and discourse, chaos lurks" (1991: 36). Like Sullivan, Giddens also posits that anxiety is very much a social phenomenon, related "to the reaction of others and to emerging self-esteem" (1991: 45). Giddens goes on to invoke the importance of Goffman's work on interaction in public settings to illustrate how interaction is both a way of managing anxiety and ensuring a greater degree of ontological security, for example, Giddens cites Goffman's notion of 'civil indifference', manifested, for example, in the typical attitude projected by strangers passing each other in the street.

> A person encountering another on the street shows by a controlled glance that the other is worthy of respect, and then by adjusting the gaze that he or she is not a threat to the other; and that other person does the same. (1991: 47)

Giddens cites the example of civil indifference because he believes this to be one of the features that characterises modern society whereas more traditional societies, in which the distinctions between strangers are marked, are less likely to result in such behaviour. On the contrary, in more traditional societies, behaviour may entail the avoidance of eye contact altogether or staring in a way which, in modern societies, could be construed as rude or threatening.

Like Wittgenstein, who saw language as being worked, refined and used in day-to-day praxis, with meanings and, therefore, reality, dependent on both context and individuals'

interpretations of meanings in these contexts, Giddens states that Goffman and Garfinkel's work "in many ways represents an empirical exploration of the themes Wittgenstein raised on a philosophical level" (1991: 58). Interaction, then, constitutes a social practice in and through which, our anxiety, along with other emotions and thoughts, ever present to a greater or lesser degree, is managed. As Giddens observes:

> The orderliness of day-to-day life is a miraculous occurrence, but it is not one that stems from any kind of outside intervention; it is brought about as a continuous achievement on the part of everyday actors in an entirely routine way. The orderliness is solid and constant; yet the slightest glance of one person towards another, inflexion of the voice, changing facial expression or gestures of the body may threaten it. (1991:52)

In many respects, then, these views – influenced by phenomenology and existentialism – conceive of anxiety as a socially constituted emotion, managed through interaction, with the self and identity being central to its conception.

Indeed, Goffman's 'face work' and the 'face-threatening acts' that Brown and Levinson (1987) developed within a framework of politeness based on Goffman's concepts of 'positive' and 'negative face', are interactional concepts that are related to identity and likely to prove useful when exploring anxiety (politeness theory will be explored in relation to the mentors and trainee teachers managing tensions in post-observation conferences).

In attempting to tease out a tentative summary resulting from the consideration of these views, I think it is justifiable to see anxiety as an influential emotion concept in our social lives, revealing many of our concerns about living in a fast-moving and ever-changing modern society in which a multitude of choices, challenges and risks subject our public and private existence to a variety of factors which are potentially anxiety-inducing. In many respects, Wilkinson sums up this perspective when he says:

> It is now a matter of common sociological common sense to identify ourselves as living through a period of acute insecurity and high anxiety. Indeed, many would recognise the condition of anxiety as the most prominent component of the prevailing cultural consciousness of modern times. (2001:42)

Such views, therefore, dovetail with some of the key ideas and notions found in present day social theory, and which are increasingly evident in SLA research, and have also been important in how this project has problematised and studied anxiety.

If anxiety is very much generated in the uncertainties and possible threats to our social selves as we go about presenting and knowing ourselves in social contexts, then Bauman's notion of identity, an uneasy concept which we reflect on when confronted with

uncertainty and that we "think of identity when one is unsure where one belongs" (1996: 18), is of particular relevance to language learning and teaching contexts where the tensions and uncertainties of teaching are likely to be further accentuated by the ambiguities and complexities arising from the use of a foreign language.

In the particular case of trainee language teachers, the often fraught and unpredictable context of TP can exert further pressures on their social identities, with anxiety resulting from these tensions. I will discuss the relationship between anxiety and identity in language learning later (see 2.6.2.3) but it is worth stressing at this juncture that such a perspective of anxiety and, by implication, emotions in general, departs from the view of emotions as merely inner states 'represented' by the words and actions of the individuals in question, and moves towards perspectives of emotions – as we have previously discussed – as being socially constructed and strategically managed in social encounters, with some researchers going further and viewing emotions as constituted in interaction, that is to say the words and behaviour *perform* the emotions themselves.

However, recognising the existence and acknowledgement of anxiety as a key notion in explaining the human condition and behaviour in influential discourses, does not lessen the difficulty of coming to a definition of anxiety itself and more precise explanations of how anxiety affects people's behaviour. As Wilkinson rightly points out:

> While we all might possess good reasons to be anxious, these do not necessarily translate into *feelings* of anxiety...Our social interactions with popular discourses on the anxieties of modern societies need not make us prone to experience this condition for ourselves. (2001: 42)

In the following sections, therefore, I turn my attention to anxiety in language learning contexts, to how it has been defined and conceptualised, and how the views of anxiety discussed above can enrich existing LA research by shifting the locus of interest to an analysis of discourse as opposed to largely depending on an interpretation of scores obtained through the application of instruments largely associated with quantitative research underpinned by a positivist rationale.

2.2 Defining language anxiety

Emotions can be particularly difficult to define, and anxiety is no exception. In the next few pages, therefore, the central concern will focus on how anxiety has been defined.

When the 'affective domain', 'affective factors', 'affect' or a combination of these terms are discussed in relation to their influence on language learning and SLA, anxiety and

motivation are the most prominent emotions researchers refer to when attempting to elucidate and explain the influence of personality variables on the process and outcomes of language acquisition. Brown says that: "…as it has been studied in the psychological domain, anxiety plays an important affective role in second language acquisition" (1994a: 141) whilst in a later publication the same author and Arnold go further and state that: "Anxiety is quite possibly the affective factor that most pervasively obstructs the learning process" (1999: 8).

As noted previously, the great increase in interest in the role of affective factors, which are often subsumed under the umbrella term of 'individual differences' (cf. Dörnyei and Skehan, 2003; Skehan, 1989), has coincided with SLA researchers and the language teaching profession's increasing focus on the needs of individual learners and a parallel concern with the individual's inner-learning processes.

Yet defining anxiety, or for that matter any affective variable, is far from a straightforward task. In fact one of the distinct difficulties in assessing personality or psychological variables in learning is that defining and 'measuring them', not to mention assessing their specific influence on learning, is extremely complicated. Yet coming to some sort of acceptable definition of such widely and, at times, loosely used terminology is an important step if a greater understanding of these variables' influence on learning is to be achieved.

In addition to the difficulty of defining affective factors, what further complicates research is that intuitively both teachers and researchers are generally united in their agreement of the crucial role affect plays in language learning but at the same time researchers, in particular, have a hard time justifying such claims through empirical studies. Whilst it is probably fair to say that teachers are happier to appeal to and fall back on intuition to justify their claims, researchers, whilst not dismissing intuition as an aid in their quest to advance knowledge, cannot rely solely on intuition and have to continue to grapple with the slippery nature of the affective domain in terms of definition, measurement and influence.

Indeed, such paradoxes and complications lie at the heart of researchers continued fascination with the affective domain. Even Scovel, who has been one of the few researchers to consistently challenge widespread assumptions with regard to affective factors, anxiety research and the nature of anxiety itself, falls back on his own experience and intuition when discussing the degree of influence emotions have on language learning. In his guide to SLA, Scovel (2001) examines five broad categories[39] he takes to be central to learning a language,

[39] The five categories Scovel discusses are People, Languages, Attention, Cognition and Emotion.

but whilst talking about emotions in general, and motivation in particular, he goes on to make the following comment:

> I have no SLA evidence to confirm this, but from my long career as a language teacher and my somewhat shorter experience as a learner of other languages, I sense that of the five major components of SLA discussed in this book, Emotion is the single most influential, although, of course, it is shaped and sharpened by many other factors. (2001:125)

Nunan and Lamb's comments in many respects, sum up the challenge researchers face working in the affective domain:

> Within the field of education, there seems to be almost universal agreement that affective factors are critical to effective learning…Because they are difficult to define, they are extremely difficult to measure, and it is almost impossible to specify the contribution they make to the learning process. Despite all this, they refuse to go away, and so it is necessary for us to deal with them, doing the best we can with the blunt instruments at our disposal. (1996: 208)

Although many researchers in the area of individual differences would more than likely take issue with the above authors' use of the adjective "blunt" in relation to research instruments, especially after the significant attention paid to researching and measuring affective variables in the last twenty years, it is difficult not to draw the conclusion that measuring, defining and, ultimately, researching affective variables remains a formidable challenge.

In fact, my own research and alignment with the social turn in language learning has led me to move away from the notion of 'measuring' emotions through self-reports as an appropriate way forward of furthering understanding of anxiety in SLA research.

Despite difficulties in defining affective variables considered pertinent to SLA, anxiety – not to mention motivation, self-esteem, extroversion, introversion and inhibition – has been and still remains a key psychological construct and personality variable in psychology, including both cognitive and social psychology, as well as group dynamics and communication studies. As Croznier points out in his study of personality differences in education:

> Anxiety is a core concept in many psychological theories, including psychoanalysis, humanistic psychology, behaviourist learning theory, and cognitive psychology…and is regarded as a basic personality trait by all the major classification systems. (1997:124)

As indicated in the previous section of this chapter, it is also a word invoking powerful associations and exerting considerable influence in everyday contexts, with stress, fear,

phobias and physical ill health often constituting topics of close proximity. It is therefore necessary and useful to begin with a definition.

Generally speaking, anxiety in both the psychological and language learning literature is identified and characterised as a negative emotion with a negative impact on learning, although as will be seen briefly not all researchers are of the same opinion, and cite the a priori acceptance of a certain conceptualisation and ontology of anxiety for the predominance of this view. Croznier says that it is: "an emotional state of an unpleasant kind characterised by a particular kind of state of mind…uneasiness" (1997: 124). Scovel (1978, in Horwitz and Young, 1991: 18) cites Hilgard, Atkinson and Atkinson's (1971) description of anxiety as a: "state of apprehension, a vague fear that is only indirectly associated with an object", whilst Horwitz (2001: 113) cites Spielberger's (1983) definition of anxiety as: "the subjective feeling of tension, apprehension, nervousness, and worry associated with an arousal of the autonomic nervous system". This "vague fear" leads Croznier to opine that this: "uneasiness perhaps serves to distinguish anxiety from fear, which seems more focused on a particular target" (1997: 124). Scovel also believes that one of the reasons that anxiety is so misunderstood "stems from the way the general public uses this term as a synonym for fear or phobia" (2001: 127), a likely result of the associations in modern societies that were discussed in the previous section. Scovel says that anxiety can be distinguished from these emotions for two reasons: firstly, both fear and phobia are more powerful emotions than anxiety and, secondly, both of these emotions have specific objects. Using fear of falling as an example, Scovel says that such a fear is innate, common and useful in preserving the survival of species whereas acrophobia, a pathological fear of falling, is unnatural, very rare and can be extremely damaging to an individual's social existence. Scovel, therefore reiterates the widely held belief that anxiety is "most accurately used to describe a vague sense of unease" (ibid.: 127).

In SLA the definitions of LA as well as its conceptualisation and development have – as we have noted – been significantly influenced by the field of cognitive psychology, yet drawing on this discipline has not reduced the difficulty of capturing the familiar but elusive nature of this psychological phenomenon. Hence, Brown (1994a: 141) claims that anxiety "is almost impossible to define in a simple sentence" whilst Arnold and Brown avoid defining anxiety as such, preferring to opt for a qualitative description: "it is associated with negative feelings such as uneasiness, frustration, self-doubt, apprehension and tension" (1999: 8).

Two definitions from the SLA field that attempt to further delimit LA are made by the researchers Gardner and MacIntyre. The first states that "language anxiety is fear or apprehension occurring when a learner is expected to perform in the second or foreign

language" (1993a: 159). However, while this definition encapsulates that mounting sensation of apprehension that is strongly associated with anxiety *before* particular tasks or situations, it does not sufficiently capture the possibility of anxiety either increasing or decreasing as the task, situation or the interaction itself unfolds. For this reason a further definition from the same authors will provide for a more comprehensive definition of foreign language anxiety: "the feeling of tension and apprehension specifically associated with second language contexts, including speaking, listening, and learning" (MacIntyre and Gardner, 1994a: 284).

Before moving from this concern of defining LA to how this emotion has been approached and developed in SLA, it is worth noting that the definitions reflect the elusive and difficult nature of anxiety. On the other hand, they do point to an emotion that is generally perceived as negative and unpleasant. Perhaps this is not surprising given the powerful associations of anxiety that exist in our society today. Such definitions and associations, however, are important influences on how LA has been conceptualised and, in turn, how it has been researched.

2.3 The origins and development of language anxiety

The considerations of this section centre on how researchers have tried to think about language anxiety, how anxiety is thought to arise and develop, and whether its origins can be identified.

The conceptualisation of LA has, unsurprisingly, been of an interdisciplinary nature, with cognitive psychology significantly shaping the way it has been problematised and researched, whilst communication studies has also made significant contributions. Although some researchers (Daubney and Araújo e Sá, 2008a, 2008b; Norton, 2000; Spielmann and Radnofsky, 2001; Stroud and Wee, 2006) working in SLA, and drawing upon social theory and poststructuralist frameworks, have called for other approaches and perspectives to be applied to individual differences and anxiety research, the great majority of LA research falls into two broad approaches within a quantitative research paradigm favouring self-reports or experimental studies.

The first approach comprises researchers who view LA as a transfer of other anxieties to the language learning domain. Examples of these other anxieties would be test anxiety or communication apprehension, with the latter having considerably influenced the conceptualisation of LA.

In the second approach, researchers postulate that the anxiety which arises from the unique experience that is language learning is in itself also unique. However, MacIntyre (1999) suggests that these approaches are not mutually incompatible, but are, in fact, "different perspectives from which to define language anxiety" (1999: 26)

Two prominent examples of research using the first approach are Kleinmann's (1977) and Chastain's (1975) studies, cited by Scovel (1978, in Horwitz and Young, 1991; 2001). Kleinmann looked at how forms of test anxiety may influence the use of certain linguistic structures, and how these related to avoidance behaviour. He found that both Spanish and Arabic speakers of English who self-reported themselves as "high facilitating anxiety" types – that is an anxiety that energised the learning process – had a greater tendency to use English linguistic structures that, due to their difficulty, were normally avoided by their native language group because of the lack of proximity between English structures and Spanish and Arabic syntax – or in other words there was a lack of positive transference between their mother tongue and English. Those with "high debilitating anxiety", however, tended to avoid these structures. Chastain's study also found that, in some cases, test anxiety correlated positively with second language learning, that is to say the higher the test anxiety, the greater indications of language learning. However, Chastain's research led to somewhat confusing results. In MacIntyre and Gardner's words:

> While Chastain found that test anxiety correlated negatively with proficiency in an audiolingual French course it showed no relationship to proficiency in regular French or German courses. Further complicating the issue was the positive correlation between test anxiety and grades in Spanish. (1989: 252)

However despite, or perhaps because of, these somewhat confounding results, Chastain's last words fell back on a call for greater research while simultaneously appealing to the commonsensical and intuitive nature of many a language teacher:

> Tenuous as these reported results may be, the evidence supporting the existence and measurability of affective characteristics as they influence grades in a beginning language course is strong enough to warrant further study. In the meantime, each teacher should do what he or she can to encourage the timid, support the anxious, and loose the creative. (1975: 160)

These two studies were also significant points of discussion in what many researchers consider to be the seminal paper on LA research of the late 1970s, Scovel's (1978) review of the then available literature on anxiety research. In actual fact, these two studies were, to some extent, representative of the strengths and weaknesses of research into anxiety at that time. Important as Kleinmann's distinction between "debilitating" and "facilitating" anxiety

was, Chastain's results also demonstrated that more effective ways of researching anxiety were required. Scovel finished his paper by referring to the twin problems of definition and measurement:

> The conclusion might read like a good news-bad news joke… . The good news is that we are able to isolate affective variables in our research into the psychology of language acquisition; this is illustrated by Kleinmann's study, which measured the effects of anxiety on language performance in a well-circumscribed experiment. The bad news is that the deeper we delve into the phenomenon of language learning, the more complex the identification of particular variables becomes. (1978, in Horwitz and Young, 1991:23)

In her review of language anxiety and achievement, Elaine Horwitz (2001) cites Scovel's legacy:

> He argued that since the various studies used different anxiety measures such as test-anxiety, facilitating-debilitating anxiety, etc., they logically found different types of relationships between anxiety and language achievement. Scovel concluded that language researchers should be specific about the type of anxiety they are measuring and recommended that anxiety studies take note of the myriad of types of anxiety that had been identified. Scovels's suggestions have proved to be good ones, and since that time researchers have been careful to specify the type of anxiety they are measuring. (2001:113)

Indeed, Elaine Horwitz has been at the forefront of the research into LA that embodies the approach which views language anxiety as a situation-specific construct rather than as a transfer of other anxieties into the language-learning domain. However, conceptualising this construct has meant an interdisciplinary approach that has leant heavily on the categorisation of types of anxiety found in psychology. MacIntyre recognises this relationship when he says:

> Even if one views language anxiety as being a unique form of anxiety, specific to second language contexts, it is still instructive to explore the links between it and the rest of the anxiety literature. It is hoped that this will lead to a clearer understanding of what language anxiety means. (1999:28)

However, there is little doubt that MacIntyre sees the 'other links' as residing firmly within what Harré and Moghaddam (2003a) denote as 'performance capacity' psychology as opposed to 'performance style' psychology. The two broad approaches of LA research that have been briefly outlined in this section, although having different focuses have resorted to self-reports, surveys and correlation studies or a combination of these as their chief methodological preferences, thereby accentuating and reinforcing links with quantitative and positivist paradigms firmly established within cognitive psychology. Indeed, very few researchers appear willing to abandon self-reports and quantitative frameworks in favour of

more naturalistic methodologies that could shed further light on this emotion, by allowing researchers to probe further into the actual experience of individuals.

In fact, I think it is justifiable to claim that perhaps the overall impression that readers of LA research are likely to take away is that LA impacts on performance or proficiency, and this is because research has consistently focused on trying to measure the impact of anxiety on performance – in this case proficiency or some indication of achievement such as test scores or final course grades. Horwitz confirmed this tendency when she entitled her (2001) paper 'language anxiety and achievement'.

Given such orientations, then, SLA researchers have borrowed heavily from psychology with the notions of trait, state and situation-specific anxiety firmly embedded as key tenets and references in the discourse of LA research.

Working in general education, Croznier (1997), for example, cites both state and trait a in his explanation of anxiety:

> Personality theorists distinguish state and trait anxiety. Many situations, like examinations, public speaking, interviews, and going to the dentist are likely to evoke a state of anxiety in most people. The trait position proposes that some people are more prone to anxiety than others, in that they react to more situations with anxiety or react to particular situations with more intense emotion. (1997:124)

MacIntyre also (1999: 28) sees trait anxiety as a stable predisposition to become nervous in a wide range of situations, a tendency – or trait –likely to be consistent over time, and applicable to a number of situations, in sum a characteristic of an individual's personality. Indeed, Spielberger's (1983) definition of trait anxiety is a probability of becoming anxious in any situation.

Situation-specific anxiety on the other hand largely refers to a single context or situation. In common with trait anxiety it is stable over time but not applicable across many situations. Such types of anxiety include math anxiety, public speaking, taking a test, and language anxiety. In MacIntyre's words:

> Each situation is different; a person may be nervous in one and not in the others. If one adopts Spielberger's conceptualisation, situation-specific anxieties represent the probability of becoming anxious in a particular type of situation. (1999:28)

State anxiety, MacIntyre, says is best viewed as the experience of anxiety itself. Whether an individual is experiencing anxiety in the language classroom or while speaking in public in their native language, the experience of feelings that can be designated as anxiety is the same - although these feelings may well vary in duration and intensity.

> Both trait anxiety and situation-specific anxieties refer to the likelihood of becoming nervous in a certain type of situation. They do not refer to the experience of anxiety itself, which is best labelled *state anxiety.* (MacIntyre, 1999: 28)

For MacIntyre (ibid.: 28), language anxiety, from a theoretical perspective, is "a form of situation-specific anxiety; therefore, research on language anxiety should employ measures of anxiety experienced in second language contexts." This will help to avoid what Young (1990: 540) calls "a lack of consistencies in anxiety research." Young goes on to relate factors that are often not given sufficient attention in research:

> Whether the research examines foreign or second language contexts; whether the anxiety definition and measure are harmonious; whether the interpretation of anxiety (i.e., state, trait, test anxiety, facilitating or debilitating, classroom anxiety) has been defined in accordance with the basic purpose of the research. (1990: 540)

It is worth noting at this point that both researchers emphasise the measuring of this affective variable as the principal objective.

An important contribution to the conceptualisation of LA was made by Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope (1986) when they incorporated three separate but closely related categories into a framework that they advocated would move researchers and practitioners towards a greater understanding of this phenomenon. Given LA involves performance and performance evaluation within an academic and social context, the authors found it useful to draw on three related performance anxieties that had been researched and developed in communication studies. They then attempted to relate these constructs to foreign language learning, more specifically to the foreign language classroom. These three categories underlie the above authors' well-known self-report measure, the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS) and are defined below:

1. *Communication apprehension* – defined as apprehension arising from the learner's inability to adequately express mature thoughts and ideas.

2. *Fear of negative social evaluation* – defined as apprehension arising from the learner's need to make a positive social impression on others.

3. *Test anxiety*[40] – defined as fear or apprehension over academic evaluation.

[40] As governments and departments of education around the world have increasingly focused on standards, targets and means of assessment in education, test anxiety in pupils and students has become a high profile concern for educators. Zeidner's (1998) publication on test anxiety attests to the concern that this phenomenon has aroused in researchers working in the fields of psychology and education.

Whilst recognising the categories as a potentially useful instrument to approach the concept of language anxiety, the authors still exercise caution:

> Although communication apprehension, test anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation provide useful conceptual building blocks for a description of foreign language anxiety, we propose that foreign language anxiety is not simply the combination of these fears transferred to foreign language learning. Rather, we conceive foreign language anxiety as a distinct complex of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings, and behaviours related to classroom language learning arising from the uniqueness of the language learning process. (1986, in Horwitz and Young 1991: 31)

In fact these comments reveal one of the most complex challenges involved in researching LA, that of trying to explain the origins of LA. Whilst the three categories drawn on by Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope allow researchers to better describe LA, they also function as useful clues as to possible sources. However, given the nature of anxiety, that is to say its lack of a clear object on which to pin the feelings which arise and can be denoted as the experience of anxiety, in essence, to quote Scovel, "its vague sense of unease", the task of locating the origins of LA is one characterised by high levels of complexity and difficulty.

At this point I would like to refer to two authors' considerations on the origins of anxiety. Although these authors are not discussing LA per se, I think their considerations and categories not only share common features with LA but can – as suggested by MacIntyre – also provide insights into its origins.

Heron's (1989: 33) notion of 'existential anxiety' is often cited as a useful perspective from which to better understand language anxiety[41]. Heron, like May (referred to in 2.1 of this chapter), is a humanist psychologist, and breaks down anxiety into three interconnected sub-categories: 'acceptance anxiety', that is will I be valued, accepted and liked; 'orientation anxiety', or will I understand what is taking place around me; and, finally, 'performance anxiety', or will I able to put into practice what I have learnt. Heron's notion of anxiety is a social one, and it is clear that it has explanatory potential in language learning situations. In fact, given the social turn in SLA and the importance this places on learning as a social practice which constitutes becoming a member of given communities through doing and being, Heron's existential anxiety can be said to complement that of Horwitz et al.'s three categories. Indeed, given the subjects of this project are trainee teachers attempting to make inroads into the teaching profession, Heron's category of acceptance anxiety appears to be relevant.

[41] In their brief summary of language anxiety , Arnold and Brown cite Heron's existential anxiety as "relevant to the language classroom" (1999: 8)

Other interesting categories relating to the origins of anxiety are to be found in Martin Kayman's (1984) article on anxiety in teaching and learning contexts. Kayman was a professor at Coimbra University in Portugal, and although not directly addressing language anxiety[42] as conceived in foreign or second language contexts, his discussion of anxiety does centre on teaching-learning contexts, including EFL, and therefore can be related to language and language learning and teaching.

Kayman also uses a tripartite distinction to attempt to explain the origins of anxiety. The first category he calls 'epistemological anxiety', that is to say anxiety arises out of our belief that "out there...exists a complete and appropriate knowledge" (1984: 110) – whether in books, the teacher, or scientific community – and that in comparison with this ideal, objective knowledge, our knowledge is inadequate.

Secondly, Kayman, identifies 'anxiety of expression', essentially a performance anxiety, in which anxiety arises from our "(in)ability to present that partial knowledge adequately in speech or writing" (ibid.: 111).

Finally, and in Kayman's own words, "even if one has prepared the material, and even if one feels reasonably secure about one's power of articulation, there comes a further preoccupation: how will they react? what will they think of me (of my knowledge, of my language)?" (ibid.). In short, Kayman says anxiety arises in "three pedagogic moments" through our interaction with three "orders of the Other – Knowledge, Language and Society" (ibid.).

Interestingly, however, Kayman does not seem to be disturbed by these anxieties arising from an individual's encounter with the three orders of the Other, but sees them as "essential, unavoidable and positive...and at the heart of the educational process"(ibid.), and suggests we embrace these anxieties and "turn them into exuberance" (ibid.).

Kayman puts forward the idea that communication models in teaching and EFL stress the functional and practical over the expressive nature of language, and that when communicating we worry too early about the appropriateness of our language, and this inhibits our expression of self at what he calls" the point of utterance" (1984: 121). Further, transforming expressive language into the language of the public domain is difficult, but Kayman see this as "no more than the anxiety of *work*" (ibid., emphasis in original). Finally, Kayman reflects that anxiety always exists: "when confronted by the blank page: speaking and writing are themselves full of risk and surprise, not all of it pleasant. But this is not more than the anxiety of *creativity* and *discovery* (1984: 121, emphasis in original)

[42] Not once in his article does Kayman refer to language anxiety but refers to anxiety and anxieties.

In some respects we can relate these ideas back to Thornbury's ideas that EFL teaching and teachers have neglected more spontaneous forms of communication and relied too heavily on grammar oriented lessons, feeding assumptions that classrooms are environments in which risk is given little consideration, and spontaneity and more personal forms of communication are not sufficiently explored. Kayman's alchemist-like objective of transforming anxiety into exuberance, then, is likely to be fostered by running such risks. His treatise on anxiety, therefore, has affinities with the more existential notions discussed at the beginning of this chapter as well as 'facilitating anxiety' (the idea of positive anxiety that will be examined shortly in this chapter) and, contrary to many researchers working in SLA, his considerations are applicable to both teachers and students.

Unlike Heron and Kayman, Robert Gardner, an author well known for his work in SLA, does specifically consider the origins of LA, and in his *Foreword* to Horwitz and Young's (1991) groundbreaking volume on LA, he reflects on various possibilities:

> From my own perspective, I kept wondering about the etiology of language anxiety. Does it derive from more general forms of anxiety in that generally anxious individuals have a predisposition to also experience language anxiety, or is it relatively distinct? Does it grow out of experiences directly associated with the language and the learning context, or is it possible that because the other language is a representation of another cultural community, there is a predisposition among some people to experience such anxiety because of their own concerns about ethnicity, foreignness and the like? (in Horwitz and Young 1991: viii)

Gardner also poses the question of whether LA could be more relevant in a foreign language context as opposed to a second language context. As we shall see in the following sections, in addition to the possible sources deriving from the ideas put forward by the author discussed above, researchers have also focused on proficiency in the target language as a likely source of LA whilst other research has linked LA to other affective variables including identity, therefore further complicating – and enriching – the perspectives available to researchers. As MacIntyre points out:

> Unfortunately, there is not much empirical research on the origins of language anxiety. Several authors have identified the potential sources of language anxiety based on their experiences, theoretical sophistication, and discussions with anxious learners. (1999: 30)

Gardner, however, points towards the central notion of this thesis when he asks whether LA may arise out of the language-learning context. It is this concern with the trainee teachers, the context of the classroom in which they work as well as their relationship with their mentors – all of which may contribute to the experience of LA – that this research

project centres on, that is to say the central focus is the situated activity in which face-to-face interaction takes place. Although there is not a systematic concern with whether these trainees are high or low trait individuals, such notions are nevertheless seen as pertinent in exploring the complex phenomenon that is language anxiety.

Another factor that may be a source of LA is the beliefs that individuals hold about language learning and, in the case of the subjects of this project, language teaching. Researchers (Horwitz, 1988, 1996; Price, 1991) have pointed towards the unrealistic beliefs that learners may have concerning language learning as well as the often unfavourable self-comparisons they make with their peers as contributing to LA. In two of my previous research projects (Daubney, 2001, 2004) I tried to determine whether certain beliefs about the 'ideal language learner' (Campbell and Ortiz, 1991) could influence the experience of LA. In discussing the concept of what they thought was the ideal language learner, students also revealed an image that they, possibly, could not live up to, a possible source of either facilitating or debilitating anxiety (Bailey, 1983).

The possible origins of LA are, then, many, rich, and complex, and in some respects, researchers have found it easier to investigate how LA develops and how LA manifests itself in individuals – or, taking into account a perspective that views individuals as exercising agency over their emotions as opposed to merely passively experiencing them, we may invert this statement and ask how individuals manifest LA – as opposed to determining its sources.

It will be useful, therefore, to briefly describe the manner in which language anxiety may develop, before going on to explore two debates which have also shaped how LA has been approached and researched. MacIntyre (1999) accounts for its development in the following way:

> At the earliest stages of language learning, a student will encounter many difficulties in learning, comprehension, grammar, and other areas. If that student becomes anxious about these experiences, if he/she feels uncomfortable making mistakes, then state anxiety occurs. After experiencing repeated occurrences of state anxiety, the student comes to associate anxiety arousal with the second language. When this happens, the student *expects* to be anxious in second language contexts; this is the genesis of language anxiety. (1999:31, emphasis in original)

With continued experiences of anxiety in the language-learning context, then, such feelings can lead to anxiety to approximate a stable personality trait in relation to this specific context. In a previously published article with Robert Gardner, MacIntyre links this personality trait with a definition of LA:

> Language anxiety can be defined as the apprehension experienced when a situation requires the use of a second language with which the individual is not fully proficient. It is, therefore, seen as a stable personality trait referring to the propensity for an individual to react in a nervous manner when speaking, listening, reading, or writing in the second language. (1993b: 5)

Earlier studies (cf. Gardner, Smythe and Brunet, 1977; Gardner, Smythe and Clément, 1979 cited in MacIntyre and Gardner, 1993b: 6) found that among high school students "the highest levels of anxiety were experienced by beginner learners, and the lowest levels by the advanced learners" (ibid.) whilst among adult students "proficiency increased while anxiety decreased after an intensive French summer-school programme" (ibid.). Such results led MacIntyre and Gardner to assert that: "these studies indicate that as experience and proficiency increase, anxiety declines in a fairly consistent manner." (1993b: 6). However, more recent studies have shown that: "…the observed negative relationship between anxiety and achievement holds at various instructional levels as well as with different target languages" (Horwitz, 2001: 115), that is to say that language anxiety may be experienced irrespective of the proficiency in a language of a given individual.

Trainee teachers are not usually thought of as learners in the narrower sense of the word, so the assertion that anxiety decreases in direct relation with increased proficiency would appear to diminish the value of research investigating LA as experienced by foreign or second language teachers, who by definition are proficient in their given additional languages. However, Horwitz's contention, supported by evidence from research, including her own (1996), as well as my, investigations (Daubney, 2001, 2002, 2004; Daubney and Araújo e Sá, 2008a, 2008b) with pre-service teachers in their language classes, points to a more complicated picture than the over-simplistic view put forward by Gardner and MacIntyre (1993b) cited above.

However, given the importance certain researchers have attached to the debate on the relationship between LA and proficiency, and the pivotal influence it has exerted on how LA research has evolved, I shall briefly discuss it as one of two central debates that have significantly shaped LA research. The other debate is the notion of 'debilitating' and ''facilitating' anxiety (see 2.4.2). I shall now turn to these key debates in LA research.

2.4 Controversies and difficulties in language anxiety research

In certain respects, there are good reasons for the discussions of the relationship between LA and its effect on language proficiency as well as the discussion on debilitating and facilitating anxiety to be included in the preceding section because both debates suggest

how LA may arise and/or develop. In relation to the former debate, however, recent publications that have exerted a significant influence on this project – including my own projects – have shifted the focus from that of proficiency and its relationship to LA, and moved towards a focus on the quality and experience of the language learning experience itself, so I think it is justifiable to have a specific section for this debate in order to mark this shift more clearly.

As for the debilitating and facilitating anxiety debate, I feel it is important to discuss this apart because it not only relates to motivation – itself a key consideration on the experience of LA – but it also contributes to framing a richer picture with greater explanatory potential than the predominantly held view in SLA of LA as a negative emotion resulting in negative consequences for learning. Importantly, it also relates to identity and how individuals may strive after or seek to avoid certain images of themselves as learners or, of course, teachers. Again, I feel this discussion merits its own section.

2.4.1 The result or cause of impaired performance and proficiency?

The debate regarding the relationship between anxiety and proficiency has been an ongoing one in the research on LA, and reveals that an overriding concern of some researchers has been to try to ascertain the impact of LA on proficiency. This lively debate took place in the North American context, and was evident in papers published, approximately, between 1990 and 2000[43], and essentially centred on whether language anxiety is a *cause* or a *result* of poor achievement in language learning. This focus is in keeping with what Harré, as we noted in 1.3 of Chapter 1, denotes the 'performance capacity' orientation of psychology and one of its key preoccupations with how well people do on certain tasks as opposed to the emergence, in the late 20th Century, of what he calls a 'second psychology' and its focus on the way people do things and the meaning they ascribe to their behaviour.

Indeed, the debate was based on research that is largely correlational and quantitative, involving what MacIntyre says is "an important question of causal direction" (2002: 64), what the same author couches in more prosaic terms by asking the following question, "Does anxiety cause poor performance or does poor performance cause anxiety?" (ibid.). It is this question, in fact, that MacIntyre refers to as "the prototypical question asked about the interpretation of correlations" (ibid.: 64-65). In many respects it parallels the same question that has been asked in research on motivation, that is to say does motivation lead to

[43] Young (1986) was, perhaps, the first author to approach this key question of causal direction of LA.

success in language learning or is it as much a result of success –in a nutshell, a classic case of the primacy of the chicken or the egg.

The case for LA being a result rather than a cause of poor achievement in foreign language learning has been most consistently put forward by the researchers Richard Sparks and Leonore Ganschow, who introduced the Linguistic Coding Differences Hypothesis (LCDH) (1991) into the field of foreign language learning, a hypothesis they see as influential in explaining individual differences and achievement in foreign language learners. Sparks and Ganschow set out their position thus:

> We propose that FL learning difficulties are likely to be based in native language learning and that facility with one's language "codes" (phonological/orthographic, syntactic, semantic) is likely to play an important causal role in learning a FL. (1995: 235)

The key point here is that it is not LA that causes poor achievement in the foreign language but language aptitude. As Horwitz remarks in her response to Sparks and Ganschow's criticisms of Saito et al.'s research on foreign language reading anxiety:

> They [Sparks and Ganschow] believe that the consistently moderate negative relationships between foreign language anxiety and language achievement reported in the literature are the result of an uncontrolled third variable, a subtle cognitive-linguistic disability, which causes poor achievement which, in turn, causes anxiety. (2000: 256)

Whilst Sparks and Ganschow do in fact concede that anxiety may be a hindrance when learning a foreign language, the reasons put forward by them for its appearance in learners are markedly different from researchers who contend that LA may cause poor performance and impact on proficiency. Hence, Sparks and Ganschow urge examining types of anxiety in relation to "the individual's language capability" (1995: 236). Taking MacIntyre's (1995: 93) categorisation of state and trait anxiety they present a breakdown of what they call "subtypes" of anxiety, and also five student prototypes to "demonstrate possible relationships between language skills and anxiety levels and their likely effects on language learning" (1995: 236). Tables 1 and 2 (on the following page) illustrate these "subtypes" and "prototypes" respectively.

In relation to the focus of this study, it is with the middle column in Table 1 that we are essentially interested in, that is anxiety arising in situation-specific contexts. However, at this point it is interesting to note that the means or methodology to determine the existence of anxiety, what Sparks and Ganschow term 'Diagnostic Indicators', are the self-reports, surveys and interviews characteristic of quantitative research, whereas alternative

methodologies that could explore LA in the naturalistic contexts in which language learners engage with a foreign or second language are simply not considered. However, such methodological preferences also apply to those researchers who disagree with Sparks and Ganschow's perspective. In other words, the debate on proficiency has not only centred on quantitative research using correlation techniques, but also set up certain assumptions which have become widespread and insistent practice in LA research. Note, for example, that 'Implications for FL educators', irrespective of the type of anxiety identified, involves the reduction or elimination of anxiety and the implicit assumption that LA is a negative emotion.

Types of Anxiety **Situation**	**Trait anxiety**	**State anxiety**	**Difficulties with language codes leading to state anxiety**
Characteristics	Anxiety pervasive across most learning situations	Anxiety limited to a specific situation	Basic difficulties with and differences in one or more language codes (phonological/orthographic, syntactic, semantic) which affect performance on tasks involving native and FL
Diagnostic Indicators	Clinical diagnosis (Diagnosis and Statistical manual)	Interviews, surveys, self-reports	Tests of native oral and written language and FL aptitude
Case Example in FL Learning Situations	Amy finds all school subjects anxiety producing	Susan did well in German but in French her teacher puts her down in class; she does poorly; when switched to another French teacher, she does well	Della can't understand what the FL instructor is saying; too much vocabulary to learn; can't pronounce or spell the words; can't model simple grammatical structures
Implications for FL educators	Most learning is anxiety producing; will need to work on anxiety, generally, to reduce anxiety in FL classes	Change in FL learning environment should eliminate the anxiety	Individualizing the curriculum and teaching the FL another way might help; sometimes nothing helps

Table 1 Subtypes of anxiety in FL learning situations (Sparks & Ganschow, 1995)

Student Prototype	Language	Anxiety	Interpretation
A	+	+	Positive proficiency
B	+	-	Positive proficiency
C	+	-	May or may not have poor proficiency
D	-	+	Poor proficiency
E	-	-	Poor proficiency

+ = Good language or low anxiety
- = Poor language or high anxiety

Table 2 Possible relationships between language skills and anxiety levels and their likely effects on FL learning (Sparks & Ganschow, 1995)

In returning to Sparks and Ganschow' view this anxiety may or may not be caused by poor language skills. However, as we can see in Table 2 the determining factor is language skills and not anxiety. Sparks and Ganschow, therefore, argue that one must examine anxiety in relation to language skills. In their own words:

> In our view, low motivation, poor attitude, or high levels of anxiety are, most likely, a manifestation of deficiencies in the efficient control of one's native language, though they are obviously correlated with difficulty in FL learning. (1991: 10)

However, despite Sparks and Ganschow's continued calls for greater research into the relationship between language aptitude and personality variables, their research findings, and in particular the LCDH, has come under criticism from other researchers. Elaine Horwitz and Peter MacIntrye are the two researchers most readily associated with countering Sparks and Ganschow's research findings on anxiety's influence upon language learning and language proficiency. It should be noted first of all that both MacIntyre and Horwitz concur with the assertion that anxiety in certain cases may be explained by such first language deficiencies. In fact MacIntyre's (1995) response to Sparks and Ganschow demonstrates a certain common ground:

> It should be stressed that the argument here is not that the LCDH is incorrect. By definition, native language aptitude determines the parameters within which language learning will occur. It is reasonable to hypothesise that these limitations will extend to second languages as well. These links should be fully explored. The position here is that the propensity to reach one's full potential as a language learner is partially determined by affective variables. (1995: 96)

Horwitz also casts doubt on the validity of the LCDH when she invokes her own research (1986, in Horwitz and Young, 1991) that found no relationship between a test of public speaking anxiety and foreign language anxiety. Therefore one of the questions she poses is the following: "If foreign language anxiety is based on first language ability, why do learners experience anxiety in their second language but not their first? (2000: 257).

Horwitz also points to the fact that highly successful and advanced learners report foreign language anxiety. Indeed, in her (1996) study, she found that many teachers of foreign languages experienced LA. For Horwitz: "It would seem surprising that individuals with linguistic processing disabilities would choose to become language teachers" (2000: 257).

A further argument put forward by Horwitz against Sparks and Ganschow's LCDH hypothesis is the fact that advanced language learners, who had previously and successfully learnt a foreign language, also experienced language anxiety when learning their current language.

In fact, Dewaele (2002a), in a study on communication anxiety involving bilinguals, trilinguals and quadrilinguals, found that communication anxiety levels gradually increased in each subsequent language learned, with anxiety levels strongest between the L1 and L2. According to Dewaele:

> One possible explanation for the gradually higher CA levels in consecutive languages is that levels of perceived competence are highest in the languages that were acquired earlier and used most frequently. (2002a:12)

Although communication anxiety may appear to be a different construct to introduce at this juncture as a comparison with foreign language anxiety, Dewaele essentially sees communication anxiety and foreign language anxiety as interchangeable. The difference is one of terminology and context.[44] However, in the present argument it would be foolhardy to neglect such evidence that would seem to suggest that anxiety in the L3 and L4[45] experienced by some of the advanced learners[46] who participated in this study should be attributed solely to cognitive disabilities[47]. In this case it would appear that perceptions of their relative

[44] In a personal communication (February 2003), Dewaele states that: "I see FLA [foreign language anxiety] as CA [communication anxiety] in a specific FL [foreign language] context."
[45] Nine students of the 106 participants "…also knew a fifth language but they were categorized as quadrilinguals for methodological reasons." (2002a: 6)
[46] "106 students enrolled in Access, BA and MA courses in the School of Languages, Linguistics and Culture at Birkbeck College, University of London." (2002a: 5)
[47] However, it should be pointed out that in this study there was "…no information concerning the level of proficiency in the various languages" (2002a: 6). Even taking this factor into account, it would seem unlikely that all of these students' anxiety reactions could be solely attributed to cognitive disabilities.

competence could well be a determining factor on their anxiety levels. It does seem unlikely that such a group of advanced language students should all have cognitive disabilities. In relation to advanced students (cf. Price, 1991) who have revealed such anxiety studying a second or third language, Horwitz wryly comments: "Presumably, their cognitive and first language abilities had not changed in the interim" (2000: 257).

Horwitz then invokes an argument that is closer to the interests of this project when she indicates that the experience of language anxiety is likely independent of cognitive disabilities because students often experience different levels of anxiety in relation to the classroom context itself as opposed to activities demanding more or less cognitive processing. Horwitz's comments here merit particular attention:

> Koch and Terrell (1991), Madsen, Brown, and Jones (1991) and Young (1990) found that students experienced differential levels of anxiety with different language learning activities…students did not consistently prefer activities that entailed less cognitive decoding or encoding. Rather, they tended to prefer instructional organizations typically associated with lessening student anxiety such as group work and humor. Even more striking, Palacios (1998) found significant relationships between classroom environment variables, such as perceived degree of teacher support, affiliation, and involvement, and student anxiety levels in 11 Spanish classes. Thus, even though the classes had equal cognitive demands – they used a common syllabus and common examinations – students reported experiencing different levels of anxiety. (2000:257)

It is also with Sparks and Ganschow's neglect of the social context, together with the reservations expressed by Elaine Horwitz, that most concerns Peter MacIntyre. He feels that Sparks and Ganschow's almost exclusive attention on language codes, especially phonetic encoding, excludes, by default, other important variables:

> Language learning is more than acquiring the technical skill necessary to encode and reproduce sounds. It is the act of learning a new communication system, of opening new doors to new experiences through travel and interaction with other groups of people. It is the act of inheriting someone else's language and culture with the corresponding threats to one's ethnic identity and self-concept. (MacIntyre, 1995:245)

Essentially, both MacIntyre and Horwitz believe the complexity of language learning as an affective, communicative process with complex issues such as identity and self-concept at the core of this activity are not sufficiently considered by Sparks and Ganschow. Horwitz makes her point tby saying that "language learning is a complex interpersonal and social endeavor and to reject the role of affective factors is myopic and ultimately harmful"(2000: 257-258).

However, despite his criticism that the complexity of language learning is neglected in Sparks and Ganschow's work, MacIntyre himself has resulted to laboratory studies in order to show the effects of anxiety on learning. His study with Gardner (1994b) on computer-

mediated vocabulary learning saw groups of students divided into control and experimental groups and they were told that the vocabulary they would be learning would be used later in the study. A video camera was deliberately introduced at each stage: the input stage where learners encountered the new vocabulary for the first time; the processing stage where learners make connections between their existing knowledge and the new material; finally, the output stage where learners perform or demonstrate their knowledge. However, the control group never saw the camera. In MacIntyre's words:

> Results showed that anxiety increased most, and performance suffered most, immediately after the camera was introduced. As learners adapted to the camera and their anxiety dissipated, some recovery was from the effects of anxiety was evident, as expected. This provides support for the idea that anxiety creates disruption in cognitive activity at each of the stages. (2002:65)

In many respects this is the cognitive science par excellence model representing the mind in terms of computational processes when exposed to anxiety: at the input stage, similarities with Krashen's affective filter are evident – self-deprecating thoughts, worries concerning performance and other negative thoughts prevent effective processing of information; the processing stage is therefore starved of useful information that would help new learning to take place; the output stage bears the consequences of the previous stages 'faulty processing' as worries and negative thoughts result in impaired performance evidenced in features of speech such as stuttering, freezing up, false starts and linguistic errors. Here then, in effect, is the model of anxiety that has been particularly influential in SLA. Strongly influenced by cognitive psychology, it is not difficult to see how anxiety has come to be viewed as a negative affective state, an emotion inducing neural static and impairing performance and even language acquisition, an emotion, therefore, to be eliminated. This process is represented in Figure 2 below.

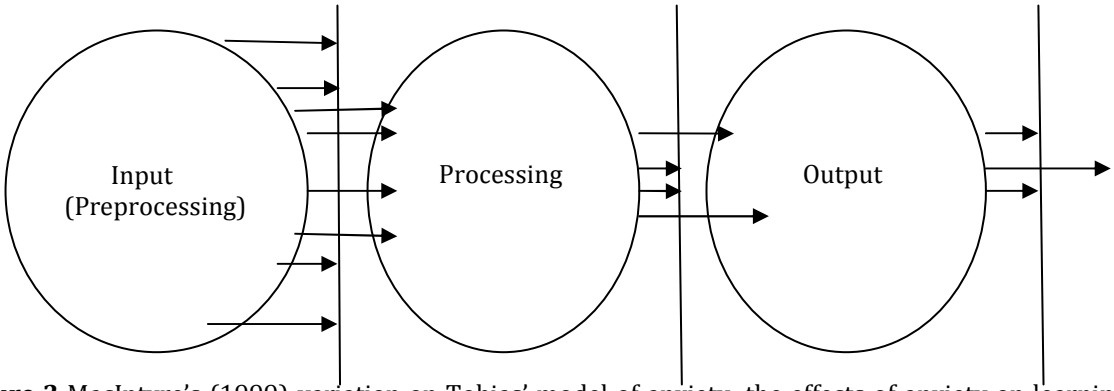

Figure 2 MacIntyre's (1999) variation on Tobias' model of anxiety: the effects of anxiety on learning from instruction

However, whilst it may shed a certain light on the process of anxiety, MacIntyre and Gardner's attempts at validating such a model are vulnerable to the criticism MacIntyre himself levelled at Sparks and Ganschow. Such laboratory studies do not account for the social context of language learning and give rise to overly neat, linear processes and fail to consider the myriad constraints of social encounters. Given that the focus of this study is that of exploring anxiety in trainee teachers on their TP, it is precisely the micro-details of face-to-face interaction in naturalistic contexts and their influence on LA which I hope will enrich the perspectives on this affective factor, details that have often been neglected in previous studies.

Nevertheless, despite such misgivings in relation to this prevailing conceptualisation of anxiety in SLA, and how LA is viewed as a largely negative influence on language learning, some researchers have endeavoured to broaden the picture, and proposed the idea that LA may be viewed from a more positive perspective. This competing view of anxiety a 'good' a facilitating anxiety will be briefly considered in the next section.

2.4.2 Boon or burden?: on the possible benefits of language anxiety

The second controversial debate that has been evident and is still far from resolved is whether anxiety can be said to have a positive effect on people. More specifically, can language anxiety facilitate learning? This is the central topic of this section.

Across a broad spectrum of activities and professions in societies, it is possible to find references to 'nerves', 'butterflies', 'anxiousness', 'tension', 'stage fright', 'performance anxiety', and the 'fear of public speaking' – to name just a few common expressions in English – with regard to the emotional states of individuals in anticipation of 'giving' some kind of performance. In music, theatre[48], stand-up comedy and, especially sports, the sense of being on the verge of a performance is often discussed in terms of nerves and anxiety and whether these emotions are helpful or otherwise. Generally speaking, some individuals appear to thrive in pressure situations whist others may be inhibited and negatively affected by their anxious reactions. A series of strategies to either enhance the positive or reduce the negative effects of such feelings are often found in training courses and counselling to ensure greater proximity between desired and actual performances.

[48] In relation to performing roles on stage in the theatre, the sense of 'stage fright' may well be considerably greater than performing in films due to the fact that roles in theatre are performed live in front of an audience whereas performances in films may be repeated through retakes. Whilst not denying the existence of anxiety in film acting, the live performance and pressure to get one's lines right is likely to affect the intensity of anxiety.

As we have previously noted, the prevailing view in SLA is that anxiety is a negative emotion both on performance and acquisition, but a distinction has been made in the literature between 'facilitating' and 'debilitating' anxiety or, what Oxford (1999a: 60-61) calls, 'helpful' and 'harmful' anxiety respectively.

Nevertheless, Scovel (2001) is critical of what he feels are the premature conclusions that many researchers in SLA have come to on the nature of anxiety. His opinion is that "to view anxiety as an enemy of language acquisition is unreasonable, inaccurate, and indefensible" (2001: 128), and he goes on to say that SLA has still much to learn on LA, not least from other academic fields:

> Were anxiety as simple as many would like to believe, a description of this pervasive emotion would end right here, but like so many psychological constructs, the more we examine it, the more complicated it gets. Despite the efforts of some SLA scholars to make sense of the anxiety research...our understanding of its relationship to language learning is mostly piecemeal and pales in perceptiveness when compared with the work done by applied psychologists in other fields, most notable sports psychology... it is neither good nor bad when it comes to human behaviour; it remains a natural emotion that plays varying roles on the emotional stage of our life. (2001:129)

Indeed, Scovel further draws on sports psychology when he refers to the Yerkes-Dodson law of arousal, or the more commonly invoked inverted-U curve, as a possible way of approaching and making inroads into the complexities of anxiety. This well-known theory holds that emotional arousal aids performance only up to a certain point but after which the performance begins to decline, in concrete terms if emotional arousal is too low, performance will be correspondingly below what is expected; likewise, if emotional arousal is too high, again performance will not be maximised; however, if emotional arousal is at an optimal level then maximum performance will be achieved for a certain duration of time before dropping off.

Scovel then goes on to cite a study (Sonstroem and Bernado, 1982 in Scovel, 2001: 129) that investigated the role of emotional arousal in a sporting context, more specifically in which female basketball players of low, moderate and high trait anxiety were found to perform differently under different levels of pressure. The study found that high trait players excelled in low and moderate anxiety conditions, far outperforming low and moderate trait players. Yet under high anxiety conditions, the performance of high trait players dropped off dramatically and they were outperformed by both low and moderate trait players, with the latter being the top performers. The point that Scovel makes here is that asking what type of trait anxiety player is the best basketball player is not the best approach but asking what type

of situation brings out the best in each type of trait player is line of questioning that will likely prove more fruitful. Here are Scovel's thoughts on this approach:

> Granted, it is a giant leap from studying basketball performance to trying to replicate this experiment with language learners, even if we substituted TOEFL scores for the composite basketball numbers. But it would be extremely surprising if state and trait anxiety didn't play similar roles in terms of language acquisition performance, and in the future, SLA researchers might profit from trying to adapt research designs from other areas of applied psychology so that learners and teachers can gain a deeper appreciation of the complex role that anxiety plays in human learning and skilled performance.(2001:131)

Whilst I personally welcome Scovel's receptivity to methods from other fields and his consistent approach in refusing to come to hasty verdicts on the nature of affective variables, especially anxiety, I do feel uneasy about making direct comparisons between sports and language learning and SLA. Although it is relatively straightforward to calculate how many goals, baskets, points, passes etc can be attributed to players at certain periods during a game, relating these factors to players' emotional states is far from easy – even in a context that is seemingly propitious for statistical analysis such as certain kinds of sports with clearly demarcated beginnings, intervening phases and endings to games. To attempt to envisage a comparable framework in the hugely complex process of learning a language is far more difficult. I can think of certain experimental-like research schemes that could be set up – such as comparing learners' oral performances and mistakes in given time limits, in either normal classes or under test conditions – in order to bring a language learning activity more in line with sports matches of varying degrees of pressure, but then this would be favouring experimental and quantitative paradigms that seem at odds with researching language learners in naturalistic contexts in which a great number of influences could never be accounted for.

Nevertheless, in terms of language learning and teacher training, such considerations bring to mind interesting and possibly useful questions for mentor, teacher trainers, and language teachers. In contexts akin to this study, would a trainee of a less nervous nature benefit from risking more in certain situations or a more anxious trainee be better served by avoiding situations of high pressure? Could teacher trainers on institutional courses conceive and implement pedagogical activities of varying degrees of pressure which are likely to demand greater reflection on the part of pre-service teachers on eventual difficulties they may face in their TP, on their underlying strengths and weaknesses, on aspects of their identities, teaching and learning beliefs, and even on their own emotions and how these relate to their practice?

Alarcão (1996), in discussing the influence of Schön's (1983) notion of the reflective practitioner and the central role reflection has come to play in supervision and teacher training, suggests that teacher training courses in Portugal are not providing trainees with adequate tools to deal with problems they face during their TP, and she expresses her belief that this happens because:

...não fomos capazes de os preparar para lidar com situações novas, ambíguas, confusas, para as quais nem as teorias aplicadas nem as técnicas de decisão e os raciocínios aprendidos fornecem soluções lineares. (1996:14)

It may well be the case that it is precisely in these novel, ambiguous and confusing situations in which emotions, such as debilitating and facilitating anxiety, questions of self image and issues related to identity are to be found and indeed thrive. Alerting future teachers – and indeed language learners – to the likelihood that they will experience such disorienting experiences as part of their learning curves, and to allow them to discuss, and, if possible, to have a limited taste of such situations, and then to reflect on these might just provide these trainees with sufficient knowledge to be in a better position to deal with the complexities of teaching and learning.

Similarly, there seems little justification for teachers not to consider designing particular activities for students given their experiences of anxiety in order to enhance their strengths, motivation and skills in language learning. Indeed Ohata (2005a), in a study using the semi-structured interview to explore the perspectives on LA of seven experienced EFL/ESL teachers[49], found that while some of these teachers acknowledged that anxiety could have a negative impact on learning and acquisition, they also expressed the idea that anxiety could also have a positive effect on successful learning.

In relation to language learning, Scovel (1978, 2001) cites Kleinmann's (1977), study which gave rise to the terms *facilitating* anxiety and *debilitating* anxiety, because the relationship between these two anxieties seems to be evident in the use of certain linguistic structures. These terms derive from the classic binary distinction of 'fight' and 'flight' responses. Applied to language learning, then, facilitating anxiety helps the learner to 'fight' the new task or structure and is often seen as that state somewhere between anxiety and nervousness that keeps us alert and gives us a competitive edge, whereas debilitating anxiety causes us to 'flee' the new task or structure and hence leads to avoidance behaviour.

[49] At the time of the study, these teachers were enrolled on a MA TESOL course at Indiana University of Pennsylvania, USA. Two of the teachers came from Taiwan, while the other five came from China, Korea, Japan and the USA respectively. Their experience ranged from 3 years to 15 years.

Oxford and Ehrman (1993, cited in Oxford, 1999a) also found evidence that such facilitating anxiety improved the performance of high language proficiency and self-confident language learners whereas Horwitz (cited in Oxford and Ehrman, 1993) found that anxiety was only helpful for relatively simple learning tasks, but not for complex learning processes such as language learning.

The notions of facilitating and debilitating anxiety really came to the fore in SLA as a result of Bailey's (1983) well-known diary studies, which led her to conclude after reflecting on her own language learning experiences that many of her own references in her diaries had origins in her competitiveness. Bailey commented that such competitive feelings could arise either from wanting to do better or be as good as her classmates, or from an "ideal image" in her mind of what a good language learner should be like. These feelings could lead either to 'facilitating anxiety', that is, she tried to do better, or 'debilitating anxiety', that is, she skipped class or avoided the task. Bailey says:

> In formal instructional settings, if such anxiety motivates the learner to study the target language, it is *facilitating.* On the other hand, if it is severe enough to cause the learner to withdraw from the language classroom (either mentally or physically, temporarily or permanently), such anxiety is *debilitating.* (1983:96)

Bailey's (1983) model of the role anxiety plays in language learning can be seen in Figure 3. Bailey's model has been an influential one in SLA and it is no surprise that Block (2007), in his exploration of second language identities, refers to her study, which gave rise to this model, as "seminal" (2007: 61). There are several reasons why this is the case.

First, Bailey was an applied linguist revealing her own feelings and reactions to her efforts as she attended a French course in order to pass a translation test which was part of the requirements for passing her PhD. A lot, then, was at stake in her need to progress in French, and the act of revealing was significant.

Secondly, as Block points out, the sole reliance on diaries as a source of data "means a move away from the reliance on questionnaire-based correlation studies and elicited language data that characterized previous research into affective factors" (2007: 61).

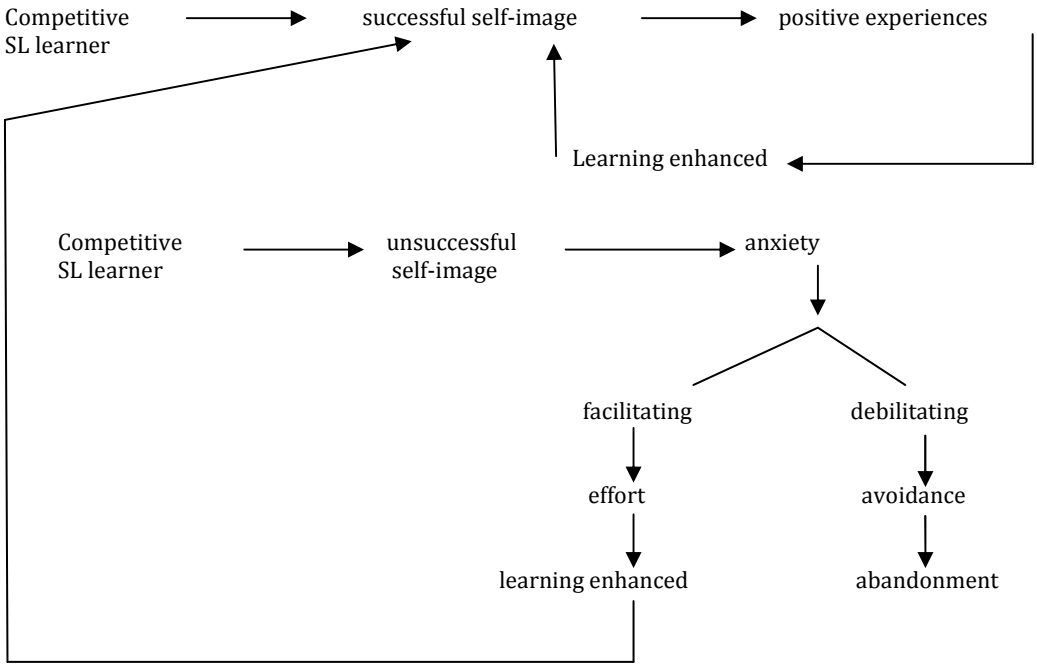

Figure 3 Bailey's model of anxiety in language learning (based on Bailey 1983: 97)

Thirdly, and perhaps, most importantly, Block says that although Bailey's study was published 25 years ago, it contained the seeds of, and presaged, albeit unwittingly, the concern with identity that would eventually take root and flower in SLA. After making his point that her methodology departed from previous research and that "her analytical framework was solely about competitiveness and anxiety" (2007: 64), Block relates her work to identity thus:

> With the benefit of hindsight and access to broader and more expansive frameworks, a researcher today would likely see competitiveness and anxiety as by-products of a more global phenomenon, and that is the ongoing process of self-positioning that diarists engage in. From this perspective, Bailey...and the other diarists were engaged in an ongoing process of discursively constructing an identity in the context of their participation in a language course. (2007:64)

This notion is highly relevant to this study in that trainee teachers' experience of anxiety may partly arise from their attempts to establish what they see as coherent and desirable images of themselves as language teachers.

Indeed, in retrospect and with the benefit of further insights such as Block's, I feel my own experience of anxiety was indicative of identity work as I attempted to come to terms with a new context which impacted on my life. However, when I reflect on Bailey's model in relation to my own experience, it is difficult for me to place this clearly under either the

debilitating or facilitating anxiety label. At times I avoided and even abandoned temporarily my contact with Portuguese in my then new learning situation but at times it seemed as if avoidance and effort were part of the same process. I would generally place my feelings under facilitating anxiety as I do think that I had an unsuccessful image of myself as a language learner and this led me to make a far greater effort in learning Portuguese, but I am far from sure that this led to a successful self-image. I am certain, too, that at times it felt more like debilitating than facilitating, but this could change within minutes, never mind days or weeks. In terms of what self-image this led to, it would be more accurate to say a less unsuccessful self-image than was previously the case.

This is not to detract from the value of Bailey's model in advancing our understanding of emotions but to draw attention to the sometimes overly neat schemas and linear nature of processes represented in models. In their paper on emotion processes in SLA, So and Domínguez (2005) comment in the following manner on Scovel's assertion "that affective variables are the area that SLA researchers understand the least" (2001: 140):

> Scovel's remark can be read as signalling the need for a radical departure from such classic paradigms as experimental and correlational approaches to research on emotion and language acquisition. The new paradigm should emphasize *emotion process* (rather than *emotional state*), that is, dynamic self-organizing processes of emotions that are non-linear and constantly emerging through the causal interdependence among internal and external variables on different timescales. (So with Domínguez, 2005:51, emphasis in original)

Whilst I think their interpretation of Scovel's remarks is entirely and optimistically wide of the mark – given his clear admiration for Kleinmann and other researchers' experimental or quantitative research on affective variables – their counsel that emotions be viewed as dynamic processes as opposed to monolithic states is a valid one and provides an alternative perspective when (re)assessing models, in this case Bailey's, which often present affective variables as either or states resulting in either or consequences. In part, Scovel (2001: 140) recognises this when he says "even one emotion...is actually multifaceted".

Another factor which is important to refer to here is that anxiety, as will be seen in the following sections, is intimately related to and cuts across other affective factors, with its relationship to motivation being of particular importance.

Tudor points this out when discussing the notion of facilitating anxiety and the difficulty in distinguishing it from motivation. Facilitating anxiety, he says, looks:

> …very much like motivation or desire for achievement combined with a burst of task-oriented effort: these are undeniably necessary for success, but it is less clear whether the term 'facilitating anxiety' captures the essence of the process in the most insightful manner. (1996:107)

Gardner and MacIntyre also say that "the similarities between facilitating anxiety and motivation are striking" (1993a: 6). One of the problematic areas, then, is that of the terminology itself. In actual fact, what some researchers refer to as 'facilitating anxiety', others have referred to as 'operational tension' or 'tension'. Mathews (1996: 38) cites Liontiev's explanation of Soviet psychologists' distinction between 'emotional tension' and 'operational tension', the former being an emotional reaction to stressful situations when individuals perceive a mismatch between their own motives and competencies and the demands of the situation itself, while the latter refers to a harmonious tension that allows the individual to gradually ease into the task at hand, and results in the "best possible performance".

Mathews advocates that at times the teacher should increase "negative affect" in "non-anxious or less anxious students" (1996: 39) in order to produce operational tension in situations when "students have little incentive to do well". Part of his experimental study appeared to substantiate this claim when US students of Spanish were given a grammar exercise to complete. The control group was given a sheet of paper with 'Spanish exercise' as a heading, was told that it was data for another teacher, and was not timed; the experimental group, however, was given a sheet of paper with 'Spanish test' as a heading, was told it would count to their final course grades, and was also given a time limit of 20 minutes to complete the exam. The results, Mathews reports, were significant between the two groups, with the experimental group outperforming the control group on what was the same test. Operational tension, Mathews, therefore, argues was augmented as a result of students attention to details associated with high pressure situations.

The question of terminology is also evident in Young's (1992) interviews with four well-known foreign language specialists[50] on the subject of LA. One of Young's questions to these specialists was 'Can we attribute a positive aspect to anxiety?'. Krashen says that there is, in fact, "something called facilitative anxiety" (1992: 160) but that this only has a positive effect on language learning, but not acquisition, in other words it heightens attention to tasks through the use of his 'Monitor' model. Hadley prefers to speak of "a good kind of tension" (ibid.: 161) as opposed to anxiety, while Terrell calls it "attention", adding that "the ...verb I like to use is attend to" (ibid.: 162), stressing that acquisition is more likely if one attends to and actively seeks to make sense of the input as opposed to being merely exposed to the input as Krashen suggests. In Terrell's words "you want an optimal level of arousal that motivates the students to pay more careful attention to what you're saying" (ibid.). Finally,

[50] The specialists in question were: Stephen Krashen, Alice Omaggio Hadley, Tracy Terrell, and Jennybelle Rardin.

Rardin speaks about "a state of optimal tension" and says that "a positive aspect of anxiety is operative all the time" (ibid.) but this only becomes a negative force that can hinder learning when the individual concerned is not prepared for the shift from positive to negative tension and is not "given ways to constructively respond to it" (ibid.).

In some respects, then, what seems to complicate the discussion on facilitative anxiety is the uncertainty Spielmann and Radnofsky (2001: 262) identify in the discourse surrounding what they feel is a "familiar proposition to language teachers" but on the other hand is "something of an oxymoron given the negative denotation of the word anxiety".

However, this debate has not been exclusive to SLA. In the general field of education the construct of some kind of optimal state of tension or attention has also been seen as a key issue in learning, for example, such a state of attention is what Bruner (1960) views as ideal for learning:

> Somewhere between apathy and wild excitement, there is an optimum level of aroused attention that is ideal for classroom activity. What is that level? Frenzied activity fostered by the competitive project may leave no pause for reflection, for evaluation, for generalization, while excessive orderliness, with each student waiting passively for his turn, produces boredom and ultimately apathy. (1960:72)

Perhaps the most recent and sophisticated embodiment of this ideal state of learning has been the concept of 'flow' developed by the psychologist Csikszentmihalyi (see discussion in Goleman, 1996: 91-92), and which Goleman thinks could prove invaluable in educational contexts:

> Represents perhaps the ultimate in harnessing the emotions in the service of performance and learning. In flow the emotions are not just contained and channelled, but positive, energised and aligned with the task at hand. (1996:90)

Although the choice of terminology in denoting such a positive emotion is far from unanimous, there seems strong evidence that researchers in SLA education and psychology believe such an emotion is attainable and worth striving for. It is, perhaps, no mistake that Csikszentmihalyi sees 'flow' on an emotional and intellectual continuum sandwiched between apathy and anxiety, somewhat similar to Bruner's (1960:72) idea of an optimum level of attention for learning. In language learning, such a state may be more difficult to attain and maintain due to students' limited proficiency in the foreign language whereas the complex process of learning a foreign language in a classroom harbours considerable potential for anxiety. The teacher's, role, in the context of this perspective, then, is to prevent or reduce 'debilitating anxiety' while aiming to facilitate 'flow' in students – or, in other words encourage and increase positive emotions whilst reducing the negative ones. As for trainee

teachers, perhaps we can envisage how a more facilitative anxiety or optimal state of tension in the classroom may aid them in maintaining their own and students' attention in the interaction and encourage greater involvement on their own part to mention just two possibilities. However, what is worth bearing in mind is that Bailey's facilitative anxiety – as well as my own –developed over a period of weeks and a series of lessons so exploring trainee teachers' emotions as processes over time is likely to involve a complex web of reactions, and behaviour which are difficult to predict.

As a final thought on this controversial area, and still related to the semantics of key terms used, it is worth remembering that in *Setting the scene* I noted that in the English language one can use the phrases "anxious to do something" and "to be anxious about something", the first indicating a desire or eagerness to act and wanting to please whereas the latter indicates a vague sense of unease or apprehension about a certain situation. In her discussion on language anxiety and self-esteem, Ortega (2007) also makes reference to this distinction and essentially relates "anxious to do" with facilitating anxiety and "anxious about" with debilitating anxiety:

> With reference to this distinction between debilitating and facilitating anxiety, it is certainly not irrelevant that semantically we must differentiate between the person who feels anxious about speaking a L2 and the person who feels anxious to speak the L2. (2007:115)

Giddens (1991) in his discussion of ontological anxiety suggests that 'anxious to' signifies that the person knows what the object of his or her anxiety is whereas 'anxious about' indexes their uncertainty or unawareness of the object of their anxiety.

It is possible, then, to see how these key terms may influence and be evidenced in teacher behaviour. It is not difficult to imagine trainees trying to live up to certain images they want to establish for themselves in relation to their mentors, who are evaluating them, or in relation to their pupils who, albeit in different ways are also doing the same. Aiming to meet objectives they either set themselves or are established for them is likely to involve trying to maintain certain levels of motivation and desire. Here I think it is possible to imagine facilitating anxiety being harnessed to clear goals. On the other hand, faced with uncertainties and difficulties in the unpredictable context of the classroom may also lead one to be anxious about, therefore leading to feelings more readily associated with debilitating anxiety.

However, whilst this distinction may bring to mind certain possibilities that can be explored in research, it would be unwise not to consider alternative emotional configurations, for example, facilitating anxiety may well lead to extra effort and enhanced

learning but this may not necessarily lead to a successful self-image. In one of my previous projects (Daubney, 2004), one of the subjects – a pre-service teacher in her language classes – had high expectations of herself, exhibited perfectionist tendencies, had excellent marks but still often felt disappointed and frustrated with her own – usually spoken – contributions in class. Indeed, her anxiety seemed to derive from her constant striving to fulfil unrealistic expectations she had established for herself.

The contributions to the facilitating-debilitating anxiety debate therefore allow researchers to consider a range of possible reactions on the part of individuals, although at times it is difficult to fully distinguish facilitating anxiety from a heightened form of motivation. Nevertheless, I consider it an important distinction and one of significant relevance for trainee teachers not least because it is closely related to questions of motivation and identity which are fundamental to all teachers and, perhaps, even more so to trainees, many of whom face uncertainty and the possibility of failure.

In many respects, however, the facilitating and debilitating debate centres on and endorses the commonly held view that success is partly predicated on the possibility of failure. In Allwright and Bailey's words:

> Knowing that success is not guaranteed, but that making an effort might make all the difference between success and failure, we may do better precisely because our anxiety has spurred us on. If, on the other hand, we would really like to succeed but feel that no matter how hard we try, we are most likely to fail, then our anxiety is likely to make it even more difficult for us to produce our best. (1991:172)

It is difficult to dispute the common consensus that the most visible form of 'producing our best', to borrow Allwright and Bailey's expression, in language learning and teaching is most immediately associated with speaking. Given the reference made above to the speaking skills of a pre-service teacher in her language classes and the obvious importance that speaking skills exercise in the lives of language teachers, this provides an opportune moment to move on and discuss the fact that much anxiety research has established speaking as the skill most likely to be associated with the experience of LA. I will therefore now consider the relationship between interaction and language anxiety in the classroom.

2.5 Interaction and its relationship to anxiety in the language classroom

In this section I explore the background and research that has been carried out in relation to LA and interaction from a more general perspective. The focus of LA research has

been on the learners in the language classroom and not teachers. The importance of trainee language teachers exercising and developing their speaking skills together with the fact that anxiety research (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope, 1986; Philips, 1999; Price, 1991; Young, 1986, 1991, 1992) has found speaking to be the skill most associated with anxiety, means that interaction and anxiety are considered key variables to be discussed and explored in this study. Later in this chapter, I do focus more narrowly on the particular reasons why teachers may experience LA.

However, trainee teachers are, in many respects, still learners so I do feel that many of the considerations of this section still hold great relevance and are likely to contribute to a more rounded understanding of the ideas discussed further on. It is also important that the ideas discussed in this section and the sections on what I have designated 'Learner personality variables' (see 2.6), are seen as subsumed within the complex perspectives of emotion and interaction that were discussed in Chapter 1.

Whilst competency in oral skills is not the sole requirement of a proficient language teacher, the emphasis in Portuguese schools remains firmly on the communicative – a brief glance at the objectives, methodology and terminology used in the *Programmas do Inglês* will quickly confirm this – so speaking skills continue to be a key area of competences to be practised and developed by both teachers and pupils.

This study views speaking from a perspective of spoken interaction. The *Common European Framework of Reference* defines interactive activities as when "the language user acts alternately as speaker and listener with one or more interlocutors so as to construct conjointly, through the negotiation of meaning…conversational discourse" (2001: 71). Taking into account the management strategies required to carry out real time interaction together with its face to face nature, it is not difficult to see the potential for anxiety arising during this process. In addition, language classrooms are formal contexts where social and academic evaluation are commonplace and, hence, the potential for anxiety is likely to be augmented.

When discussing the origins and development of LA, I referred to the influence of communication studies. John Daly, a scholar working in this field, has explored the possible links between communication apprehension in the first language and that of LA. Before going on to examine Daly's contribution to this discussion, it should be said that Daly leaves us in no doubt as to the importance of oral communication in educational contexts in today's world:

> From the start of a person's schooling, willingness to communicate plays an important role in how well one performs and how positively one is perceived. In early studies, scholars found that teachers have a positive bias toward talkative children in their classrooms…This bias is reflected in the policy of many teachers to include classroom participation in grade calculations…we live in an educational world where orality is seen as a necessary, personal positive characteristic… (1991: 6-7)

Although Daly's comments refer to the North American educational context, were based on first language communication apprehension, and were made nearly two decades ago, it is difficult to argue that his words remain anything other than relevant both within and beyond the Portuguese context. First of all, it seems intuitively sound to suggest that orality is also perceived and recognised as an important skill in Portugal. Secondly, while teachers of different disciplines may choose not to incorporate oral performances into their schemes of assessment, the learning of foreign languages often entails an oral examination or performance, particularly in higher education. In fact, with the emphasis firmly in favour of communicative approaches in Portuguese schools, speaking, in theory at least, is likely to be a valued and integral part of language programmes. Furthermore, in relation to the trainees of this research project, their speaking skills are constantly assessed throughout their TP.

In the Portuguese context, Moreira (1990) identified certain oral difficulties trainee teachers of English experienced while doing their teacher training. These difficulties led her to conclude that pre-service training courses would do well to examine the specific needs of future teachers as, among other things: "…they lack certain basic language skills which are of paramount importance, e.g. giving clear instructions, formulating correct questions, answering questions clearly…" (Moreira, 1990: 141). Whilst my study does not directly study the specific skills required by teachers, it is likely that any patterns of linguistic difficulties experienced by trainees may not only point up specific skills that need improving but also to possible sources of anxiety. In a previous project Daubney (2004) found that pre-service teachers often voiced their fears that they felt unprepared for teaching. Furthermore, teachers/mentors in schools and higher education institutions often complain about the oral competence of teacher trainees. It seems fair to surmise, then, on the back of these considerations that oral skills are a focal point for concerns on the part of trainees and mentors as well as the students themselves.

More specifically, LA research has consistently shown that speaking in the classroom and students' perceptions of their speaking ability is consistently cited as the primary source of their experience of language anxiety. Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope, for example, affirm that counsellors at the Language Skills Center at the University of Texas "…find anxiety centers on the two basic task requirements of foreign language learning: listening and speaking" (1986, in Horwitz and Young 1991: 29). One male student, for example, "…claims to hear only a loud buzz whenever his teacher speaks the foreign language" (ibid.: 29). Nevertheless, Horwitz confirms that speaking remains the focal point of students' worries: "Difficulty in speaking in

class is probably the most frequently cited concern of the anxious foreign language students seeking help at the LSC [Language Skills Center] (ibid.: 29)". At the turn of the present century, Phillips had the following to say:

> Based on consistent results showing that the speaking skill is the most frequently cited source of anxiety among language students, one might posit that today's emphasis on the development of communicative competence will exacerbate students' anxiety about speaking. If teachers are unwilling to renounce the goals of the oral proficiency movement, they must seek a resolution to the apparent conflict between those goals and the negative affective reactions engendered by oral practice. (1999: 125)

In a qualitative study on language anxiety, Price (1991) also found speaking to be the crucial factor in explaining language anxiety:

> Subjects were asked to indicate what aspects of foreign language classes bothered them the most. Answers to this question were surprisingly consistent. They all responded that the greatest source of anxiety was having to speak the target language in front of their peers. They all spoke of their fears of being laughed at by other students, particularly in secondary school language classes. (1991:105)

However, Price only interviewed those students who were considered highly anxious, so, perhaps, such reflections on the part of these students were, to a certain extent, to be expected. Nevertheless, Young encountered similar reactions from university students: "First and foremost, students are saying that they become more anxious when they have to speak in front of others" (1990: 550.)

In previous studies (Daubney,2001, 2002, 2004), I found that a considerable number of university and polytechnic students in Portugal studying to be English language teachers also found speaking and spoken interaction to be the factors that caused them most anxiety; more specifically, and in an attempt to narrow down the sources of this fear, I related these students' comments to Horwitz et al.'s (1986) three categories, that is, communication apprehension, fear of negative social evaluation and test anxiety and found that speaking in front of the class was considered the most anxiety-provoking activity due to the twin-perception of evaluation by their colleagues and the teacher whereas speaking in and of itself and the sense of evaluation appeared to exert less of an influence.

When specifically studying language anxiety in relation to speaking, however, it should be borne in mind that communication apprehension in the students' first language may be a contributing factor to levels of anxiety. Communication anxiety is defined by Daly as "the fear or anxiety an individual feels about communicating orally" (1991: 3). However, the anxiety levels of students, as Young (ibid.: 550) points out in her study on university students, may "decrease as a reaction to pair work or small-group work." She therefore suggests that:

"Communication apprehension would be, therefore, an integral part of any theoretical model of language anxiety" (ibid.: 550).

The public nature of much classroom discourse, therefore, is likely to influence levels of anxiety in the foreign language classroom. Although the factors which Daly details have been elaborated and studied in communication studies from quantitative and correlational perspectives, any findings that bolster understanding of how LA may arise in the situational features of given contexts are to be welcomed.

Firstly, Daly (ibid.:10) says communication apprehension goes hand in hand with social situations. This would seem to go some way to substantiating Young's assertion that the more public the performance, the more anxiety-provoking this becomes for the speaker.

Secondly, Daly also cites ambiguity as a characteristic contributing to communication apprehension. Language learning has the potential for ambiguity and when speaking, students and teachers do not operate in a vacuum and are often faced with having to respond to questions or queries, and clarify and negotiate meanings, and when involved in this interaction they must understand what is being said.

Thirdly, Daly says that the greater the degree of evaluation, the greater the situational apprehension, which in the context of foreign language classroom helps to explain students' high anxiety levels when doing an oral presentation in front of the class, taking an oral exam, or simply interacting with their colleagues and/or teacher. This notion of evaluation also includes social evaluation as well as academic evaluation. In the case of a TP, the trainees are faced with what can effectively be referred to as a type of multi-layered, constant and intense evaluation. Not only are they evaluated by their pupils – perhaps a factor that is little acknowledged with the emphasis in LA research on student anxiety[51] – but also by their mentor, supervising teacher and colleagues.

The fourth characteristic that Daly believes may be of relevance to language learning is that of 'conspicuousness'. This is the idea of feeling self-conscious and exposed to an uncomfortable degree. Daly illustrates this concept with the following example:

> Imagine walking into a party and having everyone turn to stare at you. That experience alone is likely to make you more anxious. People prefer not be the focus of attention especially when they feel they are engaging in an activity where their competence is low. (1991:10)

[51] In the research for my Master's (2004) project, some pre-service teachers revealed in discussions about their language learning experiences that they used to laugh at their teachers when they made pronunciation mistakes, and expressed the view that they expected higher levels of proficiency from a language teacher.

This scenario gives an idea of what students may have to cope with. Not only do they have to activate and use their speaking skills and communicative competence in order to communicate effectively, but they will also have to deal with an array of nonverbal behaviours such as smiles, stares, gazes, frowns, laughter and gestures, which, depending on the authors of such nonverbal behaviour, may further increase anxiety levels, that is to say the presence of certain colleagues and/or the teacher and the interpretation of their behaviour – both verbal and nonverbal – may make certain people more anxious while speaking. Again to make a brief reference to the context of this study, trainees are constantly and highly visible and, very often, the focus of classroom interaction, so the option of falling back on being just one in a class of students is not a viable one.

At this point, it is also worth drawing attention to the notion of competence. Daly makes the point that people would rather not be the "focus of attention especially if they feel they are engaging in an activity where their competence is low". Generally speaking, this may be the case, but I found that even a native speaker of English was reluctant to speak English in the classroom due to the negative comments and looks she said she had been subjected to at secondary school because of her Australian accent (Daubney, 2004). In terms of all round proficiency, this girl was one of the most competent students in the class. Competency, then, cannot simply be wheeled out as a convenient excuse for the experience or not of anxious feelings. The intricate and ever-changing factors to be found in the contexts of communication defy such simplistic conclusions.

This point leads us directly into Daly's final consideration of features of the communication context that influence communication apprehension – that of 'prior history'. According to Daly, peoples' previous negative or positive experiences in certain settings are likely to contribute to further experiences in the same or similar settings:

> People who previously have had positive experiences learning languages are, in all likelihood, less anxious about conquering another one than are those who recollect nothing but fear, anxiety and failure from prior attempts. (1991:10)

In the case of the Australian student mentioned above, the negative reactions to her accent that she experienced in a secondary school in Portugal influenced her subsequent language learning experience to the point that she was reluctant to participate orally in her language classes at university. In a class discussion on language anxiety this student said that as a result of her experiences, and despite "many times" wanting to contribute, she feels content to look and listen. In her own words: "I just sort of let other people do the talking and listen" (Daubney, 2001: 42). She also expressed her opinion that she speaks "English

reasonably well". The latter point indicates how to a considerable degree her perception of her own competence had been undermined by her sensitivity to her colleagues' reactions. Therefore, acknowledging prior experience as an influence on how LA develops is a perspective taken into account in this study. In fact, in the first language context, this perspective bears strong resemblances to Macintyre's conceptualisation of how foreign language anxiety develops (see 2.3 of this chapter).

In relation to language learners, Wenden's study (1987) of twenty-five ESL learners, established a relationship between the language learning strategies they said they used and the language learning beliefs they held. An example that Wenden gives is that of learners who favoured beliefs about 'using the language': "Learners who emphasised the importance of using the language would often utilize communication strategies" (1987: 103). It is not difficult, therefore, to foresee pockets of tension and dissatisfaction surfacing in the classroom if students feel that their beliefs are not being attended to or given room for expression (see Stevick's examples at the beginning of 1.1 in Chapter 1).

Other factors will include how they have been previously taught, that is to say the methodology in the classroom that they are used to, the types of activities included in the methodology, and, of course, the teacher. In relation to speaking, for example, it has already been noted that making mistakes is one of the prevailing concerns of students. According to Horwitz, the beliefs held by students concerning mistakes can often induce anxiety. In Horwitz's own words many of these "students would seem to be in the unfortunate situation of making mistakes while at the same time believing it is important to avoid them" (1988: 292-293). This discrepancy, then, between student beliefs and actual practice in the classroom, and the resulting consequences that arise from this interplay, has, according to Wenden, clear pedagogical implications:

> They provide us with learners' views on these methodological questions and can be a source of insight into their learning difficulties and to the overt and hidden resistance to some of the activities we organize to help them learn. (ibid.:113)

Students' beliefs, therefore, are seen a potential source of anxiety, which may be manifested in a variety of classroom activities, including speaking.

An additional and related factor here is that which Oxford has labelled as "style wars", that is, "a clash between the style of a particular language learner and the style of a given language teacher" (1999b: 215), and which may lead to heightened anxiety in foreign language learning. Oxford gives examples of styles common to both teachers and students but which may prove to be sources of anxiety if teacher and student(s) have different styles.

Examples of such "style wars" are: introverted versus extroverted, intuitive-random versus concrete sequential, and analytic vs. global (ibid.: 219), and Oxford suggests these "style clashes" may have an influence on interaction in the classroom. Relating this to speaking in the classroom, it is possible to take the introverted versus extroverted "style war" as an example. Introverted learners are, according to Oxford, generally motivated by their own feelings, ideas and thoughts, and being put into a situation where they have to perform or communicate – other than on their own terms – may cause them considerable discomfort:

> Introverted students or teachers…prefer to work alone or with others whom they know well, and they are often uninspired by typical kinds of group work. Thy can in certain circumstances become extremely anxious if put into a situation in which they feel the need to perform or communicate, particularly with strangers, because they dislike evaluation by other people in social settings. (1999b:218)

On the other hand, extroverted students or teachers feel motivated and stimulated by people and events outside themselves and are "usually eager to engage in conversation and work in groups. Social situations ordinarily do not cause extroverted people to become anxious; they might become anxious when they have to work alone" (ibid.: 218-219). It is possible therefore to consider teacher and students' preferred learning styles as a potential source of anxiety. An extroverted teacher who values speaking and conversation, particularly in whole class situations, may increase the anxiety levels of their more introverted students, whilst more extroverted students who value conversation and speaking activities may feel frustrated and anxious with the less social character of interaction in the classroom. Admittedly, learning styles incorporate a great deal more complexity and variety than the above examples, or this study, is able to do justice to. However, given the emphasis of spoken interaction in this study, the acknowledgement of such dimensions is seen as worthwhile in an exploratory study that aims to account for a greater understanding of the subtle influences in naturalistic contexts.

A further reason for students experiencing anxiety in relation to speaking is their perceptions of their speaking ability. As LA research has established speaking as the skill most cited by learners as being anxiety-provoking, their perceptions of their competence may a play key role in determining their self-esteem, motivation and anxiety levels. Foss and Reitzel's research (1988) in this area found that 'communication apprehensives', whether speaking their first or learning an additional language, are more likely to have low self-esteem, perceive themselves as less worthy than others and to think of their communication as less effective than their colleagues. In relation to foreign or second language learning, Foss and Reitzel outline the common ground between communication apprehension and LA:

> With second language learners, there are the additional feelings of incompetence about grasping the language in the first place and about the inability to present oneself in a way consistent with one's self image. In both forms of anxiety, negative self-perceptions set in motion a perpetuating cycle of negative evaluations that may persist in spite of evaluations from others to the contrary. (1988:440)

As Foss and Reitzel's comments infer, from the teacher's perspective it is important to realise that their evaluations of students may not always match that of the students' evaluations of themselves. Some students will continue to be negative and anxious despite their teacher and peers' evaluation being favourable and positive in outlook. In the situational context of the language classroom, and from a socio-cultural view of learning, to which this research project subscribes, perceptions are co-constructed in socio-historic contexts, and seen as pivotal in the learning process. Foss and Reitzel underline the importance of perceptions in the social context of the classroom:

> If competence is assumed to be an interpersonal impression that depends on the individuals involved, their relationship, and the nature of the encounter, the perceptions of those involved must take priority… a communicator is competent if so perceived by self and/or others. (ibid.:441)

From this perspective, then, students' perceptions of their competence can be a source of anxiety, and this anxiety, in turn, may affect performance, self-esteem and one's identity as language leaner, but rather than see this competence as a fixed, stable entity, located solely within the student, it can be viewed from a more socially constructed perspective, a competence that is discursively established. "The focus", in Foss and Reitzel's words, "is placed not on the individual performances of students but on self-perceptions as they occur in specific episodes and contexts" (ibid.: 442).

Katherine Bailey (1983), as noted in the previous section, posits such a view of perceptions and their relation to anxiety in her diary study. Identifying her competitiveness as a pivotal force, Bailey commented that this could arise either from wanting to do better or be as good as her classmates, or from an "ideal image" of what she considered to be a good language learner. However, this competitiveness may lead to anxiety "when the learner sees himself as less proficient than the object of comparison" (1983: 96). What Bailey confirms, then, is that anxiety is often caused or exacerbated when perceiving oneself in relation to others, and what the language learner "perceives as real may be more important to that person's language learning experience than any external reality" (ibid.: 86).

As will be seen later in this chapter (2.9), this notion is of particular importance in relation to the post-observation conferences where the group of trainees and mentors meet

to discuss and reflect on the lessons which the trainees have given on their practice, and in which the sense of comparison is likely to be a key shaping factor.

Comparing oneself in relation to others is also something foreign language students and teachers often do – consciously or not – in relation to native speakers (Rajagopalan, 2005). In Price's study (1991), students often felt embarrassed and anxious about the discrepancy that they felt existed between their pronunciation and that of a native speaker of the target language. In Kitano's (2001) study of anxiety in university students in the Japanese language classroom carried out in the United States, the native speaker teacher was found to be an influential figure in language classes, especially on students' self-perception of competence:

> It is not easy to tell students not to compare themselves with native speakers. After all, they are always expected to learn from tapes and videos of native speakers in communication with one another. Furthermore, when their teachers are native speakers, students are exposed to the expert language level of native speakers on a daily basis. Language teachers should watch for learners who immediately set their goals as high as the level of native speakers, because this unrealistic expectation inevitably makes them perceive their ability as insufficient and causes them anxiety. (2001 558)

The native speaker is also relevant to teachers because in today's societies pupil diversity is an ever-increasing feature of schools, and in Portuguese schools the sons and daughters of returning Portuguese immigrants, as well as immigrants from other countries, often means language teachers have native speakers of the language they are teaching in their classes, which may, of course, constitute a further source of discomfort and/or motivation for some foreign language teachers.

Indeed, like all of the factors that have been discussed in this section, a mirror effect is applicable here, that is to say that although speaking and its relationship to anxiety have been seen from the students' perspective, it is relatively easy to imagine the trainee in the place of the 'traditional' student. Of course, the trainees' worries are of a different order but parallel concerns are clearly common to them both. Furthermore, as far as trainee teachers are concerned, such worries are likely accentuated because their status and identities are on a slippery continuum between learner and teacher, and such uncertainty is likely to go hand in hand with ambiguous thoughts and feelings.

In attempting to sum up the importance of speaking, then, it can be said that whilst not the only skill foreign language teachers and students should value, it undoubtedly remains of crucial significance, and more often than not remains the skill that both teachers

and students perceive as *the* most important and hence the skill they aspire to master. Kitano confirms this perspective when he says:

> Among the skills taught and presented in the FL class, speaking skill is usually the first thing that learners compare with that of their peers, teachers and native speakers. Many students also believe that speaking is the most important skill they need to learn in language courses. (2001:550)

From the perspective of this study, trainees' perceptions of their speaking skills will be greatly shaped by their experiences in the classroom but will also be validated, disputed and negotiated when discussing their teaching performances in the post-observation conferences, which in turn are seen as key influences on trainee anxiety. The experience of anxiety, however, is intimately entwined tied up with other affective variables, including issues of identity, experienced and co-constructed by the learner and his or her interlocutors in social contexts. Those of motivation, self-esteem, inhibition, risk-taking and identity and their relationship to anxiety will be considered in the following sections.

2.6 Learner personality variables and their relationship to anxiety

In the following sections, I discuss how motivation, self-esteem, inhibition, risk-taking and identity are of particular relevance for this study given their close proximity to anxiety and their great relevance to educational contexts in general, and language learning and teaching in particular.

As has already been well-documented in this study, LA has often been studied using quantitative research methods with a particularly high incidence of these studies favouring correlation research whereby LA is correlated with, for example, language proficiency (Horwitz, 1986; MacIntyre and Gardner, 1989) learning style (Oxford, 1999b), gender (Campbell, 1999), risk taking (Ely, 1986), test anxiety (Kleinmann, 1977), extroversion (Dewaele, 2002b; Dewaele and Furnham, 1999) and perfectionism (Gregersen and Horwitz, 2002) to name some of the more prominent variables which have come under investigation. Such research has contributed to the overall picture that depicts LA as a multifaceted emotion that cannot be explained without reference to other personality variables. As Brown says, anxiety "is intricately intertwined with self-esteem and inhibition and risk-taking" (1994a: 141). Indeed, given the nature of anxiety it neither makes sense nor is it feasible to research anxiety as if it exists in isolation from other affective factors that learners experience, and/or

from factors that are part of the social context. As Yan and Horwitz point out in a recent publication, "it is... clear that anxiety does not work in isolation"(2008: 152).

It is also important to remember the opinions of researchers such as Norton (2000), Pavlenko (2005), and Ushioda (2009) (see section 1.3), who consider that these variables have often been used by researchers to characterise individuals in overly simplistic either/or terms, for example, motivated or unmotivated, inhibited or uninhibited whereas the view that they are socially constructed variables significantly shaped by context and power relations over both time and space has been insufficiently considered if not neglected. In Pavlenko's opinion, "theorists reduce emotions to a laundry list of decontextualized and oftentimes poorly defined sociopsychological constructs" (2005: 34).

In her review of anxiety and the language learner, Oxford (1999a: 62) refers to "correlates of anxiety", and designates them as either "highly personal" – such as personality factors and by definition, part of each individual learner's psychological makeup – or "procedural" factors – which include classroom activities and methods and instructor-learner interaction.

Generally speaking, then, language anxiety may arise from a combination of factors: the unique experience that is language learning – the challenge, so to speak, of attempting to express oneself and, therefore, one's identity with and through a different code; from particular features of the classroom such as methodology, activities or materials used; from teacher-learner interaction; and, finally, from the complex network of personality, attitudes and beliefs that makes each learner a unique individual. Although I examine each variable in turn, I do not view these as innate and relatively stable personality traits that predetermine student or teacher behaviour in the language classroom but variables intimately related to one another and to the context in which they are co-constructed.

2.6.1 Motivation

Motivation gets people's attention. The very word motivates. In my own experience as a conference speaker and participant, I have noticed that a strategy almost guaranteed to ensure greater numbers of participants in conference talks and presentations is simply to place the word 'motivation' or 'motivational' in the presentation title. It says much about the mindsets and complex challenges facing teachers that they are constantly drawn to motivational recipes, strategies and activities which are often presented as panaceas for the difficulties faced in the classroom.

Such attraction is due to the fact that motivation is generally regarded as the pivotal factor in explaining success, not only in language learning and general education, but also in society at large. In terms of language learning and affective factors, Scovel underlines this status when he says:

> Of all the affective (emotional) factors discussed over the years by both teachers and SLA researchers, by far the most predominant is the complex interplay of variables subsumed under the term "motivation. (2001:121)

The same author points to the "obsessive preoccupation educators have about motivation" (ibid.: 122) by citing the constant reformulation of definitions it has undergone with the upshot being that "it is hard to get a fix on a central and common meaning, though the majority agree that motivation deals primarily with the emotions" (ibid.). Brown draws on Keller's (1983) definition (1983: 389, cited in Brown, 1994a: 152) which is strikingly similar to Goleman's definition of emotions pushing people towards action:

> Motivation is commonly thought of as an inner drive, impulse, emotion or desire that moves one to a particular action. Or, in more technical terms, motivation refers to "the choices people make as to what experiences or goals they will approach or avoid, and the degree of effort they will exert in that respect". (1994a:152)

Like anxiety, motivation is also particularly difficult to pin down and define but it is worth stressing that motivation research has highlighted its central, overarching role in language learning, and its fundamental role within the affective domain, and, importantly for this project, its significant relation to language anxiety.

For the purposes of this study, motivation is seen as a fundamental process that may foster greater involvement and engagement on the part of the trainees not only with the teaching-learning process but also with their own sense of their identity (ies) and teacher selves, and of how their TP is thought to be progressing, a dynamic emotion that may help to either reduce or augment the effects of anxiety. In terms of Bailey's model looked at previously, we can clearly envisage that the challenges and complexities faced by the teachers could lead to either debilitating or facilitating anxiety.

In fact, motivation and anxiety are so closely linked that some researchers have created models to better explain their mutual interdependence and influence in language learning. MacIntyre (2002) in his review of motivation, anxiety and emotions in SLA, cites Clément's (1980, 1986) model "in which anxiety combines with self-perceptions of language proficiency to create self-confidence which is viewed as a second motivational process"

(2002: 64). MacIntyre and Gardner (1993a) in their review of affective variables in language learning, also draw on Clément's work to arrive at their main conclusions: firstly, they note that LA usually negatively correlates with proficiency whereas self-confidence is positively related to proficiency; secondly, that "considerations" of previous research lead them to the "generalisation" that LA has a negative effect on SLA, but that the relationship of LA to motivation is "less clear cut" and complex. However, these two researchers fall back on their intuition to surmise a reciprocal relationship between the two processes:

> Intuitively, it seems reasonable to propose that high levels of anxiety might serve to lessen one's motivation to learn the language, because the experience is found to be painful, and that high levels of motivation result in low levels of anxiety because the student perceives the experience positively and tends to be successful – both of which decrease anxiety. (1993a:7)

Such a conception, however, has remained constant and influential in SLA research and, whilst undoubtedly intuitively appealing, it downplays the complexity of emotions which, as Norton (2000) points out, can exist in complex and contradictory ways in the same person, for example, in a recent study of motivation in Japan using both quantitative and qualitative methods, Ryan (2008: 245) found that Japanese learners[52] of English stated that they experienced both anxiety and enjoyment as parallel emotions. In Ryan's words:

> On the one hand, English proficiency can bestow popularity and 'coolness' but on the other, if these language skills are not employed adroitly, there is a considerable risk of social isolation or alienation. (2008: 250)

Wider social expectations in Japanese society played their part in the experience of such anxiety, with high proficiency learners having to be especially vigilant that they weren't portraying themselves as being too "conspicuous" when using English in public places, and therefore placing themselves outside of the main body of Japanese society. The concerns of lower proficiency learners were of a different order, however. Asked if they would consider speaking English outside the classroom in public spaces, they feared that negative evaluation based on their limited proficiency, which had originated in classroom practices, would be replicated in larger society.

In relation to my own experience of anxiety, there were periods when I felt both anxious *and* motivated so I think it is worth further exploring the complex relationship between affective variables before postulating a generalisation that views levels of anxiety and motivation as existing in an inverted relationship to each other, in other words, the two

[52] The learners were secondary English students, English and non-English major students at university.

may be experienced simultaneously and in more equal measures than many SLA researchers have allowed for. Again, I think these considerations are highly relevant to trainee teachers who are likely to experience these two emotions as part of the pressure of the teaching placement.

Earlier research on motivation was greatly influenced by the work of the social psychologists in Canada, particularly that of Robert Gardner and Wallace Lambert, and their pioneering categorisation of *integrative* and *instrumental*[53] motivation as relatively stable learner traits, but more recent research has come to stress motivation's context-embedded nature. In Dörnyei's words motivation is:

> …a more dynamic factor that is in continuous process of evolution and change according to the various internal and external influences the learner is exposed to. (Dörnyei, 2001a: 45)

Gardner's categorisation, nevertheless, has had a lasting influence on second language research and teaching[54], but has been challenged as too limited, particularly in the light of students around the world learning foreign languages but having little, if any, direct contact with native speakers of the target language. Tudor makes this point in relation to English "which is frequently learned as a medium of international communication, with little or no direct link to any one English-speaking country or community" (1996: 46). This particular debate in the world of TEFL has intensified in recent years with prominent motivation researchers Ushioda and Dörnyei asking if it makes sense to reference integrative motivation when "ownership of English does not necessarily rest with a specific community of speakers..." (2009: 2).

Cook describes how teachers of French in England try to encourage both instrumental and integrative motivation by attempting to raise student awareness of possible career opportunities in the future and by building interest in French culture through exchange trips with French schools or through sampling French food respectively. If this cannot be achieved, Cook says "Teachers may have to go along with the students' motivation, or at least be sufficiently aware of the students' motivation so that any problems can be smoothed over"

[53] These terms have largely been complemented by the intrinsic and extrinsic motivation dichotomy, the former being defined by Scovel as "pursuing an activity for its own sake, with the learner often incurring a sense of self-actualization" (2001: 122) whilst the latter is referred to as a process in which "All the rewards are outside of the language learner and external to language learning as well" (ibid.)

[54] Dörnyei's (1994: 274) comments reflect the high regard in which the work of Gardner and Lambert is held, but at the same time manifest the shift away from the social psychological model in approaching motivation in the second language field: "While acknowledging unanimously the fundamental importance of the Gardnerian social psychological model, researchers were also practising teachers and calling for a more pragmatic, education-centred approach to motivation research, which would be consistent with the perception of which would also be in line with the current results of mainstream educational psychological research."

(2001: 117). Cook's comments are echoed by Tudor, who states there are two reasons for investigating motivation:

> Firstly, it can help the teacher get a feel for the nature and intensity of her students' desire to learn the TL. This can alert her both to positive points that can be built on to promote learning, and to negative points which, if left undetected, can undermine learning and which are likely to manifest themselves in various forms of discontent (dissatisfaction with the teaching method used, with the teacher, or with other students, to name but a few). Secondly, it provides a forum in which learners can reflect upon their own reasons for learning, their attitudes to the TL, and to the process of learning itself. (1996: 46)

Cook's "problems" and Tudor's "negative points", which may lead to "discontent", might well include anxiety and decreasing levels of motivation.

Another researcher who considers anxiety as a significant factor in various researchers' considerations of motivation in language learning and teaching is Krashen (1982, 1985). Krashen's emphasis on a low or weak affective filter together with access to comprehensible input as the two necessary conditions for language acquisition to take place has been influential in and beyond North America. The affective filter is defined by Lightbown and Spader as:

> An imaginary barrier which prevents learners from using input which is available in the environment…A learner who is tense, angry, anxious, or bored will screen out input, making it unavailable for acquisition. Thus, depending on the learner's state of mind or disposition, the filter limits what is noticed and what is acquired. The filter will be 'up' or operating when the learner is stressed, self-conscious, or unmotivated. It will be 'down' when the learner is relaxed and motivated. (1993: 28)

Like Gardner and MacIntyre, as well as other second language acquisition researchers, Krashen links motivation with a lack of anxiety. In relation to personality factors, Krashen has the following to say:

> Personality factors are interrelated with motivational factors. Briefly, it is hypothesised that the self-confident or secure person will be more able to encourage intake and will also have a lower filter. Traits relating to self-confidence (lack of anxiety, outgoing personality, self-esteem) are thus predicted to relate to second language acquisition. (1981: 23)

Krashen's affective filter is, in the words of Lightbown and Spader:

> Attractive to practitioners as it appears to have immediate implications for classroom practice. Teachers can understand why some learners, given the same opportunity to learn, may be successful while others are not. (1993: 28)

This comment, however, is qualified by the authors with a similar caveat, for those assuming causal direction between anxiety and motivation, that has been levelled at anxiety

and its relationship to language proficiency, "It seems likely that success in acquisition may in itself contribute to more positive motivation or, in Krashen's terms, to a 'lowered affective filter'." (ibid.: 29)

In fact, motivation and anxiety, as well as other affective variables, seem inextricably linked, not only in the sense that they belong to the affective domain and quite clearly exert a significant, yet complex, influence on language learning and acquisition, but in the way that they are conceptualised and researched.

Motivation, like anxiety, has been categorised in both *trait* and *state* forms, "the former involving stable and enduring dispositions, the latter transitory and temporary responses or conditions" (Dörnyei, 2001a: 48). This distinction, as Dörnyei affirms, has particular potential:

> The usefulness of such a distinction lies in its capacity to explain learners' situational and task preferences. Indeed, from a pedagogical point of view, it would be very beneficial to identify components of task motivation, because it would allow curriculum designers and language teachers to systematically select and administer tasks in a motivating manner, thus increasing learner engagement. (ibid.: 48)

This has led Dörnyei to claim that: "From a practicing teacher's point of view, the most pressing question related to motivation is not *what* motivation is but rather *how* it can be increased" (2001a: 51).

A further development that Dörnyei refers is the notion that motivation can be seen from a process-oriented perspective, that is to say the way motivation changes over time, and how motivation can be initiated, maintained and reflected on. This is similar to Williams and Burden's (1997: 121-123) distinction between *initiation of motivation* and *sustaining motivation*. This concern with motivational processes over time, Dörnyei says, is important because motivation is far from stable:

> Instead, what most teachers find is that their students' motivation fluctuates …caused by a range of factors, such as the phase of the school year or the type of activity that the students face. (2001b: 19-20)

Arising out of this process-oriented model, Dörnyei proposes a motivational TP approach consisting of four main motivational areas, each area in turn consisting of sub-areas enabling teachers to target particular strategies thought to aid motivation in the classroom (see Figure 4 below for a schematic representation of this system).

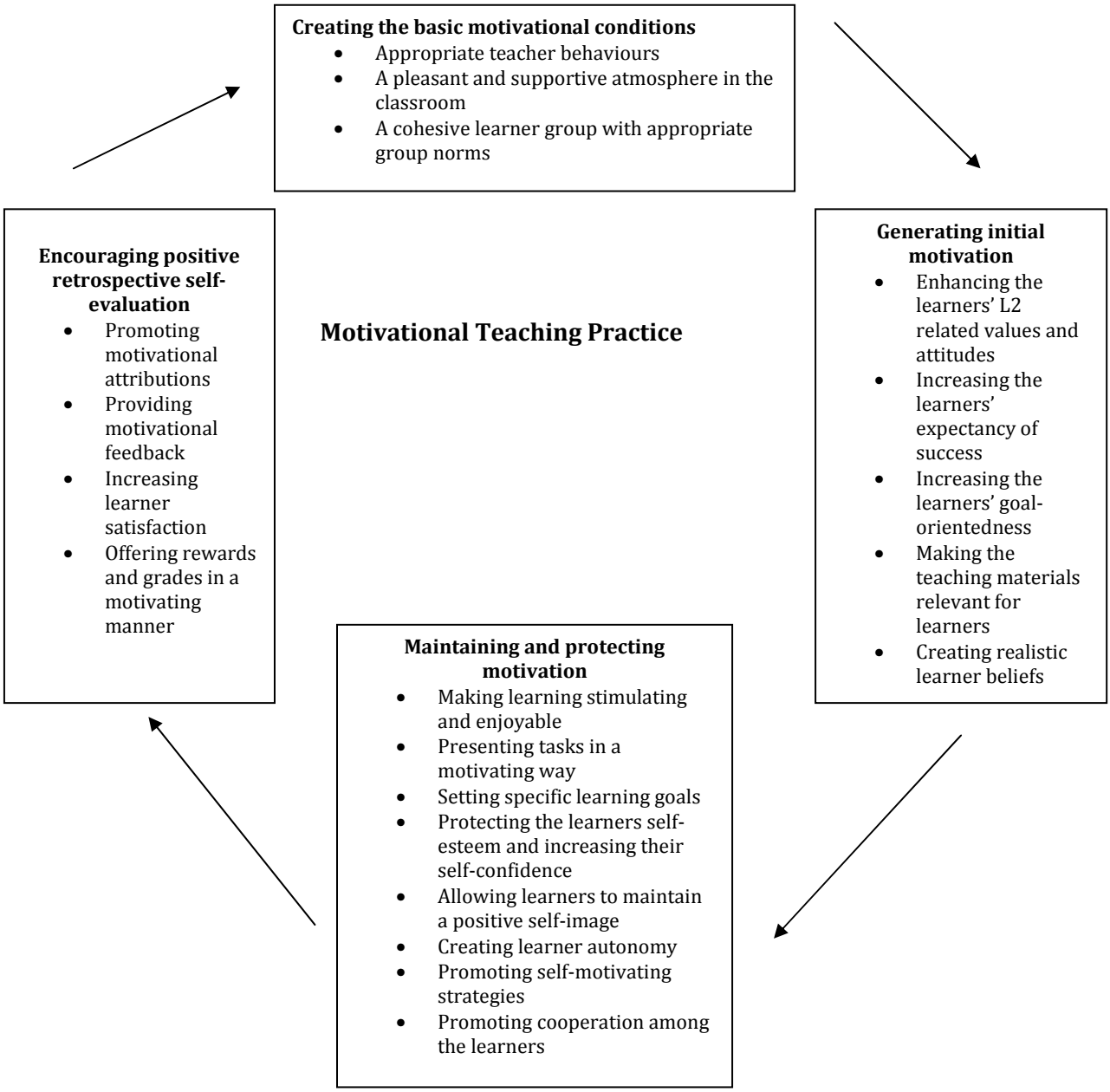

Figure 4 – Motivational teaching practice in the L2 classroom (Dörnyei, 2001b)

From this approach to motivation, then, language anxiety is seen as a potentially detrimental factor in the language learning process. Indeed, 'creating the basic motivational conditions' has potential for anxiety in the teaching-learning process. Without a pleasant and supportive environment in which students feel they can take risks, make mistakes, laugh and enjoy their learning experience, the basic foundations of low-anxiety classroom environment are not being eased into place. Dörnyei has the following to say:

> In a language class learners need to take considerable risk even to produce relatively simple answers/statements because it is all too easy to make a mistake when you have to pay attention to pronunciation, intonation, grammar *and* content at the same time. No wonder that language anxiety has been found to be a powerful factor hindering L2 learning achievement. (2001b: 40, emphasis in original)

As for 'maintaining and protecting motivation', and one of its sub-themes, that of 'protecting the learners' self-esteem and increasing their self-confidence', Dörnyei has a simple and direct message to convey: "build confidence!" (2001b: 86).

When explicitly referring to language anxiety, Dörnyei suggests reducing it by removing or reducing those factors that contribute to its existence and growth in the classroom. He specifically mentions four strategies: avoid social comparison, even in its subtle forms; promote cooperation instead of competition; help learners to accept the fact that they will make mistakes as part of the learning process; make tests and assessment completely 'transparent' and involve students in the negotiation of the final mark.

For Dörnyei, then, motivation and anxiety are closely related:

> The language classroom is an inherently face-threatening environment, with learners being expected to communicate using a severely restricted language code. As a result, language mistakes of various sorts abound in the learners' speech and the communicative content is often well below the level of their intellectual maturity. This is further augmented by the general apprehension associated with the grading system and the unease caused by the public nature of most teacher-student interaction. It is therefore quite understandable that language anxiety has been recurrently mentioned in the literature as a key factor that reduces motivation and achievement. (2001b: 91-92)

Even in the second and fourth 'phases' of the above model, although Dörnyei does not explicitly refer to anxiety, the potential for anxiety is evident. In the fourth 'phase', for example, providing motivational feedback may be a key factor in improving students' self-esteem and hence nourishing and further building on the initial foundations of a supportive classroom atmosphere. In the second phase, a teacher not attending to motivating student materials, or creating unrealistic learner beliefs could also be sowing the seeds of affective uncertainty and anxious moments for learners.

Dörnyei's conception of motivation in the language classroom as a process-oriented one confirms in a situational-specific context previous models of language learning that indicate a significant and dynamic relation between, among other variables, motivation and anxiety.[55] Dörnyei's model is one that fully acknowledges the process of language learning

[55] Gardner and MacIntyre's (1993b) socio-educational model of second language acquisition indicates such a relationship: "motivation is shown as having a causal influence and as being causally influenced by language anxiety. These two variables tend to be negatively correlated, and it seems meaningful to argue, given our current

and the dynamic and fluctuating levels of motivation in the context of the foreign language classroom. It provides, therefore, an interesting and adaptable approach to motivation that could well be a fruitful approach for other affective variables such as anxiety.

Although this approach was conceived by Dörnyei with language learners in mind, a significant number of the points Dörnyei makes are certainly applicable to the context of trainee teachers on their practice, not least the four headings of each motivational phase. Whilst it is expected that certain traces – to a greater or lesser extent – of integrative and instrumental or intrinsic and extrinsic motivation are evident in the trainees' attitudes towards learning and teaching English, the four motivational stages also provide an interesting analogy of how mentors and trainees can themselves establish effective practices during their teaching placement, that is, it seems to me that such a cycle of motivation corresponds, in certain key ways, to how the mentors may support the trainees during the cycle of planning, giving and reflecting on lessons taught. In fact, replacing the term 'learner' with 'trainee teacher' in each of the phases, and renaming the overall model as 'motivational teacher training practice' quickly establishes parallel, and intuitive, similarities between both learners and trainee teachers.

Recently, however, motivation researchers, including Dörnyei, have begun to incorporate concepts and approaches related to identity into models of motivation in order to shed further light on the complex dynamic of language learning, thereby further accentuating the perspective of motivation as a context-sensitive emotion process shaped not only in situated activity but also by larger forces in society.

Indeed, Dörnyei has moved on to embrace and incorporate psychological theories of the self into what he calls a new approach to L2 motivation, more specifically the 'L2 Motivational Self System' (2009). This is of significant interest to this study because it overlaps significantly with the notion of identity, which will be discussed in the following section. I have already discussed Ushioda's (2009) 'person-in-context relational view of motivation' (see 1.3 of Chapter 1) which is an important perspective for this study, not only because it is the view of motivation that I most identify with as a researcher but also because its underlying ontological and epistemological framework is one that underpins my view of affective variables and the manner in which these can be researched.

Dörnyei and Ushioda's recent joint publication (2009) is an exploration of their respective views of motivation informed by self and identity, with Dörnyei essentially

state of knowledge, that not only might high levels of motivation tend to depress language anxiety but also that high levels of anxiety might decrease motivation." Krashen's affective filter model also posits a similar relation between *motivation*, *self-confidence* and *anxiety* (cf. Krashen, 1982: 30-32).

stressing his interests as a quantitative researcher whilst Ushioda's qualitative perspective, in a broad way, approximates a post-structuralist approach. As I have already related Ushioda's view and the relevance it holds for this project, I shall briefly discuss the concept of 'possible selves', which lies at the heart of Dörnyei's most recent approach to motivation.

Drawing on Markus and Nurius' (1986) and Higgins' (1987) work on self-theory, Dörnyei sets out the study of 'possible selves' and highlights its relevance for language learning.

Taking the self-system as a key focus, Dörnyei states that "A person's self-concept has traditionally been seen as the summary of the individual's self-knowledge related to how the person views him/herself at present" (2009: 11). However, possible selves theory concerns "the individuals' ideas of what they might become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming" (ibid.), and therefore establishes a dynamic relationship between present and future, with the future-oriented drive of these possible selves being central to motivational goals. A central notion of these possible selves is that they are, in fact, possible and not simply fantastical notions with virtually no hope of being attained or achieved.

Arising from these possible selves, then, are two broad selves which are designated as the 'ideal self'' and the 'ought-to self'. Dörnyei describes these in the following manner:

> The *ideal self* refers to the representation of the attributes that one would ideally like to possess (i.e. representation of hopes, aspirations, or wishes), while the *ought self* refers to the representation of attributes that one believes one ought to possess (i.e. representation of someone else's sense of duties, obligations or moral responsibilities) and which therefore may bear little resemblance to one's own desires or wishes. (2009: 13, emphasis in original)

Motivation from this perspective, then, is either driven by the individual's desire to reduce the discrepancy between the ideal self and his or her actual self, a dynamic emotional process linked to the individual's intrinsic needs and aspirations aimed at achieving certain goals or, conversely, goals and self-images may derive from impositions or obligations in society, and this, according to Lamb "engenders a more defensive stance where the individual's main focus is on preventing failure rather than striving towards achievement" (2009: 229). Dörnyei does point out that both "ideal and ought selves can derive from either the individual's own or someone else's views, which means that the ideal self might represent attributes that another person would like the individual to possess in an ideal case" (2009: 13). However, given that this view would make differentiating between the ideal and ought-to selves a difficult issue, Dörnyei draws attention to the fact that the literature usually

interprets the ideal self as "the individual's own vision for him/herself, while the ought self as someone else's vision for the individual" (ibid.: 14).

Such a reconceptualisation of motivation – a shift from seeing it as a relatively static personality variable to a perspective that views it as being underpinned by notions of self and identity and being shaped through its intimate relationship with context and interaction – clearly holds significant explanatory potential in relation to trainee teachers' behaviour on their practicum. As stated in *Setting the scene*, trainee teachers are likely to endeavour to live up to certain images they have of themselves as they struggle to become part of the teaching community. In relating their experience to possible selves theory it is not difficult to imagine the trainees expending time and energy to draw ever closer to the ideal selves they have envisaged for themselves as teachers but simultaneously being constrained by the need to approximate the images others, most notably, the mentors, have established for them, too.

At this point, there appears to be two important considerations to refer to: firstly, for classroom-based researchers, as Kubanyiova (2009) indicates in her examination of possible selves in teacher development, the ought-to self is likely to be intimately related to Labov's 'observer paradox', that is "teachers' classroom behaviour is not so much a representation of their normal routines, but rather their attempt to display what they believe are desirable and sought-after practices" (2009: 321). While Kubanyiova's study involved in-service teachers, this issue may be of even greater relevance for a study involving trainees and their – understandable – concerns with evaluation and its impact on an incipient career in teaching. Moreover, given the cycle of observation and post-observation feedback, the mentors' feedback is likely to be a central influence on the possible selves of the trainees.

Kubanyiova's (2009) research was based on Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self-System and the framework of possible selves and applied to teacher development, more specifically, she wanted to study in-service teachers' responses and behaviour to a specially designed course in L2 motivational strategies using Dörnyei's Self-System and possible selves as a heuristic device. The qualitative fieldwork of her mixed methods study involved five phases of data collection over an entire academic year, and used classroom observations, in-depth interviews as well as informal conversations with the participants, who were in-service EFL teachers in a Slovak state school. Using an 'Ideal Language Teacher Self', an 'Ought-to Language Teacher Self' and a 'Feared Language Teacher Self', Kubanyiova situates her study in teacher cognition research, one of the central notions of which posits that prior cognitions influence teacher development or change through educational initiatives, and she argues that the above teacher selves should be considered as part of these cognitions albeit as "future-oriented cognitive representations" (2009: 329).

The second point of relevance for my study, then, is that Kubanyiova pinpoints "emotional dissonance" as a key feature of teachers' attempts to reduce the discrepancy between their ideal or ought-to selves and their actual selves. Her study looked to better understand the impact that a course could have on teacher development, and found a relationship between the input and aims of the course and the possible selves of the teachers. If what she refers to as the "reform input" (ibid.: 328) did not correspond to the teachers' envisaged aspirations and obligations embedded in their possible selves, then in Kubanyiova's words "there is no gap to be reduced and therefore no motivation to further engage with the reform input" (ibid.: 328). For example, she relates how one teacher sees one of her "identity aspirations" (ibid.: 319) as maintaining an image of herself as "an expert linguist, able to readily provide an explanation for a particular grammar structure" (ibid.: 320), this being part of her larger ideal self to be respected and appreciated as a teacher. This teacher manages to do this by speaking very quickly when giving her grammar explanations to the students, and is linked, Kubanyiova found, to her lack of confidence in relation to grammatical knowledge, and therefore her quick speech simultaneously impedes students from questioning her explanations whilst also allowing the teacher to reduce the gap between her uncertain actual self and the ideal self. Indeed, one of the central aims of the teacher course – that of facilitating student learning through motivational strategies – was often of secondary importance as teachers sought to approximate their possible selves by pursuing their own agendas.

A key notion, then, is that teachers should be aware of the discrepancy between ideal or ought-to selves "accompanied by dissonance emotions" (ibid.) induced by the input or course aims, which in turn leads to motivational behaviour designed to close the gap between actual and the ideal/ought-to selves. For this to happen, the course input also needs to correspond to the visions of teachers' possible selves.

On the other hand, the ought-to selves of individuals, having likely absorbed the "contextual pressures and expectations" in given contexts (ibid.: 328), may feel threatened by reform input or changes to teacher behaviour put forward on courses that militate against these expectations. In other words, when individuals see the negative consequences of not meeting these expectations, dissonance will "undermine motivation and inhibit development" (ibid.). In Kubanyiova's words, "Dissonance that results from this realisation will therefore compel the teachers to employ strategies for minimising the threat by actively avoiding engagement with the reform input" (2009: 328).

My study does not attempt to assess the impact of a specifically designed course on teacher development and therefore has no course input as such that may result in emotional

dissonance. However, what is of interest here is that the 'emotional dissonance' Kubanyiova refers to bears a striking resemblance to facilitating and debilitating anxiety, and that the framework she uses, based on Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self-System, is of interest and of relevance to trainee teachers who are often strongly influenced by their mentors' discourse. Indeed the discrepancies between possible and actual selves that trainees may, eventually, become aware of are, from the perspective of this study, likely to be sources of anxiety.

Recent motivation research, then, has come to embrace notions of self, agency and identity and has emphasised the context sensitive nature of this emotion as opposed to seeing it as a stable personality trait. In fact, whilst both Dörnyei and Ushioda's views conceptualise motivation as emerging from identity-related processes, they also, in my view, lend further credence to the perspective that motivation, identity and anxiety – as well as other affective factors – are closely bound up with one another and that anxiety may well emerge from a nexus of influences, including identity and motivation. In the next section, therefore, I will discuss the concept of identity and its relevance to the study of anxiety in this project.

2.6.2 Identity

If attention to affective factors – including anxiety – in the field of SLA has greatly increased in the last 20 years, then such interest pales into insignificance when compared to the huge and sustained growth of interest in identity which has inspired passionate and lively debate, as well as research, right across the social sciences, education and popular culture. In simple terms, it is virtually impossible in today's world to avoid engaging at some level – whether personal and/or professional – with the notion of identity. Richards captures this ubiquitous influence in the following terms:

> Identity is an issue: Historically, we have moved to a point where even the process of constructing identity is laid bare for public dissection: newspaper columnists analyse the effectiveness with which politicians and their PR teams establish and refine particular identities for public consumption, popular television programmes expose for watching millions the attempts of individuals in goldfish bowl settings to construct identities designed to elicit popular support, and representations of corporate identity are pressed upon us as customers and employees. (2006a: 1)

Furthermore, the Internet and the Web have taken the possibilities of constructing new identities into new and unchartered areas, and Richards says that researchers face new challenges as the notions of the self and identity embedded in the data they collect are increasingly viewed as fluid and ever-changing, what he refers to as the "impenetrability of the represented self...and the mutability of whatever might lie behind it" (ibid.). Yet while

recognising the complex challenges faced by researchers studying identity, Richards sees this "apparent indeterminacy" as opening up "interesting avenues of exploration" (ibid.)

In fact, from the perspective of this project, one of the interesting avenues to explore is the consideration of identity as a distinct and important influence on anxiety and other affective factors on trainee teachers during their teaching placement. The signs of anxiety in trainee teachers may well be evident in their classroom performance, but the post-observation conferences are also likely to significantly shape their sense of self as English language teachers, and hence their experience of anxiety. This is because the influence of both the cooperating and supervising teachers' discourse is likely to be of crucial influence in determining how they see themselves as professionals in the making and how this may influence their subsequent practice. It is in these contexts of interaction, then, that identity is likely to be shaped and constructed. In fact a constructivist, relational view of identity has become one of the most influential strands of identity theory and research in the social sciences as well as educational contexts, and it is this view of identity that I will outline in the following section.

2.6.2.1 Towards a post-structuralist perspective of identity

In a small-scale exploratory study such as the present one, it is neither feasible nor relevant to address the huge literature related to the field of identity which has grown exponentially in recent years. For the present study, the notion of identity that I believe to be the most appropriate is, broadly speaking, a constructivist viewpoint, which puts an emphasis on how identities are constructed and produced in talk, a discursive view which is firmly related to what Block refers to as "the post-structuralist view of the world" (2007:11), which, according to the same author, "has taken hold, to varying degrees, in applied linguistics" (ibid.:13). According to Benwell and Stokoe, identity is "in its broadest sense" about "who people are to each other" (2006:6), but identity and the crucial question 'Who am I?', as Woodward makes clear, is not only fashioned as we interact with others but is also intricately and intimately connected to larger social forces:

> Who am I?... cannot be answered without some reference to you, us and them; to the other people with whom I have contact. Who I am is closely interwoven with ideas about the society in which I live and the views of others who also inhabit the same social context. Ideas about who I am...demand acknowledgement of the social as well as the personal. Identity...is always socially located. Identity matters, but how and why it matters depends on time and place and on specific historical, social and material circumstances. (2002:vii)

Rather than see identity and affective factors as stable, relatively fixed categories, a post-structuralist perspective sees features of human life as being constructed and performed in and through social contexts, a fragile state of affairs characterised by uncertainty as people go about trying to impose, resist and position themselves in relation to others in fluid social situations. Indeed, my discussion of Ushioda's person-in-context relational view of motivation (see 1.3) illustrates how affective factors and identity are viewed as dynamically constructed in interaction as opposed to fairly stable affective traits.

I will now briefly consider how this post-structuralist constructivist view of identity has increasingly come to the fore in the social sciences and education, before moving on to discuss the relevance for this study of 'positioning theory', a term also used to refer to identity.

The post-structuralist view has, in recent years, come to challenge the biological and social structural views of identity, the latter having been particularly influential in the latter half of the twentieth century. In general terms, the biological view sees genes as being largely determinant of a person's identity. In day-to-day talk, notions of this biological perspective is frequently evident, and often likely to be used unconsciously, for example, 'a leopard never changes its spots', 'he's a chip off the old block' or 'she takes after her mum' are all examples of how biology is held to influence our character and development. On a macro level notions like these may permeate discourse to such an extent that the behaviour of groups of people is often thought to originate from their biological characteristics. Hence, types of behaviour in girls and boys or people of a certain race may be associated with their biological sex, skin colour or innate personality characteristics. In educational environments or when discussing issues of education, we are regularly exposed to opinions such as "She's a born teacher" or "he's a natural communicator" which only serve to reinforce the notion that certain characteristics are constitutional, and not subject to social influences.

The social structuralist approach, on the other hand, does not see biology and genes as the principal influence on identity, but rather sees social structures and social life as the determining shaping forces upon human behaviour. In its most basic form, the difference between the biological and social structuralist views centres on the nature versus nurture debate, but in reality very few proponents of either of these views, deny that the social and biological shape each other. The question is which exerts the greater influence on human behaviour.

The social structuralist approach, according to Block, "is understood to involve the search for universal laws or rules of human behaviour", and has been influenced by the work of eminent academics such as Emile Durkheim, Talcott Parsons and Claude Levi-Strauss, and

sees the self "as the product of the social conditions in and under which it has developed" (ibid.:12). From this perspective, individuals are not determined by their genetic makeup, but by their membership in social categories "based on social class, religion, education, family, peer groups and so on" (ibid.). If people are put in categories such as friends, teachers, women, white or black, middle or working class, considerations of the influence of these categories on their behaviour is often a starting point for analysis. As Benwell and Stokoe say, "Much sociolinguistic and psychological research starts with these categories as variables that can be correlated with behaviours, including language behaviour" (2006:49).

Whilst the focus of each of their approaches remains distinct, what unites the biological and social views, then, is, in Block's words, "the belief that individuals are formed and shaped – in a word – determined by formations which precede them, be these biological or social in nature" (2007:12). Such a view of identity is designated as 'essentialist'. In Benwell and Stokoe's words:

> Essentialist theories locate identity 'inside' persons, as a product of minds, cognition, the psyche, or socialisation practices. From this perspective, identity is a taken-for-granted category and a feature of a person that is absolute and knowable. (2006:9)

Recent theories of identity, however, have cast considerable doubt upon essentialism. Benwell and Stokoe's previous reference to 'language behaviour' is of crucial importance because in recent identity theories, the role of language has become a fundamental element in anti-essentialist theories. More specifically, social constructivist and post-structuralist theories of identity reject the notion that human behaviour and identity is determined by pre-existing factors. The same authors explain the contrast with essentialist approaches to identity thus:

> ...constructionist theories treat the term 'identity' itself as a socially constructed category: it is whatever people agree it to be in an given historical and cultural context. Constructionist approaches investigate how people perform, ascribe and resist identity, and how what it means to 'have an identity' is produced in talk and texts of all kinds. (2006:9-10)

One of the key references in viewing the self as constructed and performed is Erving Goffman, the North American sociologist. In his view the self is constructed in and through the context of communication, and is therefore more ephemeral and mutable and does not constitute a 'true' self, that is to say a core essence residing at the heart of each individual that guides and causes their behaviour. Indeed, according to Elliot (2001), the work of Goffman (1959, 1963) was seminal in this respect because Goffman saw the self "as an awareness of

the multiplicity of roles that are performed in various situated contexts" and therefore his "theory of the performative self might well be understood as a precursor to...postmodernist sensibilities" (2001:36), a bridge as it were between symbolic interactionist and post-structuralist theories. (2001:31). For Goffman, this concern with image and performance of public identity leads individuals to manage and monitor their roles for public consumption, or in Elliot's words, "His central preoccupation is with dramatic techniques by which the self displays agency to others" (ibid.:32). For Goffman, then, "the self is some kind of image" (1959:254), and the essence of his thesis is best stated in his own words:

> ...this self does not derive from its possessor, but from the whole scene of his action, being generated by that attribute of local events which renders them interpretable by witnesses. A correctly staged and performed scene leads the audience to impute a self to a performed character, but this imputation – this self – is a *product* of a scene that comes off, and is not a *cause* of it. The self...is a dramatic effect arising diffusely from a scene that is presented, and the characteristic issue, the crucial concern, is whether it will be credited or discredited. (1959:244-245, emphasis in original)

Such a concern with public presentation means Goffman's work can easily be related to the discussion of whether emotions are strategic or spontaneous (see 1.4.2), and it should come as no surprise that Arndt and Janney (1991) and Caffi and Janney (1994) refer to Goffman in their work. In fact Goffman himself was quick to identify the over-simplistic interpretations of the differences between verbal and non-verbal communication that these authors were to later focus on as part of their work:

> Linguistic messages are felt to be voluntary and intended; expressive messages on the other hand, must preserve the fiction that they are uncalculated, spontaneous, and involuntary, as in some cases they are. (1963:14)

However, although Goffman recognised that emotions in communication could be part of a more calculated performance, he was not unduly concerned with the emotions of people, and whilst Elliot acknowledges the way that Goffman transformed perspectives of identity from "from seeing the self as outcome (...of family, society or history) to a more fluid conception of the self as situationally defined" (2001:36), he also writes that his theory of self "says surprisingly little about the emotional or psychosexual dynamics of personal life and social relationships" (ibid.). This is one of the reasons that I have considered positioning theory and Layder's (2006) 'theory of social domains' as approaches to better inform the methodology and interpretation of individuals' behaviour and emotions in relation to issues of identity and how both macro and micro factors may influence the experience of anxiety.

The view of identity as being something that is performed and constructed has continued into present day scholarship. In their volume on discourse and identity, De fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg (2006:3) confirm this trend that shifts from a focus on a priori ascribed categories to a view that, broadly speaking, sees "Identity claims...as 'acts' through which people create new definitions of who they are", or, as Antaki and Widdecombe (1998:2) propose, people do not "passively or latently have this or that identity which then causes feelings or actions, but that they work up and work to this or that identity, for themselves and others, there and then, as an end in itself or towards some other end."

Identities, therefore, are not "merely represented in discourse", but are "performed, enacted and embodied through a variety of linguistic and non-linguistic means" (De fina et al., 2006: 3). This is a constitutive view of discourse that is now strongly associated with a post-structuralist perspective, that is to say that in and through language we are also constructing the world around us and not just representing it.

Such a view of how identity is constructed is an eminently social and interactive perspective. Indeed**,** Moita-Lopes, reinforces such a view by drawing on Bahktin's notion that discourse is always dialogical and intersubjective because:

> ...language use crucially implies otherness... that we use language in relation to one another, reflecting other voices we have been exposed to as well as our interlocutors. This implies that when we use language we place ourselves interactionally with other people. (2006:292-293).

This view calls to mind Taylor's famous words that "One cannot be a self on one's own" (1989:36), and it is a view that is of particular relevance to this study because the context in which the trainee teachers of this study find themselves involves high level of interaction as well as reflection on their attempts to become professional language teachers.

It is this post-structuralist view of identity that has influenced the social turn in SLA discussed in 1.3, where language learning is seen as an emergent, social activity, achieved through doing and becoming in particular communities of practice. Furthermore, identity often becomes an issue in situations of instability and uncertainty in people's lives, and is therefore intimately related to a view that sees anxiety as arising in situations of uncertainty for the self, that is to say that anxiety can be viewed as a result of issues related to identity work.

For the purposes of this study, then, anxiety and identity are largely studied in the interactional contexts of the TP. However, as already noted, discourses in society may also constrain individuals' actions and words, in other words, issues of agency and structure are important influences on the trainee teachers' discourse.

It is for this reason that I think positioning theory is a helpful theoretical tool to shed further light on these interactional contexts, especially those of the post-observation conferences, and it is positioning theory and its relevance to this project which I will explain in the following section.

2.6.2.2 Positioning theory in interaction

Positioning (Harré and van Langenhove, 1999; Harré and Moghaddam, 2003) is an identity theory that, in many ways, sits at the crossroads of key issues in identity work and the social sciences. Firstly, along with other recent approaches to identity work, Benwell and Stokoe (2006) refer to positioning theory as a 'constructionist' approach as opposed to an 'essentialist' one, and researchers (Johnson, 2006; Menard-Warwick, 2007; Norton, 2000; Reeves, 2009) using positioning theory generally see identity as being discursively constructed in interactional contexts and not as a stable feature of individuals that researchers cleverly reveal as one of the factors underlying their behaviour.

However, positioning theory has a wide range of possible applications in research because it is possible to frame and analyse interaction by drawing on two distinct research traditions whose methodological and theoretical principles are deeply divided, and whose underlying beliefs as to how identity is constructed reflect these deep differences.

On the one hand, researchers working within and identifying with Conversational Analysis, and hence a more ethnomethodologically-oriented tradition, view identities as "locally occasioned in talk-in-interaction, they are consequential for the interaction at hand, and therefore participants clearly 'orient' to them" (De fina et al., 2006:5). This tradition advocates "methodological restraint" (ibid.), is generally hostile to the notion of attributing a priori categories and only seeks out "categories of identity membership that are made relevant in the local context" (ibid.).

Scholars aligning themselves with Critical Discourse Analysis, however, adopt a significantly different perspective. These researchers believe the contexts that Conversational Analysis focus on to examine identity are too narrow, prematurely closing off wider contexts that impact on identity construction "since identities are, in many ways, produced and often imposed upon individuals and groups through dominant discourses and practices and ideologies" (ibid.). In other words, "power struggles and wider social circumstances constrain and frame the way identities are perceived and projected in specific interactions" (ibid.:6), and Critical Discourse Analysis is more likely to be interested in the impact of political and

ideological contexts on the "representation of identities" as opposed to their negotiation in interaction.

In her exploration of teacher identities in a research interview, Johnson (2006:213) suggests the methodological and epistemological differences pertaining to the Conversational Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis traditions can be denoted as 'bottom up' and 'top-down' approaches respectively, but opts for the former in her exploration of teacher identities because the ethnomethodologically-oriented approach not only allows the researcher to "explicate" the displays of identity oriented to by the participants as opposed to imposing "pre-given categories on the data" (ibid.:214), but also moves away from the view that sees speakers as being principally constrained by societal discourses, and therefore is closer to a perspective that admits "speakers might take up agentive positions that in turn can be countered by other speakers" (ibid.).

In their introductory comments to positioning theory, Harré and van Langenhove (1999:16), refer to how the concept of positioning has been used in two separate areas: first, the sense of positioning as used in marketing, that is, the placing of a "product amongst its competitors"; secondly, in military-oriented discourse in the sense of taking up a position "against the position of the enemy". It is understandable, then, that the notion of positioning is considered suitable for an interactional framework, because it is a relational concept that involves adaptation to others' behaviour, and implies negotiation, cooperation and resistance.

As for the concept first being used in the social sciences, the above authors cite Holloway's (1984, in Harré and van Langenhove, 1999:16) work as that which introduced positioning in the way that they presently subscribe to, that is, "discourses make available positions for subjects to take up". Such 'subject positions' or identities, Benwell and Stokoe point out, are often taken up within 'master narratives', and because positioning theorists see "subject positioning as being inextricably linked with "social power relations", positioning "attends to identity work at the micro conversational and macro socio-political levels" (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:43). As these authors indicate:

> Positioning' refers to the process through which speakers adopt, resist and offer 'subject positions' that are made available in discourses or 'master narratives'. For example speakers can position themselves (and others) as victims or perpetrators, active or passive, powerful or powerless and so on. (2006:43)[56]

[56] In a similar vein (van Langenhove and Harré, 1999:17) say that "One can position oneself or be positioned as e.g., powerful or powerless, confident or apologetic, dominant or submissive, definitive or tentative, authorized or unauthorized, and so on."

This is essentially the view of identity construction that Reeves (2009) conceives of in positioning when she says:

> The social negotiation of identity, in which others (e.g. other people as well as external discourses) exerts influence in identity construction, coexists with individuals' agency. Individuals, while subject to external influences on their identity, can construct, adopt, and reject identity positions for themselves. (Reeves, 2009:35)

At this point, it is important to note that identity work in positioning theory involves, broadly speaking, two types of positioning. As Menard-Warwick (2007:268) points out, "claiming identities for oneself is often referred to as 'reflexive positioning', while assigning identities to others is termed 'interactive positioning.'" These are also referred to as 'self-positioning' and 'other-positioning' respectively.

In addition, the sense of position is complemented by the metaphor of location. As Block says, for Davies and Harré (1999), two academics renowned for being firm advocates of positioning theory:

> ...individuals both situate themselves through their discursive practices and at the same time, they are situated by others. In both cases, there is a sense of what constitutes a coherent subject position, within a particular activity, transpiring in a particular place at a particular time. In other words, all actors will position themselves and others according to their sense of what constitutes a coherent narrative for the particular activity, time and place. (2007:18)

The discursive practices in question essentially constitute "ongoing engagement with others as individuals participate in their day-to-day activities" and "involves not only the use of language but also other forms of semiotic activity such as dress and body movement" (ibid.). Such a theory of identity clearly falls within the perspective of interaction and emotions that was outlined in 1.4 of this chapter. Yet whilst clearly related to dynamic episodes of interaction, in some respects the notion of positioning may come across as a somewhat ponderous concept, evoking images of a speaker assuming one particular position in relation to their interlocutor. Yet this is far from the case. Indeed, Davies and Harré make a distinction between the notion of 'role' and that of 'position', the latter being seen as more dynamic and interactive in nature than the former[57]. In Harré and van Langenhove' terms:

[57] "…the concept of 'positioning' can be used to facilitate the thinking of linguistically oriented social analysts in ways that the use of the concept of 'role' prevented. In particular the new concept helps focus attention on dynamic aspects of encounters in contrast to the way in which the use of 'role' serves to highlight static, formal and ritualistic aspects." (Davies and Harré, 1999:32)

> Positioning is...understood as a procedure of making determinate a psychological phenomenon for the purposes at hand. But positions can and do change. Fluid positioning, not fixed roles, are used by people to cope with the situation they usually find themselves in. (1999:17)

In their explanation of positioning theory, Harré and van Langenhove draw on Austin's (1962) work on speech acts, more specifically, the distinction between the illocutionary and perlocutionary force of an utterance. The former refers to what is "achieved *in* saying something" (1999:17, emphasis in original), that is, the functional meaning of an utterance, for example, congratulating or criticising. On the other hand, the perlocutionary force refers to "what is achieved *by* something" (ibid., emphasis in original), that is, the actual effect of the speech act, for example, in the aforementioned instances the perlocutionary force may result in pleasing or hurting the individuals in question.

The perlocutionary force of utterances, or to use Harré and van Langenhove' expression, the 'social force of actions' (ibid.:18), is part of a story line and the positions taken up by the participants in the interaction. The positions taken up may be more predictable in certain situations, such as institutional contexts, where unequivocal power relations (Norton, 2000) may be evident. Reeves makes this point when saying, "teachers typically have considerably greater power to enact...other-positioning in the school setting than do students" (2009:36). This is also the case when mentors and trainee teachers discuss classroom performances in post-observation conferences.

Nevertheless, despite factors that may allow some to enact greater other-positioning than others, fluidity remains a hallmark of positioning in interaction, as Harré and van Langenhove point out:

> Positions may emerge 'naturally' out of the conversation and social context. But sometimes an initial seizure of the dominant role in a conversation will force the other speakers into speaking positions they would not have occupied voluntarily...Initial positioning can be challenged and the speakers sometimes thereby repositioned. (1999:18)

From these considerations on positioning the authors propose what they refer to as a 'mutually determining triad' (see Figure 5) by means of which "conversations can be analysed to uncover their episodic structures" (ibid.). To illustrate this triad Harré and van Langenhove show how two speakers take up the positions of 'teacher' and 'learner', the story line is 'instruction' and the speech acts "accomplish the relevant acts" (ibid.), but positions change as one of the speakers positions himself as a martyr doing his best with the little time available to him, whilst the other speaker takes up the position as sympathiser.

In his discussion of positioning, Block uses the following fictional example to illustrate the importance of place on the perlocutionary force of speech acts: positioning himself and being positioned as an academic specialist on language behaviour in a seminar at his place of work is likely to result in acceptance of his "words and overall behaviour as authoritative and appropriate by all present" (2007:19); however, reproducing such behaviour at a dinner party would "appear arrogant and probably boring" meaning that although the illocutionary force remains the same in both contexts, the perlocutionary force in the latter is different, likely to result in the annoyance of friends "who do not wish to be lectured" (ibid.). Position, story line and speech acts, then, mutually influence each other and are context dependent.

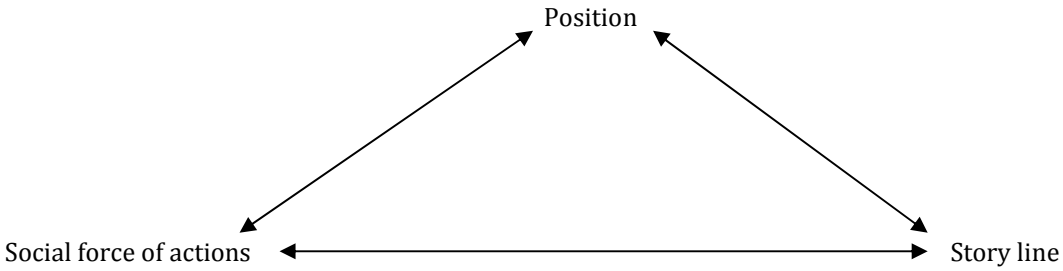

Figure 5 Mutually determining triad (van Langenhove and Harré, 1999)

A further important point made by Block is that positioning "takes place along a time scale ranging from past to present to future. Thus, speaking in the present, the individual's ongoing story line may be about events and experiences in the past, present or future" (ibid.). Whilst time scales are an important feature of much identity work, the consideration of past experiences, present concerns and future possibilities appears to be particularly germane for trainee teachers. As Block points out, the use of imagination has been identified by Wenger (1998) as a crucial feature of identity work as people go about trying to imagine themselves in the near or more distant future. On the other hand, as Menard-Warwick points out, the past is also a key consideration because "human beings can make choices in regard to discursive participation, choices that often stem from an individual's history as a subjective being" (2007:268).

In terms of the relevance of positioning theory for this study I would like to highlight several points: firstly, given the importance of interaction in this study, positioning appears to be an appropriate and potentially insightful way to explore and analyse features of interaction associated with identity and possible links with anxiety, for example, being positioned as a limited teacher who drastically needs to improve their language competence may well impact on motivation, levels of anxiety and the desire to set about changing the identities being attributed them; secondly, although positioning theory is mainly used to

analyse spoken interaction – as is the case with this study – positioning can also be a fruitful way to analyse written data [58]; thirdly, the importance of the interaction between mentors and trainees together with the likelihood that tensions will emerge and be managed in the post-observation conferences means that mentors' style and discourse and the politeness strategies they use to praise or criticise the trainees' classroom performances can be related to the framework of positioning. As Pavlenko says, "language informs, positions and expresses" (2005:115).

In the following section, I move the focus away from specific approaches to identity work in interaction to discuss some of the key considerations that have been highlighted in the LA literature on the relationship between identity and anxiety.

2.6.2.3 Identity and anxiety in language learning

In accordance with the approach to identity previously considered, the discussion of this part of the study should be seen in the light that anxiety is shaped and constructed in social situations. In the LA literature, anxiety is largely seen as arising from the individual's lack of competence in the language being learned, and a number of researchers have stressed that the development of LA is linked to the repeated experiences of uncomfortable feelings, that is to say anxiety is experienced in and associated with language learning contexts and then ends up becoming a situation specific anxiety for the person in question.

When reading the literature, 'identity' and 'self' are frequently referred to so there are clear indications that anxiety research has acknowledged – although not always explicitly – issues related to identity. Generally speaking, however, the central notion repeatedly referred to is that foreign language learning is a unique academic discipline and human activity that impacts on our identities in powerful, yet subtle, ways, and is particularly acute for many individuals when they are interacting. This is because the language being learned is both the object of study and the vehicle through which individuals express themselves.

Such uniqueness and the way that the learner of a foreign language can, at any moment, be confronted with a "limited" self that bears no relation to their "true" self, leads Horwitz, et al. (1991) to opine that foreign language anxiety is different to other anxieties learners may experience, such as in maths or science. In the opinion of these authors:

[58] Roebuck (2000:90) opines that "while positioning is largely thought of as a conversational phenomenon…individuals may use written means to position themselves. …Thus the definition of discursive practice ought to be expanded to include all the symbolically mediated ways in which people construct social and psychological realities".

"Probably no other field of study implicates self-concept and self-expression to the degree that language study does" (1991:31).

Rardin refers to an existential anxiety that is inherent to language learning, and singles out adolescents and adults for whom learning a language "touches the core of one's self-identity, one's self image" (cited in Young, 1992:168). In this respect it is unsurprising that children are less susceptible to anxiety as they are largely free from the social constraints and inhibitions evident in the behaviour of individuals who are influenced by a greater awareness of self and identity. This also helps to explain the complete absence of any LA research carried out with younger learners who have yet to develop firmer ideas of their own personhood and nascent identities.

So one of the principal notions in trying to understand and explain anxiety in language learning is that it is a challenging and unique subject on the school curriculum, as well as being a complicated and taxing learning experience outside of it. Young (1999) refers to Wilga Rivers' consideration of the distinctive nature of language learning, and whose comments, it is fair to say, are representative of what many other scholars have stated on the subject:

> I've had experience with other subjects, and learning a language is very different from the other subjects because you are putting people in a very vulnerable situation, you are asking them to reveal themselves in a way which is very threatening because when they don't know the language very well and they don't have the means to express themselves, they are unsure of what kind of impression they are giving and they feel threatened. They feel they're making a fool of themselves and they probably are. They feel, people, peers might laugh at them… The classroom atmosphere must be an atmosphere of acceptance and mutual respect, where students know how to appreciate other students, teachers appreciate students, and students appreciate the teacher. When you've got that kind of relaxed atmosphere, then students can try to reveal themselves through another language in a genuine kind of way. (Rivers cited in Young, 1999b:5)

When considering anxiety, then, issues of self-esteem are particularly evident. Indeed, the reported comments of learners cited by researchers often contain references such as 'feeling like a baby', of feeling humiliated, and of feeling diminished as they struggle to express themselves in the second language. Whilst some of these comments may be shaped and significantly driven by frustration, appearing to be exaggerated descriptions of uncomfortable experiences made in hindsight, there is no doubt that concerns over expressing oneself adequately is an important consideration when discussing anxiety. To take the framework of positioning theory, they often position themselves as victims of an unpleasant and disorienting experience, their complaints painting a picture of their being deprived of their normal means of communication, and an accompanying sense that they are

rendered helpless by the language learning experience. Such self-positioning is often shaped by the sense that they are also other-positioned as, for example, bad learners, demotivated students or individuals lacking intelligence.

However, although the unique status of language learning may, in part, explain why anxiety is experienced by some language learners, the origins of anxiety still remain elusive and complex.

Indeed, the influential explanation of anxiety as arising from poor language proficiency has been over-simplistic and, perhaps, counterproductive in the sense that it may have discouraged research from probing for a richer understanding of this emotion. Although competence is likely to shape the experience of anxiety, other factors may also exert an influence. As previously noted, identity issues often come to the fore in periods of uncertainty and risk, when people have to reflect on who they are and where they want to belong. When Pritchard Newcombe (2007) discusses the anxiety of different individuals learning Welsh in Wales, she points out that some of the learners "were clearly willing to take risks in order to communicate in Welsh, despite limited competence in the language" (2007:69), whilst other, more competent, learners, were often reluctant or unwilling to communicate. Indeed the premise of Pritchard Newcombe's thesis, is that "successful language learners require regular interaction in the target language in a setting in which they feel comfortable" (ibid.:1). Whether or not the learners experience anxiety depends, Pritchard says, on two sets of factors. In a similar vein to Oxford (1999a), Pritchard sees anxiety as resulting from more stable factors, namely the personality of the learner, and other aspects lying outside of the learner, that is the communicative setting. Whether one of these sets of factors exercises a greater influence does not prevent the same author from saying that issues of identity and culture are always present, to a greater or lesser degree, when learning a language.

Two researchers who have specifically addressed the relationship of identity and language anxiety are Stroud and Wee (2006). These two researchers state that "with few exceptions, it is generally assumed that student anxiety in the language classroom is *competence based*" (2006:299, emphasis in original), that is to say that students experience anxiety due to an overriding concern with their language ability, a worry that is further heightened as they ponder how their competence "will be evaluated by the teacher or by the target community of native speakers" (ibid.). Whilst duly recognising competence-based anxiety, and the impact this may have on language learning, Stroud and Wee propose that there also exists "identity-based anxiety" defined as a student's concern "with maintaining his or her relationship with particular groups than with his or her language abilities" (ibid.:300), and involves the desire to be accepted "by one's peers or a desire to avoid ridicule from them"

(ibid.). The authors' considerations on LA were part of a larger study on Singaporean teenagers' literacy practices, and they use the experience of one of the students, Edwin, to illustrate the difference between these two concepts.

Firstly, the two authors make the distinction between teacher-initiated or student-initiated classroom activities. To illustrate competence-based anxiety, the authors refer to a teacher-initiated exchange to show how Edwin is reluctant to read out loud when asked by the teacher because he is not used to this activity and feels "shy and embarrassed" and is scared of making mistakes, that is to say the focus of his concerns centres on the teacher's reactions and assessment of his language proficiency. To illustrate identity-based anxiety, Stroud and Wee discuss Edwin's "reluctance to initiate an exchange with his teacher" (ibid.:301), even when his understanding of "what is being said" is unclear because of the possibility of being labelled "an attention seeker" by his classmates. Whereas anxiety provoked by considerations of what the teacher might say or do may be alleviated by teacher awareness and strategies, identity-based competence, the authors suggest, is harder to deal with: "In such a case, it does not matter how friendly, understanding or approachable the teacher might be; it is not the teacher, but Edwin's peers that provide the source of anxiety" (2006:301).

Drawing on Shamin's (1996) study of the patterns of interaction constructed in large English language classes in Pakistan, Stroud and Wee (2003: 301) make reference to the fact that very few students sitting at the back of these classes make the transition to what Shamin (1996:138) calls the 'action zone', that is, the area at the front of the class where the likelihood of teacher attention and recognition of achievement increases considerably. But this is not just a physical area but also something that indexes status and identity. In Shamin's own words:

> ...once they are successful in *gaining membership* to the front zone, they automatically gain access to other privileges, such as increased attention from the teacher. (1996:140, emphasis added)

Despite the fact that LA per se was not a consideration of her study, Shamin's conclusions – that few students made the transition from back zones to the front zones, and that the location of students "remains stable" (ibid.) – lead Stroud and Wee to put forward two key notions, based on her work, related to identity-based issues as a source of anxiety:

> One, it is possible for the desire for peer acceptance to detrimentally affect language learning. Two, because such peer groupings or cliques are relatively stable, most students find it difficult to break away and so identity-based anxiety can continue to affect a student not just occasionally, but it can in fact become a significantly pervasive aspect of their experience of classroom culture. (2006:302)

However, although I wholly welcome Stroud and Wee's attempts to broaden anxiety research beyond a narrow focus on competence-based anxiety, and despite the fact that these researchers do not suggest that these two types of anxiety are mutually exclusive, I do think that their interpretation may encourage an over-simplistic view of anxiety in that peers could be largely seen as the source of identity-based anxiety while teachers the principal influence on competence-based anxiety.

Firstly, I think that teachers may also be the source of identity-based anxiety, for example, learners wanting to do well, who identify with their teachers and who want to be recognised as competent, successful and enthusiastic language learners are surely not solely interested in their proficiency. Similarly, there is no reason to think that learners cannot be the source of competence-based anxiety. Indeed, my own previous research (2004) has pointed to students' concerns with how their peers – as well as their teachers – will evaluate their language proficiency. Whilst in some contexts, identity categories such as 'attention seeker' or the 'teacher's pet' may exercise greater influence, in other contexts, such as future teachers in their language classes, these categories become less relevant, whilst others will become more prominent. In other words, although either competence-based or identity-based anxiety may exert a greater influence, this does not preclude the possibility that both types of anxiety simultaneously influence the behaviour of learners.

The authors also cite Allwright and Bailey's (1991) observation that some competent learners make deliberate mistakes in order to avoid standing out from their less able colleagues, a possible source of resentment and tension. In such instances, competence-based anxiety is pushed to the margins of learners' considerations, and identity-based anxiety comes to the fore. As a teacher, I have also encountered a similar situation in which a more competent language learner, in an oral exam, deliberately made mistakes to give the impression that she and her colleagues[59] were at the same level. After talking to this student about her performance in this exam, she informed me that she used this strategy not to avoid potential conflict or resentment but to simply protect her classmates from being seen as significantly weaker. As we shall see in 2.8, learners in different cultures may want not to stand out from their colleagues for other reasons which are largely determined by cultural expectations.

Identity issues and anxiety, then, are closely related, with the fear of being different, of being characterised in an undesirable way, of being excluded, or the desire to express

[59] At that time, these students were third year students studying to be future English-Portuguese teachers at ESECS, Leiria, and a year away from their final year practicum.

solidarity some of the key notions to be considered. As Pritchard Newcombe says, "...identity is closely linked with notions of inclusion and exclusion and is therefore "an area of considerable importance for learner success" (2007:64).

In fact the idea of membership, of belonging and not belonging arises in Young's (1992) interviews with 'foreign language specialists'. When asked by Young whether anxiety has a positive aspect, Krashen says that facilitative anxiety "has a positive effect on learning, not on language acquisition." Krashen draws on the idea of 'club membership' and suggests that inclusion "results in a lower affective filter" (ibid.:160), that is to say achieving a satisfactory membership of a club one wants to belong to results in lower levels of anxiety. In the same study, and answering the same question, Terrell opines that the acquisition of a language results from two factors: firstly, a 'communicative need', that is, if we need something to communicate, we will acquire it; and secondly, what he terms 'target language group identification'. This identification with a given group provides individuals with the motivation to "attend to the input very carefully, so that their output will match the input" (ibid.:161), a process Terrell refers to as a "a kind of positive drive" (ibid.), a type of attention as opposed to anxiety, but nevertheless a close approximation.

A more recent view, however, puts identity work at the core of learning a second language, and conceives of anxiety in language learning situations as epiphenomenal, that is to say a secondary effect of identity work or of learners trying to position themselves in particular ways in relation to others. In Norton's (2000) work on immigrant women in Canada, the experience of anxiety the women of her study felt depended on whom they were speaking to and why. In fact, Norton puts forward the notion that anxiety and other affective variables are not the stable variables so often portrayed in terms of binary opposites in the SLA literature (such as motivated-unmotivated, anxious-non-anxious etc) but are in fact fluctuating and fluid over periods of time, shaped by power differentials in relationships. The way people position themselves or what identity they negotiate for themselves in interaction, may point to potential sources or manifestations of anxiety. If people are positioned in ways that are favourable to their sense of self, then perhaps we can speculate that anxiety and motivation are likely to be energising, positive forces whereas being positioned in unfavourable ways may lead to more debilitating, negative repercussions. Such considerations seems to reflect Block's (2007) thinking as he discusses and reconsiders Bailey's diary study and her reflections on her own experience of anxiety in the light of recent theorising on identity:

> With the benefit of hindsight and access to broader and more expansive analytical frameworks, a researcher today would likely see competitiveness and anxiety as by-products of a more global phenomenon, and that is the ongoing process of self-positioning that diarists engage in. From this perspective, Bailey...and other diarists were engaged in an ongoing process of discursively constructing an identity in the context of their participation in a language course. (2007:64)

In her well-known examination of identity in a second language learning context, Norton points out that identity "references desire – the desire for recognition, the desire for affiliation and the desire for security and safety" (2000:8) and she discusses how the women in her study often positioned themselves in ways that indexed their insecurities, their hopes and dreams.

Later in this chapter we will consider teacher anxiety, but as far as trainee teachers are concerned, the issues discussed in this section, despite being identified and studied in learners as opposed to teachers, are pertinent to the present study.

Indeed, trainee teachers are in a position where they are likely to be affected by both competence- and identity-based anxiety, and from this point of view Norton's comments are particularly pertinent: firstly, they want recognition for their work and effort on the practicum – from their peers, mentors and pupils; secondly, and closely related to the previous point, affiliation is desired as they attempt to make the transition from student to language teacher, to become a member of the language teaching profession; finally, during a high-pressured period in their lives in which they are regularly evaluated, issues of security and safety are also likely to be key concerns.

It is therefore understandable that many references to identity, anxiety, as well as motivation, should be accompanied by the acknowledgement of the key influence of self-esteem, and the widespread assumption that it provides the foundations for personal development and a solid platform on which individuals can build healthy relationships in social contexts. It is to self-esteem, then, and its role in this dynamic and fluid network of affective factors which I will discuss in the following section.

2.6.3 Self-esteem

Self-esteem, like motivation, is not only inextricably entwined with anxiety and issues of identity, but is a key notion at the heart of all affective issues. Not surprisingly, Dörnyei refers to the fact that "the notion of the 'self' is one of the most frequently – and most diversely – used concepts in psychology" (2009:10). In his discussion of the L2 self as a way of exploring motivation in language learners, the same author explicitly links the self or selves to a sense of self-conception and identity, showing how individuals' knowledge and

conceptions of themselves have shifted from a more traditional view of this awareness as being firmly rooted in the present, to a perspective which sees individuals capable of viewing their selves in trajectories that span the past, present and future, and hence such a view has strong synergies with the conceptualisation of identity as being in constant transformation.

Yet while a number of current, post-structuralist-influenced, perspectives view personality variables and identity as being in a state of constant transformation and construction, it is does not seem unreasonable to claim that certain affective variables may well be more durable and resistant to change than others. In fact, Dörnyei, in an earlier publication, strongly likens self-esteem to the foundations of a building – whatever is added after will be to little or no avail if this keystone of personality is not set in place. Brown says that:

> Self-esteem is probably the most pervasive aspect of any human behaviour. It could easily be claimed that no successful cognitive or affective activity can be carried out without some degree of self-esteem, self-confidence, knowledge of yourself, and belief in your own capabilities for that activity…Personality development universally involves the growth of a person's concept of self, acceptance of self, and reflection of self as seen in the interaction between self and others. (1994a:136-137)

According to Croznier (1997:171), "Self-esteem has attracted more research in education than any other psychological trait". But what, more precisely is self-esteem? Brown, cites Coopersmith's (1967) definition:

> By self-esteem, we refer to the evaluation which the individual makes and customarily maintains with regard to himself; it expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval, and indicates the extent to which an individual believes himself to be capable, significant, successful and worthy. (1994a:137)

Nevertheless, despite these analogies of foundations invoking a certain permanence, self-esteem is clearly subject to the influence of contextual factors, and can be a trait (an inherent personality characteristic) or a state (related to a particular situation). Brown (ibid.), in fact, refers to a three-tier categorisation in which he situates *global*, *situational* or *specific*, and lastly *task* self-esteem.

Global self-esteem in adults is thought to be a relatively stable personality trait. Situational self-esteem refers to one's considerations and appraisals of oneself in what Brown calls "certain life situations" (ibid.). These may include work, school or even personality traits such as "gregariousness, empathy and flexibility" (ibid.), and the degrees of self-esteem that a person may have will depend on the situation or the trait in question.

Task self-esteem refers to certain tasks that are undertaken in specific contexts, for example, the second language learning context may be classified as the situational level of

self-esteem while speaking may be identified as the task self-esteem level. In her well-known qualitative study on language anxiety, Price (1991) found that unsuccessful language learners often had lower self-esteem than successful language learners. The difficulties these students encountered in pronunciation and speaking were often referenced in their comments, and were cited as a likely factor impacting on their low levels of self-esteem, that is to say their situational or task self-esteem. In fact, perhaps one of the most forceful comments to be found in the LA literature was made by one of the students that Price interviewed. After having done an end of term oral presentation in French, her L2, this student was told by her teacher that it was "the absolute worst thing I have ever heard". Price reports that at the end of her interview the student made the observation that "I'd rather be in a prison camp than speak a foreign language" (1991: 104). Such remarks - surely rarities in most language classrooms today – are just as likely to index student frustration and resentment felt towards the teacher as they are to express the experience of LA. Furthermore, in the USA[60] language anxiety can also be seen as part of a frustrated reaction on the part of higher education students at having to do a foreign language discipline, something which many students only do when going to higher education. Nevertheless, it would be entirely understandable if students' levels of self-esteem and motivation were negatively affected should they be on the receiving end of such remarks. MacIntyre's suggests such remarks are indicative of deeper underlying insecurities in language learning:

> Some readers might be tempted to dismiss these excerpts as exaggerations. Even if they are somewhat melodramatic, the statements express deep-seated-feelings, and the underlying sentiment should not be ignored. Language learning provokes a traumatic reaction in some individuals. (1999:39)

One of the factors in formal language learning situations that is cited as impacting both self-esteem and LA is the expectations of success. In her article on the relationship between LA and self-esteem, Ortega (2007) suggests that whether learners experience debilitating or facilitating anxiety is largely determined by "the expectations of success maintained by the learner" (2007:116), in other words, should learners with higher expectations of success experience LA, they are more likely to experience facilitating anxiety whereas those with lower expectations who experience language anxiety will probably experience the debilitating kind.

Such a perspective would appear to be relevant to the trainee teachers of this study with degrees of success not only likely to contribute positively to their levels of self-esteem

[60] Price's research was conducted in the USA.

and identities as budding teachers, but also to influence the important matter of their formal assessment, a factor which, in Portugal, will have a significant impact on their career prospects and their first teaching position. It is likely, then, that anxiety, self-esteem and motivation will have a greater impact on individuals if what they desire is of importance to them. This last point can be linked to the work of William James and one that Croznier (1997) refers to in his study of individual differences in general education.

Croznier cites the American psychologist William James' influence on the study of self and its relation to self-esteem. James defined self-esteem as "the ratio of one's success to one's pretensions" (in Croznier, 1997:173). Croznier goes on to explain the implications of such a view of self-esteem:

> One interpretation of this is that self-esteem is more influenced by successes and failures in areas of life that are important to one than it is about less important areas. Thus, poor performance as a dancer has little impact on self-esteem if dancing is not taken very seriously but it would be wounding for someone who wanted to join friends in a dancing class and devastating for someone who had aspirations to be a professional dancer. A further implication is that one can discount judgements of one's performance made by someone who had little knowledge of dancing but self-esteem would be threatened by the adverse judgement of someone who one regarded as an expert. (1997:174-175)

From this perspective, the trainee teachers on their year-long placement, are likely to be highly sensitive in regards to self-esteem if they feel they are not achieving what they and others – including their mentors, fellow trainees, and pupils – believe to be requisite standards, or, in terms of our previous discussion, if they are not approximating the ideal teacher self or ought-to selves. This is of particular relevance to the post-observation conferences in which feedback, and the manner in which it is delivered, is likely to feed directly into many of the affective variables I have discussed, with both emotions and identity, to a significant extent, being discursively co-constructed by mentors and the trainees.

From this point of view, Horwitz's (1996) observations that in-service and pre-service teachers may be particularly vulnerable to LA because they present themselves as experts in their field and have invested large amounts of emotional, intellectual and physical effort in their careers seem to be well-founded.

A study by Gregersen and Horwitz (2002), which is of interest to the present study due to its methodological and situational affinities, has shown how some anxious students may in fact have certain perfectionist characteristics which contribute to their levels of anxiety and self-esteem. The subjects of this study were four 'anxious' and four 'non-anxious' students on the English Education Program at the University de Atacama, Chile, had

completed at least 6 years of secondary English language studies before entering the university the previous year, and were preparing to become high school English teachers.

These future teachers were interviewed twice. The interviews were conducted on a one-on-one basis with the interviewer. The first interview, which was videotaped and conducted in English, and lasting around five minutes, consisted of encouraging the participants to respond to such conversational prompts such as "Where are you from?" and "Tell me about your family". The second phase, one week later, saw participants reflect on their videotaped interviews – these reflections were also videotaped, therefore constituting a stimulated recall protocol – in order to verify signs of perfectionism. They commented on their performances in their native Spanish. Gregersen and Horwitz, after reviewing the literature on perfectionist traits in education, relate this variable to language anxiety:

> With respect to language learning, perfectionist students would not be satisfied with merely communicating in their target language – they would want to speak flawlessly, with no grammatical or pronunciation errors, and as easily as a native speaker. Rather than demonstrating less-than-perfect language skills and exposing themselves to the possible negative reactions of others, perfectionist language learners would likely prefer to remain silent, waiting until they were certain of how to express their thoughts. Such impossibly high performance standards create the ideal conditions for the development of language anxiety. (2002:562)

The authors list a number of characteristics (ibid.:562-563) of perfectionism that they believe to impede learning in general and language learning in particular. These include:

1) performance standards that are impossibly high and unnecessarily rigid;

2) motivation more from fear of failure than from pursuit of success;

3) measurement of one's own worth entirely in terms of productivity and accomplishment;

4) all-or-nothing evaluations that label anything other than perfection as failure;

5) difficulty in taking credit or pleasure, even when success is achieved, because such achievement is merely what is expected;

6) procrastination in getting started on work that will be judged; and

7) long delays in completing assignments, or repeatedly starting over on assignments, because the work must be perfect from the beginning and continue to be perfect as one goes along.

Gregersen and Horwitz found that such perfectionist traits were strongly associated with the four anxious learners, but not with the non-anxious learners. In fact one of the main conclusions that the authors draw from this study is that "anxious and non-anxious learners

differ in terms of their reactions to their performance" (ibid.:568). Both sets of students were able to recognise their mistakes when viewing their videotaped interviews, but the "anxious students were disturbed by their mistakes, whereas the non-anxious students took them in their stride" (ibid.). The anxious students' perceptions play an important role. Their perceptions of how they are evaluated by their colleagues and teacher appear to significantly shape their thinking, with speaking in front of big groups being an oft-cited factor in explaining their nervousness in the classroom. Furthermore a pronounced tendency on their part to worry about making mistakes does little to reduce their anxious experiences. Not only did they feel they were being constantly evaluated by teacher and peers but that the mistakes they made were more numerous and serious in nature.

Returning to the characteristics mentioned above by Horwitz and Gregersen as being indicative of perfectionist individuals, especially the first three points, it would appear that setting unrealistically high standards, being motivated by failure rather than success, and judging one's self-worth almost exclusively in terms of accomplishment and performance are a combination with the potential to negatively affect an individual's self-esteem, and hence their participation in the classroom.

It is worth reiterating at this point that much of the literature on language anxiety posits that levels of language anxiety will gradually decrease as proficiency increases. However, Gregersen and Horwitz, echoing the latter author's (1996) conclusions on anxiety experienced by language teachers, opine that "perfect language performance may be of greater concern to people who plan to be language teachers than to typical language learners" (ibid.:569). Ortega (2007), working from a social constructivist perspective, cites Foss and Rietzel's (1988) work on a relational model for LA, and says that as persons' language competence and self-esteem in relation to language learning are essentially constructed and validated through the perceptions and discourse of others, advanced language learners, therefore, should not be deemed immune from the experience of LA. Indeed, Dewaele's (2002a) research shows that bilinguals also experience LA. In other words, one of the possible consequences in striving for perfectionism may be greater levels of anxiety. Indeed, following this logic through, Gregersen and Horwitz posit that "Language teachers may themselves have perfectionist tendencies and inadvertently encourage or develop these same tendencies in their students" (ibid.:569), a possibility encapsulated in the truism cited by Allwright (1991:168): 'we teach as we have been taught'. Gregersen and Horwitz end their article with an appeal to learners to consider errors as an understandable and characteristic feature of language learning:

> Ultimately, perfectionist students need to understand that the classroom is not merely for demonstrating knowledge and skill, but also for gaining it, and that errors are a normal and acceptable part of everyone's language learning experience. (2002:570)

Nevertheless, while many teachers – including myself – have no doubt stressed this message, acceptance is far from a straightforward process, for example, the future teachers involved in one of my previous (Daubney, 2004) research projects duly acknowledged the necessity of making errors but expressed their displeasure and frustration when making them! The very nature of the language learning process, therefore, with its inbuilt necessity for trial and error is not kind to those who fear mistakes and whose aim is that of perfection or extremely high standards of performance. Students with perfectionist tendencies – not to mention a great many who do not share these characteristics – are likely to experience their fair share of frustration whereas teachers with similar proclivities are not only likely to experience similar disappointments but may be too demanding and end up, albeit out of good intentions, correcting the self-esteem out of their students. Indeed, as far as teachers are concerned, maintaining the image of an error-free practitioner in the presence of their students might well be a source of anxiety.

An important consideration on the perception of errors pointed up by Seedhouse (2004), from a conversational analysis perspective applied to classroom interaction in more communicative approaches, has shown that while teachers actively 'sell' the pedagogical message that it is necessary to recognise errors and mistakes as a beneficial part of the language learning process, the interactional message is often contradictory and marks out errors as being unacceptable, that is, incorrect contributions are often ignored or corrected by using various strategies – in other words, teachers very often go to considerable lengths to avoid the acknowledgment of error. The consequence of such systematic practice, then, is that the explicit acknowledgment of errors is avoided, but errors and mistakes are subtly established as undesirable. In Seedhouse's words:

> Teachers are avoiding direct and overt negative evaluation of learners' linguistic errors with the best intentions in the world, namely, to avoid embarrassing and demotivating them. However, in doing so, they are interactionally marking linguistic errors as embarrassing and problematic. (2004:175)

So it seems possible that an over-zealous desire to attend to the affective states of pupils could directly diminish the teacher's willingness to correct, thereby contributing – somewhat paradoxically – to an excessive concern with mistakes or errors on the part of both teachers and students – a concern which has been identified as a source of LA, especially in students. It is also possible to imagine that a potential source of teacher anxiety is the extent to which

they feel they should correct pupil errors. Later in this chapter we shall examine how Grundy (2000) relates teacher anxiety to uncertainty avoidance and the need to maintain control over the indeterminacy of language, with accuracy and error correction therefore being central to the need to exercise greater degrees of control over what takes place in the classroom.

Gregersen and Horwitz' study, then, is helpful in that it identifies how perfectionist tendencies may impact on both LA and self-esteem, which may well be evident in both teachers and pupils. However, their study, like a great deal of other LA research, does not venture into the classroom itself, and leaves itself open to the criticism that perhaps the behaviour of these future teachers would be significantly different in their language classes. Would, for example, these future teachers notice such mistakes while interacting in their language classes? It is possible that the answer to this question is no, but, if they did notice, then how would this affect their behaviour? One thing is commenting on a video-recording of oneself taking part in a one-on-one interview with a native speaker, but in the absence of complementary data, it is difficult to say whether actual student behaviour in the classroom would deviate from the tendencies identified through their reported comments.

Whether related to perfectionism or LA, self-esteem continues to attract the attention of researchers and practitioners working in language teaching – as evidenced by Rubio's (2007) volume[61]. Taking into account the fact that language learning involves notable potential for face-threatening activity, maintaining healthy levels of self-esteem and managing anxiety have been important considerations for many teachers when trying to build a learning community in the classroom. Verónica de Andrés says that "human beings – children and adults – need to be liked, valued and appreciated" (1999:88-89). This comment no doubt holds for other subjects on the school curriculum or disciplines in higher education, not to mention society at large. However, the same author (ibid.:89) refers to a study carried out by De Porter (1995) in which children received "460 negative or critical comments a day and merely 75 positive ones," a process that that may lead to 'a learning shutdown' whereby children involuntarily "block their learning experiences" and even "the very word 'learning' can make a lot of students tense and overwhelmed" (ibid.:89). This would seem to suggest an 'affective filter' akin to that posited by Krashen, but one that functions independently of the subjects or disciplines being studied. From the perspective of language learning, de Andrés advocates that teachers have a key role to play in determining the learning potential of the language classroom because their comments have the power to inhibit or empower:

[61] In this volume, Ortega (2007) explicitly links self-esteem and LA from a socio-constructivist perspective.

> ...success in language learning is inextricably linked to the way in which learners experience the classroom: as a place where their weaknesses will be revealed or a space for growth and development. (1999:89)

Although de Andrés' comments were primarily aimed at children, they also remain highly pertinent for learners of all ages, and in the case of the present project, trainee teachers on their practicum.

Indeed, given their significant investment in teaching as their chosen career, it can be argued that trainee teachers are likely to be even more susceptible to the effects of negative and positive feedback, and how this impacts on their levels of self-esteem with events both inside and outside the classroom – the latter in the form of the post-observation conferences – being pivotal. Talking about the singular nature of the language classroom, Allwright declares:

> The picture is of a situation fraught with risks, a situation more delicate than most in education, and one that calls for special attention. (1991:180)

While Allwright is essentially referring to the need of teachers to be attentive to possible learner inhibition during language classes, the learning and teaching of languages involve significant risk for both students *and* teachers, and progress and setbacks, often accompanied by emotional highs and lows, are not exclusive to learners. It is no surprise, therefore, that inhibition and risk-taking are also related to LA. These variables will be considered in the following section.

2.6.4 Inhibition and risk-taking

Inhibition is intimately linked with self-esteem, and can be characterised as the way our egos put up defensive barriers in order to protect themselves from perceived threats, which may come in the form of ideas, emotions or experiences, and should these constitute an uncomfortable challenge to our beliefs and values, then defensive mechanisms will be activated to protect our self-image and self-esteem. Those individuals possessing lower or more fragile levels of self-esteem, therefore, will be vulnerable to threats.

However, as I have already indicated, a central tenet of this study is that personality variables not only exercise an influence on context but that context, including the crucial notion of interaction, also significantly shapes these variables. As we have seen with self-esteem and anxiety, such emotion-related states are often structured according to global,

situational and task levels. Inhibition, then, is of particular relevance to language learning because as Brown says, "Meaningful language acquisition involves some degree of identity conflict as language learners take on a new identity with their newly acquired competence" (1994a:139). Although the trainee teachers of this study have progressed far beyond newly acquired competence, putting their language skills into practice during their training year – as well as making the transition from student to teacher – is likely to involve threats of a different nature.

In her chapter on the affective domain, Richard-Amato talks of "the often humbling process of acquiring a second language" (1988:55). Learning a second language, as has already been noted, often entails face-threatening activities. 'Tripping over' pronunciation and the myriad uses of prosodic features of a language, using the wrong word, or not getting the tense right are but a few of the possible mistakes that learners may find themselves making. Such mistakes can lead to individuals reassessing their self-worth, feeling alienated, feeling stupid and questioning the value of learning a second language and, as noted in 2.6.2, such reflections and emotions may end up significantly shaping their L2 identity or self. Unsurprisingly, then, Richard-Amato says these "humbling" experiences are significantly related to "attitude toward self" (1988:55). In learning a second language students may feel the need to protect their egos. Mistakes and subsequent reactions to such errors including the possibility of disapproving remarks or ridicule are potential threats to the ego – particularly to those of more fragile individuals and/or those with significant expectations in relation to their language learning. As Arnold and Brown point out, "the weaker the ego, the higher the walls of inhibition" (1999:10).

Stevick ponders the question of why people do not like to pronounce foreign sounds, when in fact most people "can actually do a pretty fair job of imitating foreign sounds – *if* they try" (1989:5, emphasis in original). One of the reasons may be "that they do not like to hear themselves sounding foreign" (ibid.:5). Stevick suggests that one of the ways of overcoming such inhibition is to imitate a person one respects. In a classroom context, this again points to another potential role for the teacher whereby he or she can provide a model for pronunciation. However, as Stevick's comments imply, students will be more willing and likely to imitate if their relationship with the teacher is on a sound affective footing. Another of Stevick's successful learners advocates that a willingness to be laughed at is also a most useful characteristic. Again this is mentioned in relation to pronunciation: "You mustn't mind being laughed at! People sometimes laugh, but they're laughing at your pronunciation, not at you. They're pleased with you for trying to learn the language" (1989:21)

Although I would say such comments may hold for certain contexts, they may also be over optimistic, that is, individuals may be laughed at by both teachers and learners. However, the advice – although coming from a successful and confident language learner – would appear to be, generally speaking, both sensible and pragmatic.

Although inhibition may largely function at an intrapersonal level, it is in the classroom, in an interpersonal context, where such inhibitions may be ameliorated or exacerbated by the classroom climate in general. It is in this context of trying to establish a positive classroom environment that Dörnyei advocates the use of humour to improve the classroom atmosphere and reduce inhibition:

> The main point about having humour in the classroom is not so much about continuously cracking jokes but rather having a relaxed attitude about how seriously we take ourselves. If students can sense that the teacher allows a healthy degree of self-mockery and does not treat school as the most hallowed of all places, the jokes will come. (2001b:41)

While laughter may be used as a tool to defuse and reduce inhibition in learning situations, it should also be remembered that laughter may also constitute a double threat and lead individuals to feel, firstly, excluded from the joke and, secondly, and, perhaps, more importantly, excluded from the larger group. Humour, then, may function as a double-edge sword and may increase or decrease teachers and students' levels of inhibition and the risks they are willing to take.

As has already been stressed, what appears to be at the root of much inhibition, as well as other negative emotions or restraints in the language classroom, is worry associated with making mistakes and the 'social fallout' so to speak that accompanies errors. In this sense the self is two-fold. In the words of Arnold and Brown:

> Mistakes can be viewed as both internal and external threats to our ego. Internally, our critical self and our performing self can be in conflict: when as learners we perform something 'wrong', we become critical of our own mistakes. Externally, we perceive others exercising their critical selves, even judging us as persons when we make an error in a second language. Therefore language teachers should not ignore affective factors when establishing the most appropriate policy of error correction for their particular situation. (1999:11)

Yet even appropriate correction of errors by the teacher will not secure the right results if the classroom atmosphere is not right in the first place. If students do not participate as a result of an unpleasant atmosphere in which inhibition and self-esteem are higher and lower respectively than is desirable, there will be few mistakes to correct in the first place. Given the nature of language learning, part of which is the need to experiment and play with language and exchange ideas in order to push oneself along the road of acquisition,

the notion of risk-taking becomes a central feature of the classroom. For the trainee teacher, the risk of making mistakes is magnified even further given that they are being observed by both pupils and mentors, albeit the nature of their observation is critically different.

In formal language learning contexts, risk-taking is a fundamental idea and one that is intimately related to making mistakes, and therefore a possible source of anxiety. Like error, it can be argued, for several reasons, that risk-taking has an almost symbiotic relationship with the teaching-learning process.

Firstly, most teachers and educationalists would agree that learners of all ages have a firmer base to build on if motivation and curiosity are initiated and sustained in the classroom. Bruner (1960), for example, sees guesswork, self-discovery and intuitive thinking as vital elements in the learning process. However, in order to encourage these qualities, learners need to feel able and competent to face and take risks without jeopardising their self-esteem for fear of negative reactions either from their peers or teacher.

Secondly, from the point of view of learning the language itself, the language learning strategy research of the 1970s points to particular modes of behaviour or ways of coming into the contact with the language that will improve the learner's chances of exposure to, use and acquisition of the language in question. Rubin identifies seven strategies as being characteristic of the successful language learner. Given the variables that this study identifies as being of particular significance in relation to LA, the three strategies listed below are likely to be employed by a learner with healthy levels of self-esteem who is motivated, largely uninhibited, and willing to take the necessary social and linguistic risks:

1. The good language learner is a willing and accurate guesser. The good language learner is comfortable with uncertainty and is willing to try out guesses. A good guesser gathers and stores information efficiently, and uses all the clues situations offer.

2. The good language learner has a strong desire to communicate or to learn from communication. He is willing to try out a range of options to get his message across.

3. The good language learner is often not inhibited. He is willing to appear foolish or to make mistakes in order to promote communication or to learn. He is willing to live with a degree of imprecision. (Rubin, 1975, cited in Tudor, 1996:38)

It does not take a huge leap of the imagination to see these characteristics are also important to teachers. Yet teachers will also have an array of further considerations to consider in terms of risk-taking. These may include the types of activity and forms of interaction to implement in the classroom, how much time to devote to these activities, what sort of materials to be used, whether to deviate from their plan, and how to deal with anticipated and/or unanticipated problems.

However, risk-taking may invoke an image of anything goes behaviour, yet such a supposition would be misplaced. Beebe's definition will serve to characterise this variable better:

> Risk-taking may be defined as a situation where an individual has to make a decision involving choice between alternatives of different desirability; the outcome of the choice is uncertain; there is a possibility of failure. (1983: 39)

Semantically speaking, the word 'risk', in the English language at least, is largely negatively loaded, suggesting danger and loss, but it also evokes associations of adventure, the satisfaction of facing challenges, and embracing the unknown. Despite this ambivalence, it is, perhaps, no coincidence, then, that Beebe stresses the 'adverse consequences'. In Beebe's own words:

> I have long believed that the good language learner is one who is willing to take risks. Learning to speak a second or foreign language involves taking the risk of being wrong, with all its ramifications. In the classroom, these ramifications might include a bad grade in the course, a fail on the exam, a reproach from the teacher, a smirk from a classmate, punishment or embarrassment imposed by oneself. Outside the classroom, individuals learning a second language face other negative consequences if they make mistakes. They fear looking ridiculous; they fear frustration coming from a listener's blank look, showing that they have failed to communicate; they fear the danger of not being able to communicate and thereby get close to other human beings. Perhaps worst of all, they fear a loss of identity. Given these realities, we must conclude that all second and foreign language learning involves taking risks. (1983: 40)

While eloquently capturing the possible consequences of risk-taking in language learning, Beebe's description also illustrates how anxiety, low self-esteem and inhibition go hand in hand with language learning. It also presents teachers and learners with a typical dilemma in language learning. If you are not anxious, inhibited or low in self-esteem, you may well be after or while attempting to learn, *or teach,* a second or foreign language; on the other hand, if you are anxious, inhibited and low in self-esteem, then these personality characteristics may well be exacerbated while attempting to learn, *or teach*, a foreign or second language.

In relation to Beebe's comments on the differences that exist in and outside the classroom, however, I would beg to differ. I recognise – shaped by my own experience of second language learning – that the experiences of a second language learner who learns outside the classroom and who may actually be a member of the target language community may be significantly different from someone who learns in a formal institution. Nevertheless, I believe that the consequences that Beebe says someone may face as a result of risk taking outside the classroom, *may* and *do* happen *in the classroom*.

Risk-taking was also identified as an influential variable in Ely's (1986) study, which found risk-taking was positively linked to classroom participation, a clearly positive step for learners to create language learning opportunities for themselves. However, he also found a negative relationship between risk-taking and what he denoted as Language Class Discomfort ('the degree of anxiety, self-consciousness, or embarrassment felt when speaking in the language classroom'). Ely came to the following conclusion:

> …simply exhorting students to take more risks and participate more may not be effective. Apparently, before some students can be expected to take linguistic risks, they must be made to feel more psychologically comfortable and safe in their learning environment. To this end, classroom teachers may wish to devise and test the relative effectiveness of various strategies for lessening Language Class Discomfort. As students come to feel more secure, they can be encouraged to assume a more active role in the classroom. (1986:23)

Ely's comments are tantamount to saying that a reduction in language anxiety in learners will at least increase the likelihood of their participation while Oxford, another researcher who has studied LA, has this to say on its relationship to risk-taking:

> Students who are highly anxious about the frequent ambiguities of language learning often suffer reduced risk-taking ability. It is more useful for language learners to take moderate but intelligent risks, such as guessing meanings based on background knowledge and speaking up despite the possibility of making mistakes, rather than taking no risks at all or taking extreme, uninformed risks. Language students who fear ambiguity or whose self-esteem is low, frequently 'freeze up', allowing their inhibitions to take over completely…Students who avoid risks are stalled by actual or anticipated criticism from others or by self-criticism…when they do not have enough practice, their language development becomes seriously stunned. (1999a:63)

If language learners' participation and patterns of interaction are influenced by LA and the affective variables so closely related to it, how might the experience of LA shape teacher interaction? This question will be focused on more closely in 2.9. At this juncture, however, it would appear reasonable to suggest that risk-taking and its relation to classroom participation seems strongly dependent on the way individuals perceive their learning environment, and how their personalities, including psychological constructs such as anxiety, inhibition and self-esteem, interact with and in these surroundings. In terms of linguistic processes and outcome, as teachers we should not only be vigilant to the possibility of fossilisation in students as a result of lack of practice and participation, as Oxford suggests, but also to our own practices that may be underpinned by ensuring our own interests are served.

As we noted in the section on motivation, one of the teachers in Kubanyiova's (2009) study, spoke markedly faster and in more definite terms when explaining grammar to her

students, thereby preventing the students from intervening. This was done in all likelihood to move away from her 'actual' self, that is, someone who was more uncertain about grammar, and to move closer to her 'ideal' self as a respected language teacher, someone who is also a language expert. Her rapid speech, then, was a strategy that ensured she did not venture into 'risky territory', in which student questions might have undermined this image. Risk-taking, then, may assume other, more subtle manifestations. Therefore, for teachers and trainee teachers, risk-taking cannot simply be linked to a simplistic equation that posits the experience of LA means less participation, although it may well include the avoidance of certain patterns of interaction. As researchers we should also consider the possibility that the experience of LA for teachers may mean different forms of participation as opposed to reduced participation. A further consideration, and one which was referred to in the previous section on self-esteem, is that language proficiency should not be readily assumed to be the determining factor in the experience of LA. As MacIntyre et al. (1998:545) observe in their discussion on 'Willingness to communicate in an L2': "Many language teachers have encountered students high in linguistic competence who are unwilling to use their L2 for communication whereas other students, with only minimal linguistic knowledge, seem to communicate in the L2 whenever possible."

Given the innumerable permutations of context and individual factors, it is virtually impossible to establish, a priori, any kind of overarching matrix for the experience of LA, yet the consideration of the affective variables I have discussed, whilst far from exhaustive do, I believe, begin to trace outlines and possible contextual factors that may contribute to our understanding of the experience of LA.

It is, perhaps, fitting that the last variables I have discussed are those of inhibition and risk-taking because in the context of this project, I think it is justifiable to claim that trainee teachers find themselves in a high-pressure situation in which inhibition and risk-taking, along with other affective factors, are likely to be prominent considerations.

The discussion up until now has related how certain variables and processes may shape the experience of LA. In the following section, I will discuss how LA is manifested, that is to say how SLA researchers, foreign language practitioners, and those who have experienced LA, have helped in identifying and recognising the signs that may point to the experience of this affective state.

2.7 Recognising language anxiety: signs and effects

If anxiety is an emotion that is intimately related to other feelings and our sense of identity, then how do we recognise it and how does it affect people? In this section, the signs or manifestation as well as its effects are considered.

In *Setting the scene*, I refer to the fact that anxiety is an affective state that may affect individuals in their very entirety, in other words anxiety can impact cognitively, affectively, behaviourally, physiologically and socially on people. In the discussion of emotions in communication, it is noted that it is rare for people to explicitly refer to the emotions they are experiencing, and that emotions are more commonly revealed in the way individuals communicate about given experiences and topics, that is, the content of their messages, as well as how they discuss such topics, will be vital in helping to identify certain emotions. Given that is it highly unlikely that individuals will explicitly refer to their anxiety – especially in the case of teachers in the classroom – and that it is a particularly difficult emotion to recognise, it is important to indicate how the experience and effects of LA have been recognised by researchers and practitioners.

Firstly, there are a number of instruments that have been designed to capture or measure the extent of students' levels of language anxiety in the foreign language classroom, the best known of which is Horwitz's (1986) Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS). This instrument allows the researcher to calculate the total score – using a Likert scale – of each learner's level of LA, which as noted before, I have used in some of my previous projects.[62] In other words, anxiety is recognised in the score of the self-report – the higher the score, the more anxious a language learner is deemed to be. I have already commented on what I think the weaknesses of this instrument to be.

Secondly, researchers and teachers have accrued a body of signs that may indicate the experience of LA, which, according to Oxford (1999a: 66), "is often readily observable". Here the focus shifts from trying to measure LA with self-reports to a concern with identifying LA in the communicative behaviour of learners in interactional contexts. It is from this perspective that Oxford puts forward an impressive list of likely signs of LA, which she divides into four categories:

General avoidance: 'forgetting' the answer, showing carelessness, cutting class, coming late, arriving unprepared, low levels of verbal production, lack of volunteering in class, seeming inability to answer even the simplest questions.

[62] A comprehensive list of instruments for measuring anxiety can be found in Young (1999: 253).

Physical actions: squirming, fidgeting, playing with hair or clothing, nervously touching objects, stuttering or stammering, displaying jittery behaviour, being unable to reproduce the sounds or intonation of the target language even after repeated practice.

Physical symptoms: complaining about a headache, experiencing tight muscles, feeling unexplained pain or tension in any part of the body.

Other signs which might reflect language anxiety, depending on the culture: over-studying, perfectionism, social avoidance, conversational withdrawal, lack of eye contact, hostility, monosyllabic or non-committal responses, image protection or masking behaviours (exaggerated smiling, laughing, nodding, joking), failing to interrupt when it would be natural to do so, excessive competitiveness, excessive self-effacement and self-criticism ('I am so stupid'). (1999a:66)

As we can see, these four categories effectively cover the physiological, behavioural, cognitive and affective behaviour of learners. Although some of these signs may, in particular contexts, be indicative of the experience of anxiety, the teacher will need to know their students well in order to infer anxiety from such signs. Often the most visible signs are physiological effects. As Horwitz explains, learners may "have difficulties concentrating, become forgetful, sweat, and have palpitations" (1986: 29). Some of the future teachers in my previous research also said they experienced a range of physiological symptoms in the classroom, including racing heartbeats, trembling hands and blushing profusely (Daubney, 2001:38-39), all of which seemed to inhibit communication.

However, not all individuals display visible physiological symptoms, and it may not be as straightforward, as Oxford suggests, in determining anxious behaviour. In Ohata's (2005a) study of LA, from the perspective of experienced EFL/ESL teachers, the practitioners of this study expressed the opinion that, unless the more obvious physical signs – such as avoiding eye-contact with the teacher, sweated palms, trembling, shaky body movements, blushed faces, and nervous facial expressions – were evident, "they would not be able to notice the real anxious feelings of their students" (2005a:146). In the words of one of these teachers, "I always try to be sensitive to their anxious feelings in class, but I cannot always tell whether they are nervous or not just by their physical behaviours" (ibid.). Whilst acknowledging researchers' new insights into a given area, such a perspective – which coincides with my own, both as a teacher and a language learner – alerts us to the dangers of being too over-reliant on a priori categories such as Oxford's.

In his stimulating discussion of motivation, anxiety and emotion in language learning, MacIntyre's appeals to Buck's (1984) two-system view of emotion which divides emotions into one system that is "primitive and visceral" (2002:62), and are essentially "reactions to the situation" (ibid.:63), and another system which is more cerebral, cognitively influenced, and involves "reactions to our own thoughts" (ibid.). In the latter category we could place

anxious reactions evoked by, for example, concerns with future examinations, and reflecting on happy or embarrassing situations which have happened to us in the past. Whilst MacIntyre does recognise that anxiety may be influenced by both systems of emotion, he sees anxiety as chiefly belonging to the primitive, more visceral system, a primary emotion like anger, disgust, joy and fear, emotions which are capable of "overpowering cognitive processes" (ibid.:64). Such emotions, says MacIntyre:

> ...tend to be more intense...as when a person is asked to 'stop and think'. These emotions are strongly rooted in physiological processes, are relatively universal and independent of culture, are displayed uniquely and can be clearly differentiated, and are automatic reactions to external events...the only emotion of this sort to be studied in detail in the language learning area is anxiety, a variant of fear. (2002:64)

In many ways, then, the clearest indications of the experience of anxiety are the physiological reactions referred to previously. If somebody experiences particularly strong anxiety, this emotional state may activate the fight or flight responses. Based on his own research with anxious and non-anxious students, MacIntyre, found that "the effects of anxiety are strongest immediately after it is aroused, dissipate with time, and can be overcome if sufficient time and effort are given" (1999.:37). In a later publication, he says that "the onset of these effects can be very rapid...and take a long time to wear off" (2002:62). In the classroom context, for example, anxious students may therefore need more time in order to complete tasks and achieve the same results as their less anxious peers as a way of compensating for the initial effects of anxiety. With regards to interaction in communicative classrooms, this would appear to be an especially important factor, as the process of thinking, formulating and expressing ideas in a foreign language is constrained by the pressures of time of a particular interactional exchange, which, in turn, is part of a larger pedagogical plan.

However, whilst I do agree that anxiety can be a powerful emotion that can hamper cognition to a serious degree, this view does not give sufficient attention to how emotions, including anxiety, are managed and shaped in interaction, a view which approaches Arndt and Janney's notion of emotive communication. Indeed, it is no surprise that MacIntyre has been involved in research (MacIntyre and Gardner, 1994a, 1994b) that has relied, to a notable extent, on experimental research which induced and studied anxiety in individuals in laboratory conditions, a scenario which is a far cry from the more complex and interactive contexts of classrooms. Indeed, the almost total absence of anxiety research that ventures into the classroom itself would seem to lend support to the notion that anxiety in language learning situations is not, in fact, so readily recognised. Furthermore, the (over)reliance on self-reports, such as the FLCAS, reinforces this view, with researchers, generally speaking,

basing their perspectives on reflections as opposed to conducting, or complementing, these self-reports with classroom observation.

An additional way, therefore, of attempting to better understand and identify LA is to discuss the issue either directly or indirectly, in the classroom, with the students themselves, as I did in my previous research (Daubney, 2001, 2004), or, use the interview to further explore learners' emotions (Price, 1991; Yan and Horwitz, 2008).

Underlying the signs referred to above is the experience, to a greater or lesser degree, of what is known as state anxiety. People experiencing such anxiety according to MacIntyre:

> feel energized or "keyed-up," but anything above a minimal level of anxiety is perceived as an unpleasant arousal. In terms of its effect on cognition, when people experience state anxiety they are more sensitive to what other people are thinking of them. With regard to behaviour, people with state anxiety evaluate their behaviour, ruminate over real and imagined failures, and often try to plan ways to escape from the situation. (1999: 28)

Here, MacIntyre's description of anxiety seems closer to the second system of emotions shaped by cognition. So anxiety may affect the quality and patterns of communication, with some of the signs, as mentioned by Oxford, pointing up impaired performance: stammering, stuttering, freezing-up, and the inability to find the right word. Students embarrassed by such "mistakes", very often made in front of their colleagues and teachers, may suffer from increased levels of anxiety and increasing difficulties in communication. Such experiences as these may then lead to decreased verbal participation, frustration at the discrepancy between the amount of time spent studying and the progress made, over-studying, and the sense that one's image and self-esteem, along with levels of motivation, have been negatively affected. This could be referred to as the classic cycle of LA.

In a more recent study of anxiety, although once again relying upon a large-scale application of the FLCAS adapted to a Japanese university context, Andrade and Williams (2009) complemented the self-report with a list of reactions that "occur in anxiety-provoking situations" (ibid.:20), and asked the university students to indicate which ones they experienced "during the event" (ibid.). These authors also use four categories, which are listed below with the reactions placed in each category:

1. Bodily reactions: lump in throat, change in breathing, stomach troubles, feeling cold, shivering, feeling warm/pleasant, feeling hot, cheeks burning, heart beating faster, muscles tensing, trembling, muscles relaxing, restful, perspiring.
2. Emotional reactions: mind went blank; had many unwanted thoughts; could not concentrate.

3. Expressive reactions; laughing, smiling; crying, sobbing; screaming, yelling; changes in gesturing; abrupt bodily movements; moving towards people or things; withdrawing from people or things; moving against people or things aggressively.
4. Verbal reactions in English; silence; short utterances; one or two sentences; lengthy utterances; speech-melody change; speech disturbances; speech tempo changes.

The first category refers to physiological changes, which Planalp (1999) says are largely "uncontrollable"; the second category concerns the impact of anxiety on cognition; the third essentially refers to non-verbal communication, primarily kinesic and proxemic behaviour; and the final category refers to both verbal and non-verbal communication, but aspects that are more closely related to speech.

At this point, it is worth making the observation that most of the signs referred to in the LA literature as being indicative of anxiety are negative manifestations. However, Andrade and Williams consider both positive and negative reactions to anxiety-provoking situations. Oxford's list, on the other hand, is dominated by negative indications, for example, even smiling and laughter – normally viewed as positive expressions of emotion – are seen from an essentially negative perspective. This is not to deny the validity of Oxford's observations, but to simply make the point that the predominantly negative perceptions of anxiety may have discouraged research from considering other reactions.

In addition, the range of manifestations embedded in communicative behaviour undermines the view that anxiety is easily identified, and also challenges the somewhat simplistic but resistant notions about anxiety that are evident in the literature, for example, the fact that Williams and Andrade's 'verbal reactions' category contains 'lengthy utterances' and 'speech tempo changes' goes against the prevailing view that individuals experiencing LA say little and are not as willing to communicate, and if they do, they normally do so in broken, hesitant speech. In fact, the idiosyncrasies of the foreign language learning context may well throw up distinct features that are unlike the manifestations identified in the literature on general anxiety. In my research on future teachers (2004), for example, one of the case studies that experienced significant LA was an extremely competent and fluent speaker who held the floor for relatively long periods, and whose speech tempo was quick and breathless, that is, her anxiety was likely manifested in her talkativeness, and her strong desire to prove she was a worthy English language learner. In the 'expressive reactions' category we can see that Andrade and Williams also include moving 'towards people or things and not just 'withdrawing', while in the 'bodily reactions' category, 'feeling warm, pleasant' and 'muscles relaxing, restful' are included.

Recognising anxiety as something more than a bundle of negative signs seems to be evident, therefore, in Andrade and Williams' indications of anxiety. However, as was noted in 1.4, communication and context constantly defy preconceptions and predefined categories. Withdrawing from or walking away from someone is not necessarily a sign of debilitating anxiety or another negative emotion because such behaviour may be accompanied by smiles and understanding facial expressions; on the other hand, walking towards someone cannot be readily construed as a sign of more positive emotion because this may be done with a fixed stare and unsmiling face in order to stress threatening behaviour. Communicative behaviour, then, is firmly embedded in context, so familiarity with individuals and their context is a key concern for researchers.

Indeed simply resorting to binary concepts of positive and negative affect would appear to be too simplistic an approach to capture manifestations of anxiety. Furthermore, both positive and negative emotions may even co-exist, especially in communicative, interactive situations. However, this is not to dismiss the signs that have been identified in anxiety research, but to advocate an open mind.

Having discussed some of the signs, I would now like to briefly summarise the effects of LA that have been discussed in the literature. Throughout the discussion of LA and the variables most strongly related to it, I have often indicated the effects, such as its impact on proficiency and academic success, on cognition, and its impact on identity and self-esteem. Generally speaking, these and other effects have been placed within four broad categories which can be seen below:

Cognitive:

Influenced by Eysenck's cognitive view of anxiety the impact on cognition is considered an important effect. Strong anxious reactions can result in distractions, self-deprecating thoughts and greater sensitivity to others' opinions and feelings concerning ourselves. On the other hand, in an attempt to explain facilitating anxiety, MacIntyre (2002:62) uses Eysneck's observation that milder anxiety may result in greater effort, in other words, increased effort leads to improved performance thereby leading to facilitating anxiety. Nevertheless, MacIntyre does say the "more common use of the term "anxiety"...is in the debilitating sense where the negative affects...are harmful to performance" (ibid.:66). In language learning, the cognitive view (see Figure 2) has been influential, focussing on anxiety's negative impact on thought processes, and ultimately speech production and acquisition.

Academic:

In academic terms, anxiety has been put forward as a reason for lower academic achievement with several studies showing a consistent relationship between language anxiety and course grades. The discussion on whether language anxiety is the result or effect of language achievement has been inconclusive, but MacIntyre says after reviewing research on the relationship between grades and language anxiety that "low course grades and impaired performance on tests is one of the effects of language anxiety" (1999: 38). Perhaps influenced by a need to demonstrate the concrete impact of anxiety in educational contexts with an overriding emphasis on cognition in recent years – a situation that is now being redressed through a greater interest in affect – earlier LA research (Horwitz, 1986; Young, 1986) focused on the relationship between anxiety and marks for language courses. LA research has also found that speaking is the skill students most often refer to when discussing their experiences of anxiety. Despite Horwitz's claims that research has found a consistent but relatively low negative correlation between the experience of LA and educational success, recent research has appeared to shift away from this perspective to explore the experience of LA itself and how this impacts on individuals and their language learning.

Social:

In social terms, Macintyre says that one of the most important effects of language anxiety is that "anxious learners do not communicate as often as more relaxed learners" (1999: 38) and that "Perhaps the most dramatic social effect of anxiety is a reluctance to communicate" (2002:66) whilst MacIntyre and Gardner (1991, cited in MacIntyre, 2002:66) found the dread associated with future communication in the target language to be the "most anxiety provoking aspect of language learning". Indeed, many of the signs mentioned in the LA literature would appear to indicate withdrawal, reluctance to communicate and avoidance behaviour. However, LA may sometimes be evidenced in more lengthy utterances, and it is perhaps somewhat limiting to see shorter utterances or no responses as the principal sign of LA.

Personal:

The discussion on the variables related to LA show that the individual is often ineluctably caught in a web of tensions when learning a foreign language, with these being shaped by the context in which their participation takes place. Some will be affected to a greater or lesser extent by their emotional reactions. Nevertheless, the comments of other students in the LA literature – as well as my own reflection in – do point up that language learning is often

experienced in a more personal way than other disciplines. Learners' comments often index the frustration at not being able to express themselves sufficiently, of feeling like babies, or, indeed, another person. However, the tensions in identity work are not, de facto, negative. There is the sense that language learning can open doors to positive experiences and perceptions of our own and others' identities. Nevertheless, many learner comments in the LA literature are disparaging remarks about themselves and the language learning process. Price's interviews with anxious learners illustrate this tendency:

> The majority of the subjects believed that their language skills were weaker than those of the other students. They believed that they weren't doing a good job and that everyone was looking down on them. All of the subjects brought up the notion that learning a language requires a special aptitude which they didn't possess. (1991: 106)

In sum, then, the effects and signs of LA are varied, complex and impact on all aspects of human behaviour, yet there does appear to exist a general agreement in SLA texts and amongst LA researchers that it has significant potential for harmful effects in the teaching-learning process, and is a factor that influences both teachers and students as participants in the classroom. In relation to trainee teachers and teachers, and more specifically to the trainees of this study, whilst I do not discount the possibility that some of the signs and effects mentioned above may influence or be evident in their behaviour, I will also address how anxiety may be manifested in their classroom practice in 2.9.

2.8 Rethinking language anxiety: on possible new directions

In this part of the study I would like to briefly examine some perspectives on LA that have been influential on my own thinking as a researcher. These studies, I think, point to fresh perspectives for LA research in two principal ways: firstly, they begin to consider an array of social factors, including a more considered reflection on identity, that may influence the experience of anxiety; and secondly, the ontological viewpoints as well as the respective methodologies of these studies can help to move LA research away from a dependence on self-reports and more positivist-inspired approaches to a view which puts the emphasis on interaction and human relationships, and therefore constitutes a perspective likely to be of greater relevance and interest to teachers and teacher educators.

After reviewing some of the key affective factors related to anxiety, as well as casting an eye over the multiple effects and signs that may indicate the experience of this emotion, it is possible, I think, to begin to ascertain the complexity of carrying out research on this

subject. Perhaps one of the reasons why research has so favoured using self-reports and/or correlation procedures is that researching LA from a naturalistic perspective often involves the consideration of an array of data collected in complex contexts as opposed to collecting data using instruments designed and committed to 'measuring' anxiety in more controlled environments.

However, in a similar vein to Richards' position on researching identity that was mentioned at the beginning of 2.6.2, rather than be discouraged by such complexity, exploring anxiety from a naturalistic perspective may well lead to new and unforeseen insights into this emotion, or shed further light on previous findings.

Nevertheless, the overall trajectory of LA research has remained largely unaltered. It is no surprise, therefore, that some researchers have come to question the overreliance on the somewhat limited approach to LA research. Nearly two decades ago, and well before the social turn in SLA had pointed towards alternative approaches for researchers to follow, Skehan (1989) advocated greater ambition from those interested in LA when he called for "extended methodologies, settings and goals with anxiety research that might enable us to step outside the rather restrictive framework within which such studies are presently conducted" (1989: 118).

Samimy and Rardin (1994) noted the majority of empirical studies of affective variables were "quantitative in nature suggesting a predilection for this approach among researchers in their investigation of affective variables" (1994: 380), and approximately a decade ago, Elaine Horwitz, one of the researchers responsible for the rise in interest in LA as an area of research in its own right, indicated in her review of anxiety research (2001) that she was moving away from the central issue that had concerned LA research up until that time – that of the impact of LA on performance and proficiency – and was developing an overriding concern for the experience of anxiety itself:

> In recent years, I have grown more interested in the experience of second language learning than in the simple prediction of its success...I feel that it is even more important in understanding the frustration and discomfort too many people endure when learning a second language. (2001: 121)

There have been clear signals, then, that researchers within the Anglo-American research community have been receptive to the idea of conducting investigation from different perspectives. On the other hand, it is equally clear that few researchers have taken up the challenge. Even when researchers have explored anxiety in environments other than the more traditional classroom such as contrasting distance language learners with

classroom language learners (Pichette, 2009), self-reports have remained the principal, and in the latter case, the only data collection method.[63]

I would now like to discuss two projects that point to new directions in LA research, with the first one being Horwitz's most recent publication on LA (Yan and Horwitz, 2008). This is of particular interest because Horwitz has been at the forefront of establishing many of the key tenets of LA research, and there are clear indications that the author of the FLCAS appears to acknowledge that LA research is likely to benefit from exploring new approaches, or more specifically to move LA research beyond a reliance on self-reports.

Firstly, Yan and Horwitz's study shows clear signs of edging closer to a qualitative paradigm that puts greater emphasis on the voiced experience of learners. After applying the FLCAS to 532 business major students[64] in a university in Shanghai, in the People's Republic of China, the researchers then placed these students in high, moderate or low anxiety categories based on their FLCAS scores. Six students were randomly selected from each of the four years of the course, and then from the six in each year, two students (one male, one female) were selected from each category of anxiety. Eventually, 21 students participated in a semi-structured interview[65] that was carried out in their mother tongue, Mandarin Chinese, with the first author being the interviewer.

According to the authors, despite previous research into LA "the specific sources and effects of language anxiety have not yet been clearly established" (2008:151). In fact one of the reasons this study is of particular interest is because the authors themselves acknowledge limitations of previous research. It is worth noting their words here:

> Although the findings of previous studies point to several sources and consequences of language anxiety, *their reliance on questionnaires do not allow for an examination of how anxiety interacts with other learner or situational factors* to influence language learning. Studies that encourage learner reflection through interviews or diary entries would seem to have the potential to yield a richer understanding of learners' perceptions of how anxiety functions in their language learning, which, in turn, might lead to a clearer understanding of the general role of anxiety in language learning. (2008: 153, emphasis added)

Furthermore, they also make reference to the fact that LA research has been almost exclusively "conducted in foreign language settings in the United States and Canada" (2008:153), and so from their point of view their study carried out in China "is important to examine anxiety in a context in which successful language learning can result in important

[63] In Pichette's study in Canada, three self-reports were used to test for 'general foreign language anxiety', 'second language reading anxiety', and 'second language writing anxiety'.
[64] Students in all four years of the course were tested.
[65] The interviews lasted for approximately 30-40 minutes each, were audio recorded and subsequently transcribed.

real-world rewards" (ibid.). In some respects, these are somewhat puzzling words, tantamount to constituting a tacit acknowledgement that successful language learning in North America does not lead to 'real-world rewards'. Nevertheless, the fact that they acknowledge anxiety research should look to other contexts is a step in the right direction.

The central data collection method in their study is the semi-structured interview, but before conducting the interviews with students from the Chinese institution, a pilot study – a focus group interview – was conducted with six Chinese graduate students studying at a US university in order to generate themes for the interview protocol to be used in the Chinese context. The themes that arose from this stage of the project were then used to construct questions for the interview protocol.

After carrying out the interviews in China, the authors used grounded-theory analysis to develop a grounded-theory model of anxiety, which can be seen in Figure 6.

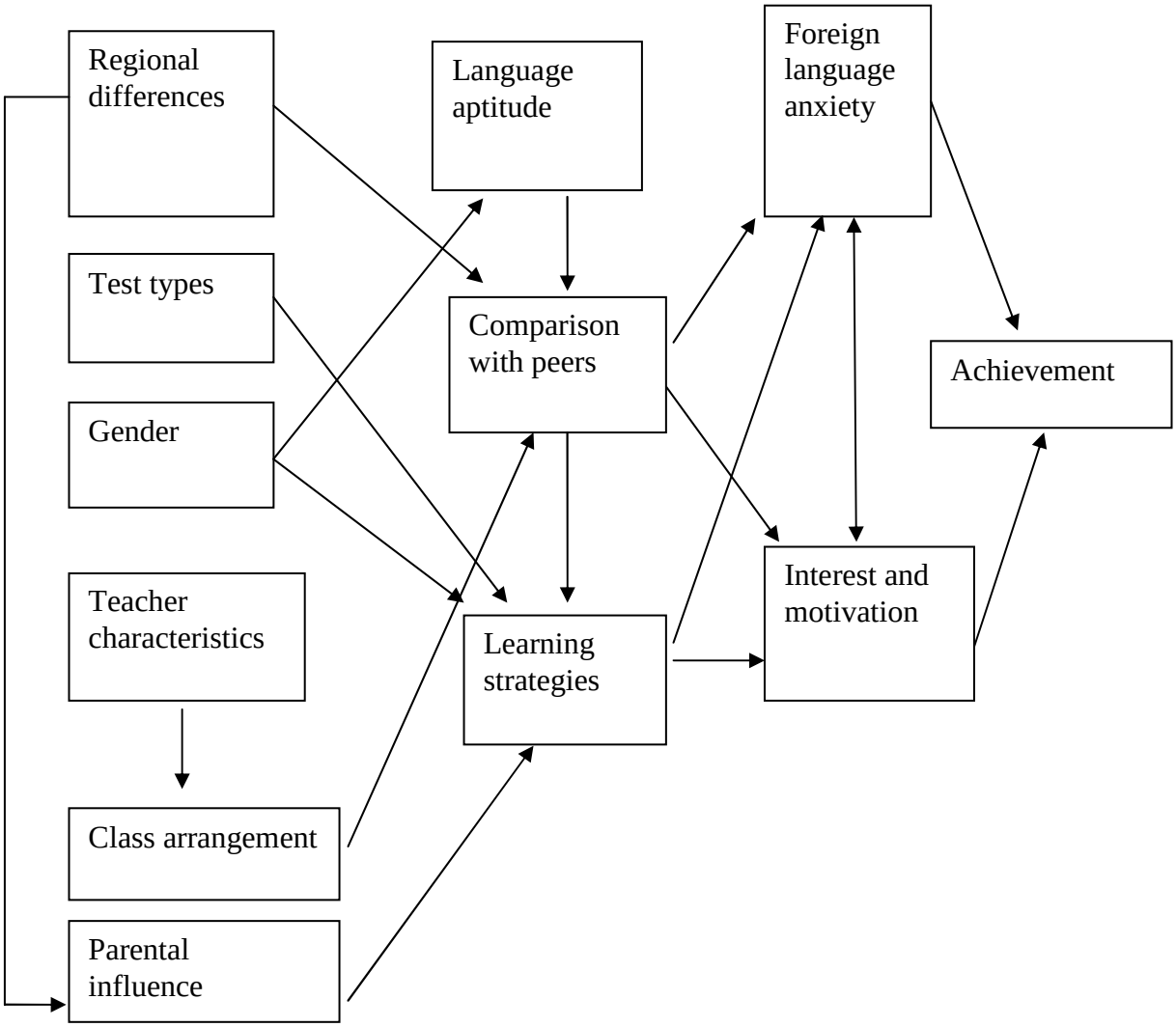

Figure 6 Yan and Horwitz's grounded-theory model of anxiety (2008)

The affinities or variables that were generated from these interviews were placed into four categories. The variables within the first category can be found in the column of on the left-hand side, and are considered "primary drivers" (2008:168) because they influence, either directly or indirectly, all the other variables. The second column variables, language aptitude, comparison with peers and learning strategies, are influenced by the first column variables, but in turn influence the third column variables. However, the third column variables, foreign language anxiety and interest and motivation, in comparison with the first two columns of categories, are, according to the authors, "more likely 'to be influenced' rather than 'to be influencing'" (ibid.:169).

This would appear to suggest that emotional states in this model are somewhat passive entities as opposed to states that are at the heart of human agency. Achievement, the final category, is influenced "directly or indirectly...by all the variables to its left" (ibid.). However, despite the fact that researchers often claim anxiety and achievement exercise an influence on each other, in this study the authors find the learners perceive these two variables' influence as unidirectional, that is to say the interviewees "only commented on how anxiety kept them from achieving and did not mention lack of achievement as contributing to their anxiety" (ibid.:173).

In fact, in this model the only two variables that exercise a bi-directional influence are foreign language anxiety and interest and motivation, a finding echoing previous findings that we discussed in 2.6.1. In this study, Horwitz and Yan, found that high anxiety led to reduced levels of motivation whereas greater interest and motivation "lessened pressure and decreased anxiety" (2008:172), a finding that supports much previous research. However, in an interesting reflection, the authors also remark that anxiety and motivation should be given greater attention in future research:

> ...although motivation is generally conceived of as a positive trait with respect to language learning, it would also seem to play a role in affecting anxiety. It is difficult to imagine an anxious learner who had no desire or need to learn the language (2008:176)

In other words, the authors give clear indications that motivation may, in fact, lead to higher levels of anxiety, and that the prevalent view of greater motivation equals lower anxiety may not be as clear cut as is generally assumed.

Overall, the principle strength of this study is that it shows the complex web of influences upon anxiety in an educational context far removed from North America. Although the authors are careful to point out that models may, necessarily, lead to simplification of complex and non-linear human behaviour, their study points up possible sources of LA that

had not previously been considered, such as regional differences and parental influence. For example, parents from rural areas did not consider English as important as other school subjects whereas parents from cities thought English to be important for their children's future.

Such attitudes on the part of some parents led them to try to give their children guidance on learning strategies, with some students reporting their parents' influence as a determining factor on how they approached learning English. Learners from Shanghai, a cosmopolitan city, were considered more proficient than learners from more rural areas, especially in speaking and listening skills, and this in turn led learners to make comparisons – often unfavourable – with their peers. Comparison with peers is closely linked to the class arrangements, that is, the type of activities implemented in the classroom. Certain activities were seen to favour some students with the result that other students "felt stress when other students outperformed them" (ibid.:171). Teacher characteristics, a factor identified in previous research as an influence on anxiety, are seen as a direct influence on class arrangements, with native English speakers being seen as more creative and communicative than Chinese teachers of English.

In addition to this network of influences on anxiety, the model also shows which variables the learners perceive to have a more direct influence on their anxiety, which in this case are the variables of language aptitude, comparison with peers, learning strategies and motivation and interest, while the first column of variables were considered by students as "more remote sources" (ibid.:173). In other cultural contexts, however, such influences may not obtain.

From my point of view, one of the weaknesses of Horwitz and Yan's study is that its principal focus on interviews means the researchers appear to be taking the participants' responses in the interviews as faithful representations of their actual classroom behaviour, which only serves to highlight the need for classroom observation in order to achieve a more effective triangulation of data. An example of this is when the authors make the point that most of the students were not used to responding voluntarily in classes. Not only was this communicative behaviour related to their fear of making mistakes but also to their reluctance to be seen as 'showing off' or, worse still, as a show off who did not know the answer, in the authors' words "a particularly shameful behaviour in Chinese culture" (2008: 162). However, being nominated directly by the teacher fell into a different category of meaning making for the students, in such cases they were obliged to answer, and answering correctly meant students felt it as "an honour" (ibid.), and, if answered incorrectly, no loss to face was incurred as, in the words of a student, "at least I wasn't trying to show off" (ibid.). The authors

then state how these features of classroom interaction led to certain routines and tacit understandings being established, for example, teachers would know when students did not want to answer as they would "lower their heads" and this meant the teacher was obliged to directly nominate a student, whereas if students wanted to answer they would look at the teacher, who would then act on this cue to select the student who was looking up.

Therefore, while this qualitative study clearly showing signs of moving away from a dependence on questionnaires, and yielding laudable details of how anxiety is likely to be influenced by a network of factors, including cultural norms, Yan and Horwitz's research does not include direct observation of learners in their language classes. Furthermore, as it is not a longitudinal study, the observation of learners' emotional reactions observed over longer periods of time was not an option.

My comments here are not intended to devalue the comments of data gathered in interviews, but simply to reiterate the point that actually going into the classroom to collect data so as to more effectively triangulate data is notable – and puzzling - by its absence. It is entirely understandable that research on affective variables should use interviews, because, as Ohata (2005a) remarks on the difficulties of researching anxiety, interviews are particularly useful to "access things that cannot be directly observed, such as feelings, thoughts, intentions, or beliefs" (2005a: 140).

However, the authors do not even consider classroom observation when addressing the limitations of their study. Furthermore, their work does not contain one – explicit – reference to identity work as a shaping influence on learner anxiety, again a notable omission given that Horwitz herself has acknowledged the vulnerability of identity in language learning. It is a distinct possibility that the factors found to influence anxiety in Horwitz and Yan's study may well have been shaped by issues of identity.

In fact, perhaps it is pertinent that Horwitz and Yan make reference to Hilleson (1996) and Shamim's (1996) work – both published in Bailey and Nunan's (1996) volume that puts the accent on 'voices in the language classroom' – when discussing the interview as a way of exploring learners' feelings, and moving beyond questionnaires in anxiety research. Hilleson's work addresses directly the question of anxiety experienced by a group of students – made up of different nationalities – studying and living abroad in an international university using English as the language of communication both in and outside of the classroom. Shamim's study focused on how seating positions in large English language classrooms in Pakistan affected interaction. Although Shamim does not consider LA as a factor influencing interaction in the classroom, her work, as we have seen, is used as a springboard by Stroud and Wee (2006) to explore identity-based anxiety.

Stroud and Wee's (2006) perspective on LA in an Asian context, sees anxiety arising from identity issues related to peer pressure and how learners see themselves as perceived by others – hence their interest in how the pupils of Shamim's study, sitting at the back of the classroom, may have been reluctant to move into the 'action zone' (meaning a move away from the back of the classroom to areas closer to the teacher, and greater teacher attention) because of anxiety arising from the pressure of maintaining expected behaviour.

It might be the case that pressures – albeit of a different nature and arising in a different context – are also at work in other environments. Perhaps the competitive environment and expectations for success in China are related to the fact that students only referred to anxiety as a barrier to success whereas lack of success was not mentioned as contributing to anxiety. Pavlenko (2005) makes a point of saying that in some Asian countries anxiety does not appear to be a factor that is contemplated, and that learners, in the pursuit of success, have no time to be anxious. However, Horwitz and Yan's study supports the notion that, in some Asian contexts, anxiety is seen as a barrier to success. On the other hand, the fact that learners did not mention lack of achievement as impacting on anxiety levels does not preclude such influences on learners' thinking and feelings. Indeed, such considerations may simply be suppressed or managed in projecting an appropriate image of a student unhindered in his or her pursuit of further success and achievement.

On a personal note, I intuitively find it difficult to believe that a lack of success in such environments would not result in greater anxiety. Indeed, the authors' final comments on the relationship between anxiety and motivation suggest that greater levels of motivation may well be a factor that increases anxiety – whether this would turn out to be more debilitating or facilitating anxiety is an unknown factor, but a study based on a single interview is unlikely to yield insights into this relationship. Nevertheless, these comments do not detract from the merits of Horwitz and Yan's study, which points up interesting possibilities for future LA research.

Along with Horwitz and Yan's and Stroud and Wee's work another interesting perspective on anxiety in language learning is put forward by Spielmann and Radnofsky (2001) in their 7-week ethnographic study of a full beginners class and a false beginners class in a summer French School in Vermont, USA, where full immersion – both inside and outside the classroom – was encouraged and expected. Learners ranged in age from their late teens to their late 20s, and nearly all were college students except three business people, two high school teachers and a chef.

Although this study focused on learners of French, and took place in a significantly different context to that of my own study, what is of great interest to me as a researcher is

that Spielmann and Radnofsky challenge many of the established assumptions of LA research and their ethnographic study clearly stands out in a field dominated by quantitative research and self-reports.

In fact, one of the most notable - and controversial – features of their study is their suggestion that the very term 'language anxiety' is inevitably loaded with negative associations, and has encouraged a one-dimensional view of LA. Indeed, in referring to Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope's (1986) adaption of communication apprehension to language learning contexts, Spielmann and Radnofsky opine that these authors "firmly established anxiety as an a priori...an operational concept" that "seemed beyond doubt" (2001:261). Such assumptions and negative associations therefore lead to difficulties in dealing with alternative concepts such as facilitating anxiety, "something of an oxymoron given the negative denotation of the word *anxiety*" (ibid.:262, emphasis in original). Hence, given the influence of cognitive psychology and communication studies upon Horwitz et al.'s work, the working assumption in LA research has been that anxiety is a fairly stable trait or state, and has, according to Spielmann and Radnofsky, unduly concerned itself with measuring this emotion as opposed to trying to understand it through constructing "a more qualitative conceptualisation" (ibid.).

The authors, therefore, justify a shift in terminology from 'anxiety' to 'tension', the latter arising from the interaction of various factors in given contexts as opposed to relatively stable predispositions in learners themselves. The authors' concern with this 'emerging concept of tension' (ibid.) is more in line, they say, with how stress has come to be viewed by many psychologists:

> This approach coheres with a model of stress now generally accepted by psychologists, who do not consider it a fully predictable, universal effect of inherently stressful events or situations but as the result of interaction (between the situation, the context of its occurrence, and its interpretation by an individual) whose nature varies according to a number of factors, including expectations and person-environment fit... (2001:262)

However, their concept of tension involves the distinction between positive and negative experiences in both the cognitive and affective domains, more specifically, what the authors refer to as euphoric and dysphoric cognitive or affective tension. Thus, such distinctions allow for more complex pictures to emerge, better enabling the more subtle contradictions in human behaviour to be taken into account: for example, the authors give an example of euphoric affective tension when they refer to the learners in their study being taught through an inductive, more communicative approach, and how some of these felt 'quite gratified' (ibid.:268) when being able to choose study materials such as texts, movies or

business articles, and how this positive experience was further enhanced by their successful attempts at communication and their classmates' responses to these attempts; yet the same learners felt dysphoric cognitive tension, in this case manifested as dissatisfaction and frustration, which arose from their beliefs that a greater focus on "explicit grammar instruction...would have accelerated their progress" (ibid.).

The authors also discuss a teacher who did not concern herself with the cognitive dysphoria experienced by many students. This frustration and negativity arose from her adherence to the school's method, and hence her reluctance to work with other methodologies, yet her classes were renowned for the absence of affective dysphoria, that is to say they were characterised by positive feelings generated by the pleasant classroom environment. When this teacher did attempt to implement more challenging, 'fun' activities, students often judged them as being 'unchallenging', pleasant but harmless, that is, cognitively 'non-dysphoric' but "far from cognitively euphoric" (ibid.:270).

It is such findings that lead Spielmann and Radnofsky to counsel against simplistic dichotomies and anxiety reducing strategies:

> ...separating cognitive and affective tension holds important conceptual implications. Concerns about lowering the so-called "affective filter" have sometimes obscured the need to attend to cognitive stimulation, feeding a tendency to adopt a humanistic, student-friendly teaching style, but with no modification at the more fundamental level of curriculum. Our data indicated that, although the affective and cognitive domains are mutually influenced, they are not comparable entities, so that a surfeit in one does not compensate for a deficit in the other, contrary to what is often assumed. (Spielmann and Radnofsky, 2001: 273)

One of the key areas that the authors found gave rise to "serious dysphoric cognitive tension" was the way in which students' beliefs and expectations were found to be in conflict with the reality around them. In fact the authors' definition of tension arising from this study is "the result of interaction between individual expectations and the perceived reality of a situation" (ibid.). Indeed, many students "who came from traditional backgrounds of grammar-centered teaching" (ibid.:270) found the more communicative methods of the school to be lacking in structure, and were frustrated by the absence of explicit grammar instruction.

Using an array of qualitative data collection techniques in this naturalistic study, the two researchers were participant observers, and dispensed with self-reports and questionnaires, and concentrated instead on audio- and video-recordings of interviews (group and individual), observations in and outside the classroom, encounters characterised by casual conversations, analysis of documents, and the use of their own field notes and reflections on the research process. The key influence of Spielmann and Radnofsky's study on

my own thinking, then, is that they suggest moving away from methodologies that measure to those that let participants' concerns be stated in their own terms.

> We can speculate that many students, if asked pointedly in a survey question "Do you suffer from language anxiety?" might have answered affirmatively, but one of the advantages of a naturalistic approach is to find out what respondents themselves choose to discuss, and in what terms. (Spielmann and Radnofsky, 2001: 273)

Indeed, tension was most frequently discussed by the learners in terms of frustration: "...at not being taught in the expected way, not having "enough grammar", not being as articulate as in the L1, being infantilized by the curriculum…"(ibid.). As such, the authors say that "the traditional psychological categories of state and trait proved fairly irrelevant for understanding tension" (ibid.). Furthermore, they also advocate that instead of focusing on reducing or neutralising "supposedly stressful events" (ibid.), teachers and educators should "devote more energy to fostering euphoric tension instead" (ibid.). In their view, such attempts should focus especially on the cognitive euphoric tension because this is closer to the concept of 'flow' or the optimal level of mental involvement for learning to take place more effectively, which in turn "will eventually induce affective euphoria" (ibid.:274).

What these researchers advocate, then, is to get the learners mentally involved and the affective side of learning should fall into place. In many respects, such a position is the inverse to the stance of many teachers and researchers who believe that the primary focus should be on the affective side of learning which in turn will allow the cognitive concerns to be addressed.

Another common tenet of LA research that Spielmann and Radnofsky challenge is the one between academic success and tension. Indeed, they see little reason in researching the relationship between tension and achievement because it goes against their methodological stance as well as detracting from the experience of learning itself:

> We did not aspire to make any claims as to the possible relationship between tension and achievement for two reasons: first, because a naturalistic approach excludes such attempts at correlation, but second, mostly because we were interested in the quality of the learning experience, regardless of achievement, Indeed, our previous acquaintance with students in this program pointed us to the fact that some of the highest achievers were malcontent overall with the session, whereas others who had not done so well were quite pleased with it (Spielmann and Radnofsky, 2001: 260)

Indeed, rather than any simple relationship between tension and achievement, it was the learning experience itself – and the frustrations and highs of this – that leads the authors to identify the "emerging L2 self" as a key concept at the heart of the tensions experienced by these learners.

For the beginners and false beginners of this study, the sense of frustration at feeling infantilized and unable to "project their true personalities" due to linguistic competence, were examples of more negative or dysphoric experiences whilst more positive or euphoric experiences included the revealing but pleasant recognition that they were thinking or behaving differently to what they did in their "real" lives, for example, some students became "more talkative, others less sociable" but they firmly recognised that they "had significantly changed" (ibid.:267). In fact, what mattered more to these learners was the sense that their learning was taking them to new places. As Spielmann and Radnofsky say:

> What drove our respondents most strongly was a desire to become fully functional as newly minted speakers of French and to be treated accordingly by others in the community. These students struggled to establish fresh social identities...Reaching a given level of proficiency, which preoccupies teachers and determines how we build our curricula and syllabi, seemed quite accessory by comparison. (2001:273)

Indeed, the authors opine that the intensive nature of the seven-week course only served to emphasise that which "remains invisible in regular courses," that is to say that language learning "is a process of becoming a member of a sociocultural group" (ibid.:273-274).

Another reflection that I take from Spielmann and Radnofsky's study, then, is that perhaps such intensity, and I think it is fair to say that the teaching practicum can be called both intensive and intense, can serve to highlight affective factors that may not be so evident in other, less stressful, circumstances.

In this section, then, I have made references to various studies, but two in particular, that have helped me to reflect and rethink LA research. It is evident that the participants of Horwitz and Yan, Stroud and Wee, and Spielmann and Radnofsky's research are not trainee teachers on their practicum, and the countries and contexts of these studies are also different, yet despite such clear differences in terms of context, duration of projects and methodologies used, each has left its mark on my thinking: Horwitz and Yan's for its exploration of students' perspectives and the network of factors influencing LA; Stroud and Wee have helped to crystallise my conviction that anxiety is intimately linked with issues of identity and competence, and not simply dependent on learner competence; finally, Spielmann and Radnofsky not only for their direct challenges to established LA research[66] and the assumptions embedded in its terminology and methodology, but because they also find 'language learning under tension' strongly linked with identity work, and the emergence of a satisfactory L2 self.

[66] Perhaps it is not coincidental that Spielmann and Radnofsky's study is not cited by Horwitz and Yan (2008) or by MacIntyre (2002).

In sum, these studies have reinforced and given renewed impetus to my own ideas on language anxiety that I was developing through my own research, and have encouraged me to reflect on the nature of anxiety that may be experienced by trainee teachers. The 'lesson' that I take from these studies and my own research is that there should be no easy assumptions about how LA can affect people and how it may be manifested, because all contexts have their particularities, not least the persons who interact in these, shaping and being shaped by these unique environments.

In the following section, therefore, I will move on to the practicum, itself a unique context to explore emotions, and how certain aspects of this phase of the trainees' education are likely to shape the way anxiety is experienced by these young teachers.

2.9 The TEFL practicum: even language teachers get the blues!

> The large number of language learners and language teachers who have personal experiences with tension and discomfort related to language learning call for the attention of the language teaching profession (Horwitz, 2001: 121)

In this part of the study, the focus is on explaining how the practicum is viewed as constituting a particularly propitious context in which to research LA and how the potential for LA to surface and influence trainee behaviour is magnified significantly because they are faced with a broad range of factors that are likely, in principal at least, to shape their experience of this emotion.

In *Setting the scene*, I describe how my own research projects have gradually come to focus on what I consider to be increasingly stressful situations for the subjects of each study, culminating with the present project which, from the my point of view as a researcher, is of particular interest because it can justifiably be perceived as being the most stressful of all.

The previous sections of this chapter largely focused on language anxiety from the perspective of language learners as evidenced in the literature, but I also tried to relate how language teachers may also be susceptible to similar experiences and manifest comparable or different signs of this emotion.

A significant factor is the nature of the period and what it represents for the trainees. For many, it involves concerted efforts to make the transition from being a language pupil to being a language teacher, from being a trainee to being a qualified teacher, and also includes the need to establish and maintain relations not only with their fellow trainees and mentors but also with the pupils in their language classes. This context, then, involves the difficult task

of balancing personal interest and ambition with constraints on their actions in the form of the considerations, comments, criticism, praise and the actions of others. In addition, their futures as teachers are very much dependent on their final mark, that is to say their assessment – both qualitative and quantitative – is a constant source of, understandable, worry.

Given the supervised nature of the practicum, the trainees' interaction with the mentors is seen as a significant interface where possible tensions may be resolved or augmented, with supervisor styles and discourse in the post-observation conferences being a key concern. Whilst mitigation and politeness strategies are considered to be important micro-features of interaction in post-observation conferences (Grácio, 2002; Wajnyrb, 1994) I also explore positioning theory (Harré and van Langenhove, 1999; Harré and Moghaddam, 2003) in order to study broader questions of teacher identity, that is to say how the participants are positioned and position each other is conceived of as a feature of their interaction that may influence the trainees' subsequent performance and interaction in their classes. More specifically, what sort of images and teacher identities are mentors and trainees jointly constructing and how might this influence the trainees' experience of anxiety.

In education there is a broad consensus (Kagan, 1992; Maynard and Furlong, 1993; Graham, 1997; Beach and Pearson, 1998) that the practicum and the first year of teaching are pointedly stressful and uncertain periods, characterised by the emotional highs and lows which are often indicative of intense and important periods in peoples' lives. Coles and Knowles (1993), for example, speak about the 'shattered images' of pre-service teachers as their hopes and ideals are dashed against the reality of actual teaching experience, and Farrell (2003, 2006), whilst addressing the tensions faced by first year teachers as opposed to pre-service teachers, addresses the challenges faced by novice teachers and their need to 'impose order' on the uncertainty they face. Sabar (2004), using a post-modern perspective, writes of novice teachers as being 'migrants', and characterises the journey they make as one that starts in heaven and ends up in reality – but only once the teachers have gone through a personal 'crisis'. Beach and Pearson refer to just some of the conflicts and tensions pre-service teachers often face:

> …disparities between theories and practice, planned activities and students' resistance to those activities, mandated curriculum and their own approaches, school policies and their own beliefs about those policies, and their own idealized commitment to school change and the political realities of the school. (1998:337)

Furthermore, these teachers receive "mixed messages regarding their performance and expectations for success" (ibid.), while they may also face resistance by mentors, teachers and parents should they want to instigate change or more innovative practices in their lessons.

In dealing with such tensions, pre-service teachers, Beach and Pearson suggest, resort to three broad approaches: firstly, they may try to avoid tensions and conflicts through conformity; secondly, they may feel overcome with resignation and a need to take flight from the situation – giving up being the most drastic form of escape (this response is a classic feature of the debilitating anxiety cycle); and finally, they may choose to acknowledge the tensions but endeavour to deal with or resolve them by resorting to short-term strategies "as opposed to reflecting critically on their own beliefs and theories about teaching and learning" (ibid.).

However, despite the notions of uncertainty and conflict exercising a powerful influence over how the practicum is perceived, it is also necessary to acknowledge, that the value of this period is sometimes overshadowed. As Vieira, Moreira, Paiva, Barbosa and Fernandes point out:

> Embora seja genericamente caracterizado como um ano de grande conflitualidade, ambiguidade e incerteza a nível sócio-profissional, relacional e epistemológico, o estágio pedagógico pode também ser um período de elevado valor formativo, pela variedade e riqueza das aprendizagens realizadas. (2010:47)

Nevertheless, despite the recognition that the practicum constitutes a period of rich potential for learning, the emphasis does seem to lie on uncertainty and emotional tension.

As for the context of EFL, Johnson (1996) speaks of pre-service teachers' expectations and ideals coming up against the reality of the teaching experience. As this above author points out, EFL teaching placements are not only shaped by the present, but are significantly shaped by the past in the form of trainees' beliefs so these clashes with 'reality' may also be a source of tension and conflict. The future also looms large in trainees' thoughts as they constantly turn their attention to the next lesson as well as their eventual futures as fully qualified language teachers. As for degrees of experience, it is no real surprise that Mousavi (2007:38) points out that "teachers with less experience show higher levels of stress".

This study is situated, then, in a context of tensions that will almost certainly impact on the practice and emotional experience of the three pre-service language teachers who are the cohort of this project. Indeed, such is the range of possible sources of anxiety, that it could be argued that many of the sources of anxiety and tension experienced by these future English teachers will not be directly related to LA as such. This is Mousavi's (2007)

perspective in his study of stress in non-native and native speakers. This researcher found that some sources of stress for both groups could be located outside the specific sphere of EFL teaching – such as overload of administrative duties and lack of working conditions. However, the most striking difference found between these teachers was that of their "language group membership" and concerns about their language ability.

As Mousavi says, "any questions raised by students can be considered a potential threat to the teacher's self-image and a challenge to their language ability" (2007:38). Rajagopalan (2005) has also specifically addressed the anxieties of non-native speakers of English, and suggests that the status of English as the world's dominant language and the teachers' unrealistic and almost never-ending quest for native-like competence lie at the root of their anxiety. However, whilst not wanting to dismiss other sources of anxiety, this perspective seems to move away from the interactional view of people closely managing their emotions in their local contexts.

However, the perspective of this study is to try to better understand the influences on the trainees' attempts to prove their professional worth as EFL teachers, and that it is their experience on the practicum as *English language teachers* which is likely to constitute the core of their emotional reactions.

Up until the present section, I have tried to consistently relate the discussion of anxiety and anxiety-related variables to the trainees of this study, so in some respects I have already given a number of indications of how anxiety may influence both their sense of identity and practice. However, given that the focus of this chapter is the practicum itself, and that the principal research participants are the pre-service teachers, I think it is appropriate to focus more systematically on the way anxiety may influence their practices in the classroom – especially the methodology and certain features of interaction.

Studies on teachers experiencing language anxiety are very sparse in comparison with traditional learners. Yet as Mousavi (2007) notes, learners and teachers "are constantly interacting with each other" and that it is not valid to "consider the emotional state of one group whilst ignoring the concerns of the other"(2007:33).

However, it is quite evident that the anxiety of learners as opposed to that of teachers has received considerably more attention. This is, perhaps, the main (1996) reason that Horwitz (1996) used the expression 'Even teachers get the blues' as part of her paper's title[67]. As suggested in *Setting the scene,* language teachers are assumed to be 'anxiety-free' and/or unlikely to admit to experiencing this emotion because such an admission may be perceived

[67] The full title is *Even teachers get the blues: Recognising and alleviating language teachers' feelings of foreign language anxiety.*

as undermining their status as highly competent language users. Indeed when discussing anxiety in language learning, Grundy (2000:23) refers to the tendency of the language teaching profession "to focus on affect as though it relates only to learners", and cites Scott Thornbury's assertion that many teachers are in 'denial' when affective factors are discussed in relation to teachers as opposed to learners. Such opinion has only served to reinforce my own thoughts that similar tendencies may be exerting an influence in the Portuguese context.

For this reason I also echo – and emphatically so! –Horwitz's expression for the title of this section because LA research in Portugal, apart from my own work, is virtually non-existent, and it is those working in the language teaching profession – practitioners, trainers and researchers – who are the principal target audience of the present study.

The research into LA in relation to teachers, however, remains partial and largely based on questionnaires, whilst other contributions – not based on research – constitute opinions largely informed by experience and intuition. In fact Horwitz's early work on LA (1992, 1993), which called attention to the fact that non-native foreign language teachers also experience this emotion, still remains the key reference. In these studies, one of the main reasons Horwitz gives for in-service and pre-service teachers' experience of LA was their significant investment in their profession. Such a view not only confirms that LA does not necessarily decrease as language proficiency increases, but also indicates that identity issues and affective factors such as self-esteem and motivation are clearly part of the dynamic. In Horwitz's words, "Language teachers…*present themselves to the world* as high-level speakers of a particular language. It is one thing to say you speak a language; it is quite another *to be a teacher* of that language" (1996:367, emphasis added). 'To be a teacher' involves much more than language proficiency, just as 'being a student' involves much more than knowing the subject matter of a given subject. As Horwitz herself says the qualities of good foreign language teachers are diverse and go beyond a simplistic focus on language competence:

> Good foreign language teachers possess a number of important characteristics – good humour, creativity, understanding of young people, love of the language and culture, high language proficiency, a solid background in methodology, and a flexible teaching style among them – and there is no one formula for good teachers. (1996:371)

Nevertheless, the desire to make an impression together with the unrealistic pursuit of almost Olympian levels of proficiency – especially evident in pre-service teachers – can be potent factors that contribute to teacher anxiety:

> Language learners who sincerely want to learn a particular language may be more likely to experience anxiety than those who have no personal stake in the effort. Language teachers who pursue an

idealized level of proficiency are likely to experience anxiety over their own levels of competency no matter how accomplished they are as second language speakers. (1996: 367)

In many respects this statement anticipates Yan and Horwitz's (2008) suggestion that greater investment and motivation may in fact lead to higher levels of anxiety, therefore contradicting most findings in LA research – including Horwitz and Krashen's – which view higher levels of motivation as likely to result in lower levels of anxiety, and vice versa. In fact it is particularly difficult to imagine a demotivated person who neither cares about their language skills nor worries about their image as a speaker of another language as being significantly influenced by LA.

Horwitz's early work relied, firstly, on the FLCAS and, secondly, on interviews with the subjects. After responding to the FLCAS, in-service and pre-service teachers of Russian and English were asked to indicate their opinions and preferences for a range of methodological – including communicative as well as more traditional –practices. The next step was to ascertain how willing they would be to use these if they were not constrained by the demands of keeping to the official curriculum. The rationale behind this research was to determine to what extent the feelings of the teachers towards given methodological approaches and activities such as role-plays, grammatical explanations, discussions in the target language, and drills, could be "compared with their expectations for actually using the activity" (1996:368). Teacher anxiety, then, was deemed to be a factor if "the activity was rated positively but unlikely to be used" (ibid.). Horwitz found that the experience of anxiety is likely to result in 'target language avoidance' and that this may be either conscious or unconscious. All the groups of teachers who reported higher levels of anxiety were, according to Horwitz, "significantly less likely to actually anticipate using the more innovative and language-intensive TPs" (ibid.) despite the fact they had rated these activities just as positively as their less anxious colleagues. Looking forward to their futures and having their own language classes, the more anxious teachers appeared intent on planning "instructional activities that require less teacher target language use than their more confident counterparts" (ibid.).

In many respects this relates back to the discussion on inhibition and risk. However, in terms of teaching, many of the risks that teachers have to evaluate are qualitatively different from those of learners, but some of the adverse consequences that Beebe suggests learners face are, in many respects, uncannily similar for teachers: the failure to communicate, the disappointment when faced with the blank faces of learners, the experience of silence in response to their questions, the sense that their activities or materials do not

stimulate pupils, and the uncertainty and worry about their linguistic skills being just a few of these. Indeed, researchers have acknowledged many factors that may impact on the levels of stress (Mousavi, 2007) and anxiety (Horwitz, 1996) of teachers. Horwitz, then, was perhaps one of the first researchers to explore and to consistently put forward the case that language teachers – especially non-native speakers – are also susceptible to LA. In fact, Horwitz not only suggests some of the underlying reasons that may contribute to teacher anxiety but also suggests that LA may inhibit and stifle risk-taking, an unfortunate feature of foreign language teaching that may discourage the use of innovative methodologies:

> Teachers have many things to be anxious about: unruly students, challenges to their authority and competence, inflexible performance standards, a complaining public, and unfortunately, many others. Any of these factors can cause a teacher to favour cautious instructional approaches. A teacher might want to experiment with a teaching innovation, but apprehension about whether it will lead to classroom management problems can stifle creative and risk-taking tendencies. Add to these a lack of confidence about the teacher's own target language proficiency and it is no wonder that many teachers are reluctant to adopt new, language-intensive teaching approaches (1996:336)

What Beebe suggests on the basis of her research, intuition and experience is that learners should take calculated risks: "We endorse moderate risk-taking as the optimal behaviour, where students strive for success, keeping a limited reliance on chance and a realistic appraisal of their own skill" (1983: 59). Yet it is difficult to say what "constitutes a moderate risk for a specific learner in a specific situation" (ibid.: 59). Beebe recognises this problem when she says:

> What is a high risk for one student may be a low risk for another. The student's level of development will certainly affect this…In addition, affective factors in the student's situation and personality will determine in part the subjective appraisal of risk. (ibid.: 59)

In relation to learners, Beebe identified their willingness to take risks as being related to feedback from the teacher and the central influence of the classroom environment conducive to risk-taking. The teacher in Beebe's view should be aware of whether activities are focusing on accuracy or fluency: "If students understand an exercise to be communicative, and they reveal personal views, they seek a substantive reaction from the teacher, not a correction of the technical accuracy of their words" (ibid.: 61). Feedback from the teacher who is not sensitive to this issue is likely to affect future participation on the part of the students, and may inadvertently contribute to fossilisation as students content themselves with exercising their skills in risk-free linguistic zones. Resentment of the teacher is also a distinct possibility. Beebe opines that:

> Many students seem not to hear teacher corrections. This may be because they are not at a sufficiently advanced level to possess productive use of the rule in question. But, frequently, it is because their attention is focused on the risks (the uncertainty) involved in the act of communicating their meaning, not on the chance of making an error in syntax or pronunciation. They want a reaction to meaning, not an evaluation of form. Often, providing the former creates a natural communicative setting. (ibid.: 61)

Such considerations of risk are surely pondered by teachers, too. Beebe's words cited above – "Many students seem not to hear teacher corrections" – could be inverted to represent a significant potential source of language anxiety: *some teachers seem not to hear students trying to communicate their meanings*. This may be the consequence of too great a focus on the part of the teacher on accuracy, a focus that may result in a failure to establish an affective learning environment. It may also be an indication that the teacher does not want to stray from the path of greater certainties.

If teachers and those involved in language education should doubt the influence the teacher wields when giving feedback to students – and in the classroom in general – they should, perhaps, try being a student again. For example, Sandra Savignon's well-known text, *Communicative Competence*, by way of an introductory overview to the role of the teacher in particular and the processes of learning a language in general, contains a letter to her teacher, and reveals her considerations *as a language learner*. Already a university professor and a fluent French speaker when enrolling on an elementary Spanish course for the first time, her letter is salutary reading. The following words from her letter give an insightful perspective into the affective issues involved:

> When it came to introduce my neighbour to the rest of the class on that first day, however, I was far from comfortable. I rehearsed what I was going to say over and over in my head…When my turn came, I made my introduction more or less as I had practised it. When you corrected an error I had made, I repeated after you as best as I could, but I was really too flustered to understand what I was doing. The experience was simply too intense to allow me to focus on the form you were trying to teach me. However, I gained many insights from your corrections of the other students' Spanish. Once I was out of the limelight, it was easier for me to rehearse forms and check them against the other's responses and your corrections. From this personal experience I now have a much better understanding of learner reactions to error corrections. (1997:3)

The central conclusion of Horwitz's work is that non-native speaker teachers do suffer LA, a negative emotion that Horwitz believes needs to be reduced and alleviated, with one of the principal signs likely to be avoidance behaviour, a factor that may have an adverse affect on classroom interaction: "Anxiety among teachers over their target language proficiency is likely a primary reason that language classrooms slip so easily from the target language into English" (1996:371).

Another consequence of such behaviour is that the teacher subtly transmits this avoidance of the target language to the pupils, who, in turn, will be less likely to use the target language. Like enthusiasm, then, anxiety can be contagious. It is important to note, however, that once again anxiety research did not directly observe lessons of these teachers but instead relied on the accounts provided by them.

At this point, perhaps we can say that Horwitz's suggestion that there may be a link between anxiety and the willingness to use more innovative methodologies can be seen in recent attempts in the EFL world to establish pedagogies which encourage teachers to depend less on materials and invest more in the 'basics' of teaching[68]. Yet in order for alternative methodologies to be considered and implemented, teachers have to be able to reflect on their own practice (cf. Daubney, 2008).

In fact, a reaction to this widespread and somewhat unquestioning reliance on course books and materials in the TESOL world can be seen in the philosophy, discussions and texts of the well-known and recently founded Dogme ELT group[69], co-founded by Scott Thornbury in 2000.

In terms of relevance for the present study, if students frequenting pre-service language teaching degrees embrace such activities and improve their language skills, then they are likely to be more willing, as language teachers, to implement more innovative practices within their own teaching contexts. However, exposure to more traditional methodologies that focus far less on interaction may 'lead' future teachers down the path towards 'target language avoidance' that Horwitz identifies as a likely source of LA.

Yet underlying what appear to be relatively simple preferences on the part of teachers for a continued adherence to more traditional methodologies and a focus on the outcomes of the educational process, there may well be deeper, influential reasons for such choices in education, including foreign language education, that are directly related to theme of this project.

Yet these methodologies and their underlying learning approaches may be related, as Grundy (2000) points out, to a factor that we repress and barely acknowledge. In Grundy's words:

[68] The Dogme ELT group applied this philosophy to ELT teaching, urging a back-to-basics approach to language teaching, or what the description on their website refers to as a 'poor' pedagogy "that is, a pedagogy unburdened by an excess of materials and technology, a pedagogy grounded in the local and relevant concerns of the people in the room."

[69] The Dogme group's archived website *Teaching Unplugged – for a pedagogy of bare essentials*. Available at www.thornburyscott.com/tu/portal.htm (accessed Novemeber 2010)

...our methodology is principally driven by our attitude to uncertainty. Looked at from this perspective, audiolingualism and its sickly offspring, PPP, are clearly attempts to reduce the uncertainty associated with language learning by ensuring that as much as possible is controlled by the teacher. As a practice-based method, audiolingualism provides a perfect illustration of the harnessing of technology to the uncertainties associated with the human behaviour of language learning. By way of contrast, recognising the role of affect in language learning requires a good deal of tolerance of uncertainty and ambiguity. (2000:24)

In fact Grundy's interpretation is of significant relevance to this study as he relates the desire to avoid uncertainty in language teaching to the larger societal issue of uncertainty avoidance which exists in many cultures. In Grundy's words:

For some individuals and societies, living with uncertainty is relatively easy and provokes little anxiety, for others impossibly difficult and strongly anxiety provoking. It is unrealistic to suppose that methodology, curriculum design, and classroom management will be immune from the level of uncertainty avoidance prevalent in the wider society. (2000:24)

Grundy refers to Hofstede's (1980) classic study that indicates the manner in which societies adapt to uncertainty can be classified as one of "the four main dimensions along which dominant value systems can be ordered and which affect human thinking, organizations and institutions in predictable ways" (cited in Grundy, 2000:24).

In many respects, Grundy's interesting perspective shares an affinity with Horwitz's work in that he principally relates anxiety to uncertainty avoidance behaviour, which he sees as being subtly embedded in two broad methodologies which he denotes as 'Learnability methodology' and 'Teachability methodology'.

Starting from the premise that methodologies can be roughly divided into form- and meaning-focused practices, Grundy suggests that anxiety is motivated by the desire to avoid uncertainty. Hence, the 'Teachability methodology' is concerned with form-focused practice, and "relies on descriptive linguistics to provide a syllabus in the form of pedagogic grammar which is conveyed through instruction" (2000:24). The teachers who favour this methodology see language "as more teachable than learnable" (ibid.), decide what is to be taught and regard the subject as "the knowledge to be conveyed to the learner" (ibid.). Hence, the teachers' strict delimitation of possible answers and focus on eliciting correct forms – whether grammatical or lexical – reduces "the natural indeterminacy of language", and, more importantly, provides the teachers with greater structure and certainty or, what Grundy calls their "strong anxiety avoidance" needs. As Grundy notes, as learners are likely to adapt to this methodology and provide the correct answers "relatively successfully, the teacher's anxiety about their performance is reduced" (ibid.) whereas entering into negotiated meaning will

leave both the teacher and students dealing with "resulting ambiguity" and uncertain patterns of interaction.

The reduction of choice and unseen possibilities can also be related to some of the ideas on anxiety discussed in 2.1., for example, the idea of May's notion of anxiety as 'the dizziness associated with freedom' might be seen as being dealt with by the delimiting of choice in the language classroom such as what is considered a 'correct' answer or who can answer a question asked by the teacher and when. Sullivan's viewpoint that anxiety arises in the degree of success attained in the presentation and achievement of the self in interpersonal contexts may underlie certain teachers' inclinations to use 'Teachability methodology', that is to say that their self-image and identity are successfully negotiated and confirmed through greater control over content and interaction, with anxiety, therefore, being reduced.

In a study carried out with Portuguese trainee English teachers at the University of Aveiro, Moreira (1990) found that although the content of the trainee teachers' lessons was wide-ranging, the actual organization of classroom activities was relatively limited "with trainees tending to retain control rather than relinquish it to learner control" (1990:122). Moreira's interpretation of the trainees' reluctance to transfer responsibility and initiative to the learners is essentially twofold:

> On the one hand, they admit to a natural reluctance to release control of often larger numbers of adolescents *for fear of being unable to get it back again* when necessary. *This may prove a risky strategy under supervision*. Secondly, trainees may be working under the direct advice of their school supervisors in schools where alternative forms of classroom organization are frowned upon. (1990:122, emphasis added)

Moreira was specifically focusing on the language needs of these trainees, and identified four problematic areas: beginning the lesson and making transitions from one stage of the lesson to another; dealing with the unexpected; talking about language; and, finally classroom management. Having identified these areas in which trainees experienced difficulties, Moreira analyses how these difficulties are manifested in the trainees' language. Calling this area 'language deviance', she pinpointed four "broadly definable shapes" to this language use: errors made when using the target language; Portuglish, that is to say patterns of language use in the target language that are influenced by the mother tongue but which sound "unnatural in English" (ibid.:106); falling back or resorting to Portuguese; and, finally, what she terms "confusion", language characterized by incoherence and incorrectness in terms of content as opposed to grammatical accuracy.

Given the trainees' difficulties, Moreira calls for more attention in teacher training courses to implement specific skills training. She refers to the need to develop the language of classroom management, the ability to talk about language, and the need to communicate clearly and effectively to given age groups.

Moreira's study is interesting in that it points to specific language difficulties that trainees experienced during their practicum. Although this study was carried out two decades ago, it still remains particularly relevant. In my own experience, a significant number of teachers – both trainees and in-service teachers – still struggle with such areas of language use. However, whilst I would not want to suggest that the language deviance Moreira identified was simply due to the influence of LA, the consideration of affective factors may have broadened the explanatory potential of these trainees' behaviour. Indeed, affective factors were neither a shaping consideration on the data collection nor the analysis. Yet my position is not to criticise from a comfortable position of hindsight but simply to indicate that another research framework may shed light on such behaviour. From the perspective of this study, then, it seems reasonable to put forward that the trainees of Moreira's study may well have oriented to a 'Teachability methodology', a subtle consequence of seeking security and protecting their budding teaching identities as they made the transition from student to teacher. Furthermore, Moreira also hints at the constraints felt by trainees, namely those of being evaluated by mentors and the freedom conceded to them to organise their classes. Again, such factors are likely to influence the degree of willingness to risk.

Returning to Grundy's distinction, 'Learnability methodology' in direct contrast with 'Teachability methodology' acknowledges the indeterminacy of language, indeed that language "is more learnable than teachable" (ibid.:25), and that learners have their own "inbuilt syllabus". As we have seen in 1.2, practitioners concerned with affective issues in the classroom put greater emphasis on drawing out the curriculum from the learners and not trying to pour it in, and are willing to listen to their learners' concerns, suggestions or opinions, all of which often entail the willingness to depart from planned and more structured activities. With an emphasis on contextualised learning 'Learnability methodology' ultimately "leaves more to the learner" and is "intrinsically less anxiety driven" than 'Teachability methodology' in which "the teacher appropriates the primary responsibility for ensuring learning" (ibid.).

All in all, Grundy thinks much language teaching is motivated by anxiety avoidance, which is largely manifested by teachers' desire to ensure that the control of classroom proceedings remains firmly in their hands. Grundy describes this scenario thus:

…most language teaching methods (and learner styles come to that) are directed more to anxiety avoidance than to successful second language teaching and learning. As a result many syllabuses are unrealistically goal directed and much classroom language teaching is conservative and ineffective. In particular, collective anxiety causes teachers to favour methods that allow them to retain control over input, output and learner behaviour generally. The underlying methodology is teachability oriented (2000:25)

Grundy's incisive and persuasive account of teacher anxiety and its underlying origins is a useful one to contemplate for this study especially since pre-service teachers are particularly vulnerable to uncertainty. However, while it provides a bridge to a macro-perspective, that is, it links teacher anxiety and methodology to societies and cultures' ability to deal with uncertainty, and therefore provides an alternative lens through which to view classroom proceedings, it does not offer any nuts and bolts examples of particular patterns of teacher-learner interaction.

Although I refer to various ways that anxiety may be manifested in classroom proceedings throughout Chapter 2, in the light of Grundy's views, I would like to briefly consider Tsui's (1996) study of reticence and anxiety in various schools in Hong Kong to glean further possible insights into teacher LA, and how this anxiety may be reflected in classroom interaction.

In Tsui's study, Chinese non-native EFL teachers with experience ranging from two to thirty years identified 'problems' in their own classrooms. They video-recorded or audio recorded several of their own lessons to identify these problems, and then spent three to four weeks implementing the plan they had devised to combat these problems. One of the principal problems identified by several of these teachers was student reticence when contributing to classroom interaction. Whilst the focus of the study was to ascertain the teachers' opinions concerning the reasons their students were reluctant to speak, the teachers themselves made revealing comments that pointed to their own anxieties whilst they attempted to explain the possible inhibitions underlying their pupils' reticence.

The three features of teacher behaviour that I will briefly consider here are the following: teachers wanting to hear the pupils give the correct answer; the intolerance of silence; and finally the uneven allocation of turns in classroom interaction.

The fact that language teachers want to hear their pupils responding 'correctly' is patently understandable. Whilst some teachers may be more tolerant of grammatically incorrect responses that are nonetheless relevant and correct in terms of content and interest – or in Grundy's terms correct due to the repetition of 'meaning' as opposed to 'form' – other teachers may put a higher value on the correct linguistic form. Whilst several teachers in Tsui's study revealed that students were afraid of making silly mistakes in front of their more

competent peers or that being laughed at by their classmates was a factor that inhibited their participation, a further and important factor in students' considerations of whether to make a contribution in class was the expectations of the teacher. Unrealistically high expectations may well foment student silence or unwillingness to take risks. It has to be added that certain cultural features of classroom instruction in Hong Kong are particularly formal and may well induce even greater levels of inhibition and anxiety, for example, pupils have to stand up when answering teachers' questions. This only increases the sense of momentary loneliness and the intense feeling of being under the spotlight. Nevertheless, teacher-induced anxiety is a factor consistently noted in the LA literature when considering classroom interaction. Here are the words of one of the teachers from Tsui's study:

> Though my attitude might be gentle and encouraging, *I was expecting some correct answers most of the time*. Given the [sensitive] nature of the class, *they would feel the strain and were less willing to contribute unless they felt they have got the 'right answer'.* (1996:151, emphasis in original)

However, it is possible that language teachers are keen to hear the 'correct' answer because in and through these answers they seek and receive the confirmation of what they are teaching is being learned and therefore such answers feed into their successful self-images as teachers, therefore easing anxiety over their own performances whilst probably, ironically, augmenting student anxiety. Indeed, this interpretation can be related to the intolerance of silence and the uneven allocation of turns.

As for the former, Tsui says that "Many teachers report that they themselves dislike or are afraid of silence and that they feel very uneasy or impatient when they fail to get a response from students" (ibid.). Tusi found that teachers do one of three things when confronted by silence: allocate the turn to another student; provide the answer themselves; and, finally, repeat or modify the question.

The teachers' concern with silence was often reflected in impatient comments such as "Hurry up" or "quickly", and short wait time after questions. The phenomenon of short wait time was identified by White and Lightbown (1984) in their study of questions in ESL classrooms. The reasons given by these researchers to account for this characteristic of classroom interaction included the pressure to get through the official curriculum in the given time available and the fear of teachers that their classes might not be dynamic and that these classes would end up being unduly influenced by boredom and disciplinary problems. Again, it seems to fair to suppose that language teacher's anxiety may be intimately related to both classroom procedures and wider issues.

Yet as Tsui states, such patterns of interaction are also related to "more deep-rooted reasons which have to do with teacher beliefs about effective teaching" (1996:153). Here are the comments from two of the teachers in Tsui's study:

...silence is a result of teacher's inertia, when silence occurs, it means...teacher is not making the lesson productive enough for students to learn...

...silence gives me the sense of failure because...success means being quick and highly efficient ...I would not do my duty and would be a failure unless I spoke a lot. (1996:153)

So, unlike student anxiety in language classes which is often thought to be manifested in a reluctance to speak, teacher anxiety, we can reasonably speculate, may be manifested in a reluctance to stop speaking, partly driven by a desire to see themselves and their classes as dynamic and efficient, and therefore confirming their beliefs about how language teaching should be conducted.

Linked closely to this discomfort with classroom silence is the manner in which teachers may allocate turns to the pupils in their classes. Rather than have to deal with uncomfortably long silences that they feel reflect negatively on their teaching and classes, teachers may end up asking 'brighter' students who they know are more likely to give the correct answer. This may be a conscious or unconscious strategy on the part of teachers. As one teacher acknowledged, it was only after reviewing the video recordings of his/her own classes that he/she became aware that "many students were not given a fair chance" and that "I unconsciously asked the same students questions" (1996:153). For the weaker or shy students, the effect was to increase the feeling that they were neglected and to reinforce their reluctance to contribute, or if they were asked questions, the pressure of having to answer quickly would only add to anxiety and uncertain silences. For the teachers, on the other hand, getting brighter students to answer their questions achieved a series of important steps that included saving time, helping them to avoid going over the teaching points again, and, most importantly, perhaps, these steps contributed to their sense of being efficient and dynamic language teachers, that is to say they felt "good about their own teaching" (ibid.:154). These sentiments are clearly reflected in the words of one of these teachers:

As a teacher, I can identify that I have a need to feel successful, a good way to have this reaffirmed is to ask those students who I know will give me the answer that I want – what better way to show 'real' learning is taking place! If I ask others I may run the risk of finding out that some students haven't understood what I have so painstakingly been teaching. That then means I have to re-evaluate my methods and the responsibility is back on me. (1996:154)

From this perspective, then, reducing teachers' anxiety and concerns about their performance, seems to involve, paradoxically, the potential for heightening the anxiety levels of their students. Indeed, some of the strategies that Tsui recommends for lessening student anxiety – such as lengthening wait time, accepting a variety of answers as opposed to only one 'correct' answer, focusing on content and not just form, and establishing good relationships – mean teachers need to become aware of the beliefs underlying their practice, and abandoning, or at least significantly modifying, features of their classroom behaviour that serve their own sense of security and not their students'.

The discussion in this section, then, allows us to conceive of anxiety as principally manifested in uncertainty avoidance behaviour, and that both language teaching methodology and the interaction that is constructed within particular classroom contexts may yield interesting insights into how anxiety is both evident and managed. Furthermore, Grundy's perspective, which relates anxiety in the language classroom to our societies' particular concerns and attitudes to anxiety, is important in that it connects the micro factors of the language classroom to the macro factors existing beyond its pedagogical boundaries.

However, another important feature of the teaching practicum that may well influence the trainee teachers' experience of anxiety is the post-observation conference (POC) in which both the mentors and the trainees discuss and reflect on the latest class given by each trainee. As I have already pointed out, one of the assumptions of this study is that it is in these POCs that the emotions, tensions, concerns, and the issues most relevant to the participants will be discussed, managed and negotiated. A brief consideration of the relevance of the POC will therefore be the subject of the following section.

2.9.1 The post-observation conference: on managing tensions

Having indicated some of the possible manifestations of LA and other affective factors in terms of classroom methodology and interaction in the classroom, I will now move to the post-observation conference (POC), part of the supervisory process where *what* and *how* things are said about the trainees' performance in the language classroom, as well as the relationships that are established through interaction are likely to be a significant shaping force on trainees' emerging identities and affective dispositions, including any feelings of anxiety that they may experience. Indeed, taking into account the way anxiety is seen to develop, together with the important consideration of this study that emotional reactions may be fruitfully researched and explored in contexts of interaction, I believe a useful way of

approaching LA from the trainee teachers' experience on the practicum is a tripartite cycle of anticipation, performance and assessment. This cycle can be seen in Figure 7 below.

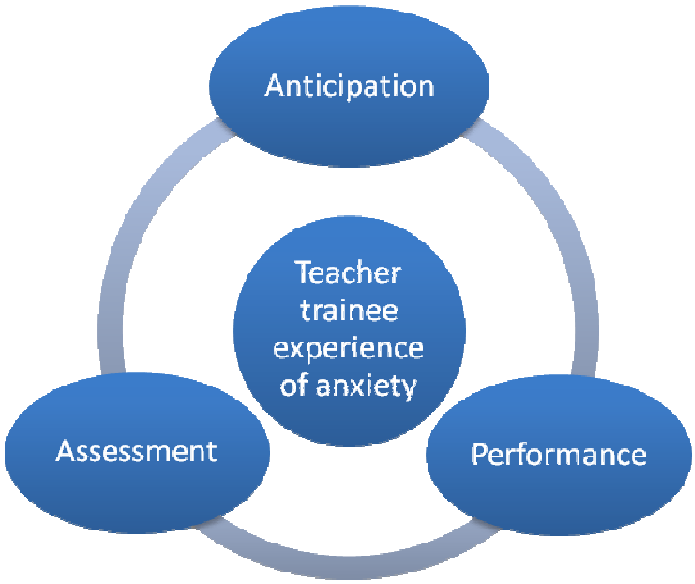

Figure 7 Teacher trainee cycle of anxiety

From this point of view, anxiety in the anticipation phase of the cycle is likely to pervade thoughts and feelings before the lesson given by the trainee, in other words, a preoccupation on their imminent performance and their ability to implement a pedagogical plan in the classroom. As for anxiety in the performance phase, this may involve a range of signs or manifestations of anxiety in the trainees' behaviour as they go about trying to implement their teaching plan in the face of complexity and unexpected events, not to mention attempting to do this while being observed by both pupils and their mentors. Finally, anxiety in the assessment phase of the cycle will be principally managed in and through the interaction of the POC in which, at least in theory, participants will be able to discuss their particular concerns, including emotional ones, so this phase is likely to prove a productive one in deciphering and interpreting participants' reactions to the performance given in the classroom.I

In many respects, this cycle would appear to correspond with Oliveira's (1992) observations on the anxious feelings often experienced by those being observed:

Frequentemente, os professores supervisionados, quer no âmbito da formação inicial, quer no da formação em serviço e contínua, experienciam sentimentos de grande ansiedade, de angústia e de temor que se manifestam imediatamente antes e durante os momentos em que são sujeitos à

observação do supervisor, bem assim como no período em que decorre a sessão de supervisão. (1992:17)

However, while these three phases appear to be distinct, the continuous line running through all three phases points up their overlapping nature: for example, in the performance phase, trainee teachers may not only be immediately concerned with dealing with their own anxious feelings but also anticipating what their mentors may have to say in the POC; on the other hand, when being assessed and reflecting on their classroom performance in the POC, trainees may already be anticipating their next lesson, thinking, for instance, about how to maintain, improve, change or avoid certain features of their latest lesson. Nonetheless, like most models, this is a simplified version of a complex process, but I do feel that it is a particularly useful one – not only to reflect on how anxiety may arise and be managed on the practicum, but also on how and why data can be collected. As will be seen in Part 2, this has influenced the research procedure.

In her explanation of why such strong feelings are often evident in POCs, Oliveira (ibid.) points to two central factors: firstly, those who are being supervised find themselves in a position where they have to reveal a great deal about themselves; secondly, the style of the interpersonal relationship that is established between mentors and trainees influences proceedings.

In fact, although Oliveira refers to "um certo clima de tensão que, de forma genérica, se geria no processo de supervisão de professores" (ibid.), she also points out that self-revelation also involves rethinking personal and professional behaviour and beliefs about teaching and learning, and that the constant observation and questioning in relation to the work in which trainees have invested emotionally and significantly, can lead to "uma ameaça ao seu equilíbrio emocional" (ibid.). Vulnerability, therefore, is very much to the fore in the context of supervised classes and the subsequent POCs.

This sense of constant observation, in Oliveira's view, may lead to the feeling of being undressed – both personally and professionally – with possible impacts on identity and self-image that do not see that far away from what Block (2002, 2007) terms 'critical experiences', and to which I referred to in Setting the scene. In Oliveira's words:

Esta situação de revelação total do professor perante o "outro" conduz frequentemente a um processo de destruturação ou mesmo mudança da sua auto-imagem…a qual poderá ser acompanhada por sensações de desconforto, de stress, de ansiedade ou mesmo de desequilíbrio emocional. (1992:17)

In the case of trainee teachers, as opposed to in-service teachers being supervised, the stakes are even higher. As Tomlinson points out, "novices are by definition under considerable uncertainty about what to aim at and how to go about things" (1995:68), with worries about their authority in the classroom a significant concern. Furthermore, "*in the eyes of their mentor* and pupils...they don't want to 'look daft'" (ibid., emphasis added). Their image and sense of identity as a teacher, then, is at stake.

Given this emotionally-laden context, denying the importance of forming relationships between the mentors and trainees on the practicum would be unwise. Grácio's (2002) study, for example, of the interpersonal dimension established between co-operating teachers and future teachers[70] through interaction in the POC has been a significant influence on this study in a number of ways. Firstly, it was case study and the POC was the central focus of analysis, and looked at how the co-operating teacher and trainees co-constructed a productive and emotionally informed relationship through certain features of interaction such as emotional markers and politeness strategies; secondly, the use of stimulated recall was part of the research procedure; thirdly, the study indicates that the co-operating teacher's discourse and awareness of strategies of the emotional needs of the trainees can facilitate the emotional climate and quality of interaction in the POC.

However, there are significant differences between Grácio´s study and the present study. Firstly, the study did not include the study of POCs when the supervising teacher was present; it also had a strict focus on the POC and did not include data from the classroom itself; thirdly, the trainees were Portuguese trainees; finally, the POCs were video-recorded and enabled the researcher to collate a rich corpus in terms of non-verbal behaviour.

Despite these divergences, I acknowledge the influence of this study in shaping my thinking about the interactional nature of the POCs and how the emotional climate is established.

What the mentors have to say in their feedback (Alarcão, Leitão and Roldão, 2009) is of undoubted importance, but just as crucial, then, is how they go about saying it. In other words, the styles and discourse of mentors and the particular strategies they use in POCs to discuss lessons given by the trainees' are seen as a likely influence on their experiences of anxiety. In the next section, therefore, I will briefly present some of the main styles that have been identified in the literature.

[70] In this case study, the trainees were future Portuguese teachers.

2.9.1.1 Supervisor style and discourse

The reason for fomenting and sustaining healthy relationships between mentors and trainees is that it underpins the need to encourage and help bring about teacher change and development.

In defining what a supervisor is, Wallace says that it is "anyone who has...the duty of monitoring and improving the quality of teaching done by other colleagues in an educational situation" (1991:107) whilst Gebhard opines that "supervision is an ongoing process of teacher education in which the supervisor observes what goes on in the teacher's classroom with an eye toward the goal of improved instruction (1990:1, cited in Bailey, 2006:5). With particular reference to the practicum, Vieira refers to supervision as the "actuaçao de monitorização sistemática da prática pedagógica, sobretudo através de procedimentos de reflexão e de experimentação", so in Vieira's view this means that the object of supervision is the TP (prática pedagógica) of the teacher, and that the main function of supervision is "a monitorização dessa prática e os processos centrais de supervisão são a reflexão e a experimentação" (1993:28).

The rise in the influence of clinical supervision – that is, "the teaching performance is systematically observed, analyzed, and evaluated" (Gaies and Bowers, 1990:169) – together with the crucial influence of Schön's (1983, 1987) work on educational practices that has contributed to an abiding concern with reflection as a key skill to encourage and develop in teachers, has meant that supervision has seen a shift from a historical dependency on directive styles and their associated discourse towards an interest in less directive, collaborative, and reflective forms of support in the learning process. Indeed, in more recent works (Alarcão and Roldão, 2008; Vieira, Moreira, Barbosa, Paiva, Fernandes, 2010) supervision is perceived as much more than this, and is seen as constituting a critical and emancipatory process in educational contexts, providing the participants with transformative opportunities through engaged and democratic participation.

The styles that have been discussed in supervision in education have also impacted and been imported into language teaching. For example, Bailey (2006: 9-10) discusses Goldsberry's (1988) three models of supervision. Firstly, 'nominal' supervision is merely a façade that supervision is being practiced; secondly, the 'prescriptive' model is "based upon the notion that the supervisor needs to correct deficiencies in teaching and has a primary purpose of surfacing these flaws and correcting them". Bailey says that this is an enduring model in both general and language teaching supervision. Thirdly, the 'reflective' model

assumes "the teacher needs skilled support" to develop their own skills, and centres on "guided reflection based upon disciplined inquiry into the ends and means of teaching" (ibid.).

A similar view is expressed by Oliveira when she discusses the contrasts between a more traditional view of supervisory dialogue and a reflective one, the former being characterized as a conversation "centrada no supervisor, decorrendo por vezes ao sabor da improvisação e privilegiando os juízos de valor sobre a actuação do professor" (1992:18) whereas the latter should be seen as a dialogue "encarado como uma forma de ajudar os formandos a desenvolver o pensamento reflexivo sobre a sua prática," (ibid.).

Freeman (1990), like Goldsberry, also identifies three approaches to describe how supervisors give feedback on observed classes. Freeman firstly refers to the 'directive option', where the "teacher educator 'directs' and the student teacher 'does'" (1990:107); secondly, the 'alternatives option', where the educator proposes a limited number of alternatives and the student has to choose and try to justify why he or she has taken that choice, and, finally, the 'non-directive' option, where the educator's role is to be present but to hold back with his questions and advice. Influenced by Carl Roger's thinking, the educator in this role, says Freeman, should clarify perceptions of what the student is actually doing but not to agree or disagree.

In a recent publication, Alarcão, Leitão and Roldão (2009) identified six types of feedback that emerged from a project that was carried out with students doing their prática pedagógica: questioning with a request for clarification; critical or stimulating questioning; support and encouragement; recommendation; summing up/considering; and methodological, theoretical and conceptual clarification. The absence of directive feedback here would seem to point to a more collaborative style.

In language teaching circles, Wallace (1991:110) sees the essential differences between supervisor roles fitting into two divergent camps, calling them a classic prescriptive approach and a classic collaborative approach. Some of the features of the former include the following characteristics:

1. Supervisor as authority figure
2. Supervisor as only source of expertise
3. Supervisor judges
4. Supervisor applies a "blueprint" of how lesson ought to be taught
5. Supervisor talks, trainee listens
6. Supervisor attempts to preserve authority and mystique

The collaborative approach consists of the following traits:

1. Supervisor as colleague
2. Supervisor and trainee or teacher as co-sharers of expertise
3. Supervisor understands
4. Supervisor has no blueprint; accepts lesson in terms of what trainee or teacher is attempting to do
5. Supervisor considers listening as important as talking
6. Supervisor attempts to help trainee or teacher develop autonomy, through practice in reflection and self-evaluation

One of the distinguishing features along the continuum, then, is whether the roles "locates decision-making power either with the supervisor or with the teacher" (Bailey, 2006:16).

At one end of the continuum, supervisors' discourse is likely to be characterized by criticisms, value judgments and directives on what the teacher should and should not do whereas towards the other end, discourse will feature questioning, encouraging, reflecting, informing, assessing, and negotiating (Alarcão, and Roldão, 2008; Alarcão, Leitão and Roldão, 2009; Gebhard, 1990; Vieira, 1993).

In terms of relevance for this study, a supervisor's style may well be a source of anxiety for the trainees. In some respects, with supervision demonstrating a growing tendency to emphasise humanistic principles, collaboration, negotiation and reflection, or, in other words, a greater willingness to move away from an image of an authoritative expert, content to do all the talking, "to that of an engaged colleague who encourages teachers to talk about their work and reflect on their practice" (Chamberlin, 2000:656), it might well be assumed that a more authoritative, directive figure might make trainee teachers anxious. Indeed, the issues of power and social distance are important considerations in supervisory situations as they are in other contexts when there are hierarchical factors to be considered. Being older, having more experience, and being better qualified are just a few of the factors that can contribute to face-threatening situations.

However, such an interpretation may be over simplistic. Glickman, Gordon, and Ross-Gordon (1985:161), for example, suggest that "to many, directive control connotes an adversary relationship. It conjures up an image of the pushy, authoritarian boss at work. This is a stereotype, however". They suggest that teachers "might welcome knowing the depth and expectations of the supervisor's expectations" (ibid.). In relation to those entering the profession, Gebhard (1990:158) refers to Copeland's (1982) study that student teachers feel the need to be told what to do in order to reduce their insecurity in dealing with novel situations. He also says that an alternative model of supervision may reduce student anxiety because it delimits choice, something that we discussed in relation to anxiety earlier in this

chapter. Although it isn't mentioned as a possibility, it can be inferred from this logic, then, that too much freedom and being left to one's own devices in an uncertain period may actually be conducive to anxiety. In relation to the question of time, a precious commodity for teachers working in today's world, Oliveira (1992:14) talks of the dilemma that many supervisors may find themselves in when faced with the desire to encourage reflection in a critical manner but who are often confronted with the reality of limited time, and therefore resort, pragmatically, to a more direct style in order to be as productive as possible.

However, this is not to suggest that more direct, prescriptive styles do not, in fact, create uncertainty and anxiety in people but simply to put forward the notion that style and discourse are more likely to change according to the conditions and local contexts in which teachers and supervisors find themselves working in.

What does not change, however, is the fact that on the practicum supervising and/or co-operating teachers get together in post-observation conferences to discuss the trainees' classroom performance with the trainees themselves. In her review of the post-observation conference in language teacher supervision, Bailey (2006) gets straight to the heart of one of the overriding tensions mentors and trainees have to deal with when she says:

> No matter who you are supervising – pre-service or in-service language teachers, native or non-native speakers – one of the trickiest parts of the job is the post-observation conference. This event can be awkward because supervisors must sometimes give negative feedback to teachers (2006:140)

In the next section, therefore, I will consider how mentors may deliver this negative feedback. However, I will also take into account the manner in which they deliver positive feedback. These features of mentors' discourse fall under the rubric of politeness theory, and can be useful in considering how the interpersonal side of the post-observation conferences are likely to be a significant influence on the trainees' degree of emotional well-being and hence an important factor on their perceptions of how they are developing and growing as a teacher of English.

2.9.1.2 Politeness and mitigation strategies

This section focuses on supervisor feedback. From the point of view of this study, feedback in the POCs is important because it may be a key source of trainee anxiety and motivation as well as a central influence on the trainees' nascent language teacher identity.

In his thesis on status anxiety in western society, de Botton has this to say on the social nature of our self-worth:

> The attention of others might be said to matter to us principally because we are afflicted by a congenital uncertainty as to our own value – as a result of which what others think of us comes to play a determining role in how we are able to view ourselves. Our sense of identity is held captive by the judgements of those we live among...If they praise us we develop an impression of high merit. And if they avoid our gaze as we enter a room or look impatient after we have revealed our occupation, we may fall into feelings of self-doubt and worthlessness. (2004: 15)

This statement, I think, can quickly be established as having relevance for trainees on the practicum. As has been noted, in many ways trainee teachers find themselves in a vulnerable position on the TP. They are in a novel situation and the function of mentor feedback is an extremely important phase of the practicum and supervisory cycle. As Bailey says:

> The post-observation conference is predicated on the concept that teachers can improve by gaining feedback. The assumption is that feedback increases awareness, which enables teachers to change their behaviour. The intent of such feedback is to note effective teaching, to identify less effective teaching, and to promote positive change. (2006:141)

It is through the mentor's feedback that trainees will come to see whether their incipient teaching image(s) are being constructed according to their wishes and/or those of their colleagues and mentors. In other words, the opinions and words of the mentors are likely to be crucial in affirming or not a positive teaching identity.

For the research questions of this project, being able to study the way mentors deliver their feedback is an important part of the research procedure that may enable me to better examine the possible influences on trainees' experience of anxiety both inside and outside the classroom. To refer back to the model of teacher trainee experience of anxiety, the post-observation conference can be conceived as the phase of assessment in the overall cycle, a phase where anxiety may be eventually increased or decreased. And I do not simply refer to a negative notion of anxiety here. As discussed in the chapter on anxiety, the notion of facilitating and debilitating anxiety is an important one to consider, and it may be the case that positive feedback can augment the feeling of facilitating anxiety just as negative feedback may have adverse effects on their self-esteem and confidence. Indeed, it may be that negative feedback spurs some people on more than positive feedback.

However, in terms of supervisory feedback, the focus has not been on how to deliver positive feedback[71] but has overwhelmingly centred on how to deliver 'bad news' or, in teaching terms, criticisms of aspects of the lesson, which may often be interpreted by the

[71] However, Kurtoglu-Hooton's (2004) work has focused on post-observation feedback as an instigator of teacher change.

trainees as direct criticisms of them, too. Bailey says that "social strictures against giving criticism are so strong that most people avoid it, including supervisors" (2006:154). Wajnyrb's (1994) work in particular has highlighted the numerous ways that mentors use language in order to soften the blow of criticism that supervisors want to communicate. In the present project, I have applied a number of Wajnyrb's categories to my own data gathered from the POCs. I will describe these in the next chapter.

A way to explain this reluctance to criticise is found in politeness theory, now a legitimate field of study in its own right, and an area that has grown enormously over the last 20 years. The "most influential theory of politeness" according to Thomas (1995:168), has been that which was proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987), which is perhaps best known for its notion of a face-threatening act (FTA). The concept of 'face' is derived from Goffman's (1967) work, and is essentially related "with notions of being embarrassed or humiliated, or 'losing face'. Thus, if we can lose face, then "face is something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction" (1987:61). Face is made up of two distinct aspects: firstly negative face, which is defined in the following way:

The basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction- i.e. to freedom of action and freedom from imposition.

While positive face is defined thus:

The positive consistent self-image or 'personality' (crucially including the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved of) claimed by interactants.

In more prosaic terms, the "positive face is reflected in his or her desire to be liked, approved of, respected and appreciated by others...and negative face is reflected in the desire not to be impeded or put upon, to have the freedom to act as one chooses (Thomas, 1995: 169). Certain illocutionary acts, then, have the potential to be FTAs, and threaten either the positive face or negative face. Insulting a friend or laughing at someone's new haircut could potentially damage positive face while asking someone to help you move house could be a FTA to negative face.

So if people are considering performing a FTA, they have to consider the likely damage to the hearer's face or to the speaker's face. In order to calculate the risk involved in performing a FTA, then the speaker can use a hierarchy of possible strategies running from the most to the least risky. These strategies can be seen below.

In performing the FTA, then, people can use politeness strategies addressed to positive face and, therefore are examples of positive politeness. On the other hand, they can use strategies addressing the hearer's negative face and so are examples of negative politeness.

In returning, to the context of the POC, then, politeness strategies are relevant because in interaction mentors and teachers also address each other's face needs. The mentor, however, often needs to inform the trainee of areas that he or she should improve in as well as deliver unfavourable feedback or criticism, in other words inform the trainees of things that they might not want to hear, and which may constitute a FTA.

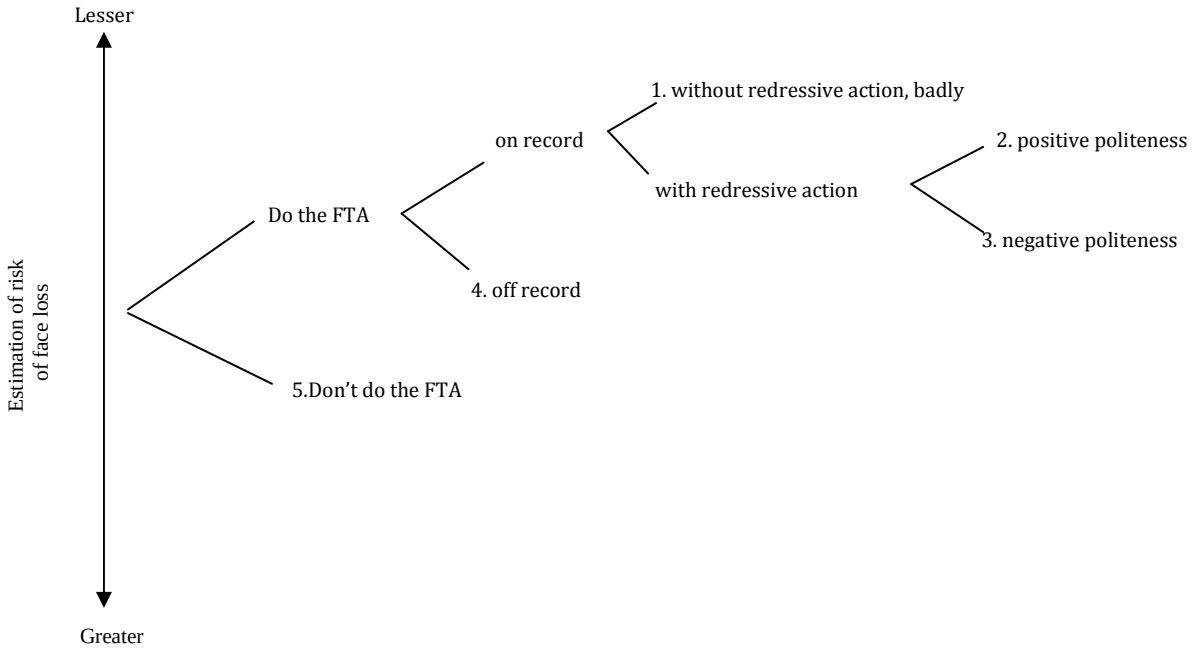

Figure 8: Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies for doing FTAs (1987)

But if the mentor wants to perform a FTA, and wants to go on-record, then he or she has to decide whether to do this baldly, that is, in the most direct manner possible, or decide to use other strategies. In Brown and Levinson's strategies, the most face-threatening act is numbered 1 whilst the least threatening is 5, that is to say the speaker does not do the FTA. Very often, they will do the FTA with redressive action, which means they can use strategies addressed to positive face or negative face. For example, "I think your class was very interesting and the materials were great, but you really must move around the classroom more" is an example of addressing the teacher's positive face before delivering the bad news. An example of addressing the teacher's negative face would be "Could I make a little point about your questioning technique?"

This strategy of softening the criticism is known as mitigation. Fraser (1980) defines this as choosing "a way of speaking so as to reduce insofar as possible the unwelcome effects of the report on the hearer" (1980:341). In her work, Wajnyrb, identified three types of mitigation: firstly, hypermitigation, which means there is so much softening and hedging that the message is not clear, which is unlikely to be beneficial for the trainee; secondly, hypomitigation, which means there is so little mitigation that the message is far too direct and blunt. Again, it is doubtful the trainee will benefit. Lastly, above-the-utterance-level mitigation, which is accomplished through the level of discourse. It is from the latter category from which I take categories and apply to the POCs. In Chapter 3, Part 2, I will present and describe these categories.

However, from the point of view of this study, it was not only mitigation that was of interest in the POCs. Of course, mitigation is likely to influence the feelings of and save the face of trainees. However, as Arndt and Janney (1985) and Holmes (1984) have indicated, modifying the illocutionary force can lead to four-way emotive strategies – or boosting and attenuating in Holmes' terms. So together with mitigation, I have chosen Arndt and Janney's emotive strategies (see Table 3) in order to broaden the lens with which to examine mentor discourse in the POCs.

SPEAKERS' EMOTIVE STRATEGIES	PARTNERS FACE NEEDS	
	PERSONAL (need for autonomy)	INTERPERSONAL (need for acceptance)
SUPPORTIVE POSITIVE	acknowledges	acknowledges
NONSUPPORTIVE POSITIVE	acknowledges	threatens
SUPPORTIVE NEGATIVE	threatens	acknowledges
NONSUPPORTIVE NEGATIVE	threatens	threatens

Table 3 Speakers' emotive strategies and partners' face needs (1985)

I have used these because although these emotive strategies relate to politeness, they are, importantly, seen from a different perspective. In the authors' own words:

> According to interactional psychologists, the main emotive task of a speaker who wishes to keep on good terms with his partner is not to behave politely in the traditional sense, but to behave supportively…the idea of interpersonal supportiveness thus replaces the idea of politeness; it refers to avoiding interpersonal conflicts rather than to confirming social expectations. (1985:282)

This would appear to be an appropriate way to frame the interaction between teachers and mentors in the POCs. However, although the mentor discourse should, in principle, be supportive this does not mean it will be. It is possible that negative criticism will also feature.

I would now like to explain each strategy. First, the supportive negative strategy is essentially that of mitigation, that is, the need for personal autonomy is threatened but the interpersonal needs are acknowledged. The category at the bottom of the table, nonsupportive negative, happens when neither of the partner's face needs is acknowledged. So these are negative features of speech that are boosted. The top category, supportive positive, sees both face needs addressed. Here the positive features of speech are boosted. The category below, non-supportive positive I have left blank. It is a category I am not using because of two reasons. Firstly, it should be said that Arndt and Janney (1985:287-297) include kinesic features of communication such as smiles, gazes and stares in all these categories. However, as the POCs of this study were not video recorded, this means that I cannot see what was happening but only hear. Nonsupportive positive strategies are, perhaps, the most difficult to identify. Another reason is that the three other categories are sufficient and the most relevant for the purposes of this study. Mitigation as we have already seen attenuates the negative. However, fulsome praise is surely important for trainees' self-esteem so supportive positive strategies are central. On the other hand, nonsupportive negative strategies are seen as important because they could have as great an impact as supportive positive.

Although all three categories are used to analyse the talk of the POCs, the supportive positive and nonsupportive negative strategies are situated at the opposite ends of the continuum of praise and criticism and therefore provide clear notions of what could be considered the most and least desired supervisor talk whilst mitigation, hedging and more cautious, is situated between these two poles.

The features of speech that I applied to the data will be positive-negative clues (ibid.:289) at the *verbal level.* This will mean words with less restricted references, and usually indicates to what extent the people identify with the topic, for example:

that was a *really* good classroom activity
that was a good classroom activity

The other features of speech I applied to the data are involvement clues (ibid.:291). Arndt and Janney say they are important in two ways: first, they allow the speaker to draw attention to the things he feels strongly about or thinks he believes should be emphasised. Secondly, they are useful in signalling emotional intimacy between speaker and listener. At the *verbal level*, these involvement clues are signs of affect, for example: That's great; That's fantastic; That's terrific.

At the *vocal level,* emotive clues are mainly signalled by pitch nucleus prominence, such as stress and loudness. These cues, according to the authors, indicate that the greater a speaker's urgency or involvement at the moment he speaks, the more forcefully he tends to articulate the utterance. For example:

That's just FANtastic. I'm REALLY pleased.

Although these are normally used with other vocal and kinesic emotive clues, it makes sense to include categories other than mitigation to describe and apply to the POCs. A concentration solely on mitigation would more than likely lead to subtle distortions of the data as a whole, and present a one-dimensional vision of the POCs. Along with presentation and description of the mitigation categories, I will present examples of the supportive positive and nonsupportive negative strategies in Chapter 3.

In this section, I have attempted to describe why it is understandable that the practicum be considered a testing and uncertain time for language teachers entering the profession. The cycle of being observed and the subsequent post-observation conferences establish a consistent pattern of assessment that they have to learn to deal with. Potentially, the sources of anxiety are wide-ranging and pervasive.

It is in the next chapter, then, where I will attempt to outline how the research procedure and rationale sought to explore language anxiety on the English language practicum.

PART 2: EXPLORING ANXIETY: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

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Chapter 3. Research methodology: rationale and research design

> Many a researcher would like to tell the whole story but of course cannot; the whole story exceeds anyone's knowing, anyone's telling.
> (Stake, 1994:240)

In Part 2, I now move to the empirical study itself in which I describe the context to which I gained access, the participants of the study and the methodology used in order to explore anxiety experienced by the trainee teachers. This involved exploring language anxiety (LA) by largely researching contexts of interaction that are 'natural' to the surroundings in which they occur, and have therefore departed from the prevailing approach of LA research which applies self-reports and conducts interviews as the central methods of data collection. This has involved resorting to research methods and approaches that can be broadly characterised as naturalistic. I will therefore explain the choices that were made within this approach, why I think that ethnography and ethnomethodology is a suitable combination to explore anxiety, and how these have influenced the data collection methods and analysis.

3.1 Naturalistic inquiry: the influence of ethnography and ethnomethodology

Ethnography and ethnomethodology are research approaches that stress the importance of researching people going about their business in surroundings that have not been adapted or shaped by the researcher's interests. In this section, therefore, I discuss the notion of naturalistic inquiry and its relevance to this project.

In terms of what constitutes 'natural surroundings', it is difficult to improve on Hammersley and Atkinson's words that sum up this paradigm's key tenets in the following manner:

> ...as far as possible, the social world should be studied in its 'natural' state, undisturbed by the researcher. Hence, 'natural' not 'artificial' settings, like experiments or formal interviews, should be the primary source of data. Furthermore, the research must be carried out in ways that are sensitive to the nature of the setting and that of the phenomena being investigated. The primary aim should be to describe what happens, how the people involved see and talk about their own actions and those of others, the contexts in which the action takes place, and what follows from it. (2007:7)

This notion of naturalistic observation transposed to EFL contexts, leads researchers such as McDonough and McDonough to opine that the site par excellence of naturalistic research is to be found in the classroom itself:

> …the everyday lesson with its usual participants in real time, rather than, say, a class constructed to try out a particular method, or a 'one-off' with volunteers not normally together, or a teacher not known to the students, any of which – whatever their other research merits – would constitute inherent distortions of naturally occurring phenomena. (1997: 114)

In fact the term 'naturalistic inquiry' is an umbrella term under which are subsumed various key approaches and methods, including ethnography and participant observation. In turn, ethnography subsumes other forms of research, too. In discussing ethnography and participant observation, Atkinson and Hammersley (1994:248) comment on the difficulty of defining ethnography, and end up saying that "in practical terms" ethnography is an eclectic approach that often is characterised by the following features:

1. A strong emphasis on exploring the nature of particular social phenomena, rather than setting out to test hypotheses about them.
2. A tendency to work primarily with "unstructured" data, that is, data that have not been coded at the point of data collection in terms of a closed set of analytic categories.
3. Investigation of a small number of cases, perhaps just one case, in detail.
4. Analysis of data that involves explicit interpretation of the meanings and functions of human actions, the product of which mainly takes the form of verbal descriptions and explanations, with quantification and statistical analysis playing a subordinate role at most.

As will be seen shortly, the basic characteristics of this research project display these features. In addition, the same authors talk about the role of the researcher, and the, sometimes, vague use of the term 'participant observation'. More useful they say is the subtle distinction made by Gold (1958, cited in Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994:249) on the four-way distinction between complete observer, observer as participant, participant as observer, and complete participant. Such distinctions also lead to issues of whether those being studied are aware that the researcher is indeed a researcher, and the important point of "how much, and what is known about the research by whom" (ibid.).

In my present study I would place my degree of participation as moving along the continuum of the observer as participant, and participant as observer, never the complete

participant or complete observer. Hopefully, this will become apparent when I describe the methodology used. In terms of the degree of knowledge that participants involved in the study had of my research objectives, this involved me telling both the mentors and trainees that I was studying trainee teachers on their TP, and was hoping to contribute to a better understanding of this important part of their teaching degree. With a powerful emotion such as anxiety, to have divulged the central focus of my research would, I believe, have significantly altered the behaviour of the trainees' involved.

By resorting to a range of data collection methods in order to get a richer picture of the trainees and their context, and having collected data over the period of an academic year, I would class this project as both longitudinal and influenced by ethnographic principles, although I would not class it as a strong form of ethnography where an exhaustive study of the area of interest is undertaken.

Furthermore, and to contradict the sometimes simplistic views of naturalistic inquiry, Allwright and Bailey say it "may involve qualitative and quantitative data," and "is typically non-interventionist and non-controlling" (1991: 42). This degree of intervention is crucial to different types of research and is perhaps best seen in van Lier's well-known representation of the degree of selectivity and intervention in Figure 9 below.

Such a representation of research types, according to Nunan, although being an oversimplification of what researchers actually do, highlights "two of the most important questions researchers must confront at the beginning of their research: to what extent should I attempt to prespecify the phenomena under investigation?; to what extent should I attempt to isolate and control the phenomena under question?" (1992: 8).

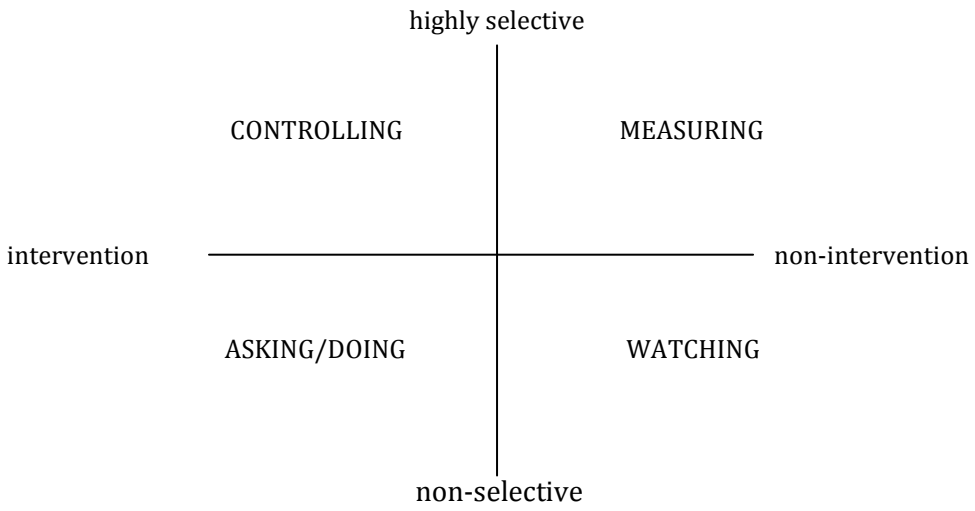

Figure 9: Types of research (van Lier, 1988)

In this study, it is clear that my object of study had already been decided upon whilst in terms of degrees of isolation and control, my interventions were relatively limited, thereby attempting to investigate LA from the point of view of the participants and the routines which constituted their TP – hence my acknowledgement of ethnomethodology as a guiding influence on the theoretical underpinnings of the project. In discussing the four spaces created by the axes of the degree of intervention and selectivity, van Lier suggests that in relation to ethnography, asking and watching are the "two main sources of data" as opposed to the controlling and measuring of more positivist-inspired research paradigms more in line with the natural and physical sciences, and which aspire to 'hard data' and scientific rigour. With respect to this project, the methodology and data collection are firmly within the spaces of 'asking-doing' and 'watching'. Indeed, its focus on interaction, people and emotions means it is situated in opposition to the positivist tradition.

In accordance with the naturalistic paradigm and ethnographic-oriented research in general, asking and watching are central to the researcher as he or she attempts to understand the behaviour of people in particular contexts. The notion of context is also extremely important as McDonough and McDonough acknowledge:

> ...context becomes crucial because it sites the phenomenon of study in space and time, and can therefore tap into the fluctuating interactions and relationship patterns in a group of people working together. (1997: 114)

This is particularly true of affective factors as we have seen in Ushioda's person-in-context relational view of motivation discussed in 1.3. Samimy and Rardin also accentuate the importance of context when researching affective factors:

> The nature of affective states is personal, dynamic, and context-bound. Being detached from the context and ignoring the personal and dynamic nature of the subjects involved in the study, there is a danger that the researcher will interpret what is happening in a narrow and limited way. (1994: 381)

Engaging with these details informs a holistic view of research situating the study firmly, in our case, in the language classroom, and the post-observation conferences, in other words, the 'emic' world of van Lier (1988), where an ethnographic approach allows us to study the trainees in their classrooms as well as their reflections on these over a period of time as they go about their teaching.

In order to better understand what goes on in the classroom, then, researchers should, according to van Lier (1988), see the classroom as a 'culture', and try to capture the

participants' or 'emic' viewpoint as well as the 'etic[1]' viewpoint in holistic studies which favour gathering data from various methods and viewpoints, that is to say 'triangulation'. Nunan supports van Lier's call for classroom research to be embedded in the context of study when he says, "If we want to find out about behaviour, we need to investigate it in the natural context in which it occurs, rather than in the experimental laboratory" (1992: 53).

Such an emphasis on context, however, leads back to generalisation, or lack of it to be more precise, which is often cited as a weakness of qualitative research. Yet, this can be regarded as one of qualitative research's strengths. One of the problems that educational research in general seems to suffer from is the reluctance of researchers to free themselves from the influential notions and terminology of quantitative research, a point Lazaraton makes:

> Perhaps this tendency to define qualitative research, not in its own right, but in contrast to quantitative research, results from the training of many applied linguists as (primarily) quantitative researchers. As a result it is difficult for many to give up the "objective," "replicable," and "generalizable" findings that such research ideally (although not necessarily) affords, in favour of work that is "subjective" and "ungeneralizable". (2003: 3)

Underlying this division on generalisation is the debate about 'reality' or the nature of knowledge and, as Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000) point out, such conceptions will be influential in determining the researcher's stance and methods:

> The view that knowledge is hard, objective and tangible will demand of researchers an observer's role, together with an allegiance to the methods of natural science; to see knowledge as personal, subjective and unique, however, imposes on researchers an involvement with their subjects and a rejection of the ways of natural science. (2000: 6)

These essentially opposing views of knowledge and the pursuit and attempt to uncover it by using certain methods, has resulted in what Nunan refers to as a "binary distinction between qualitative and quantitative research" (1992: 3). Nunan describes what are generally seen as the main differences between these traditions:

> Quantitative research is obtrusive and controlled, objective, generalisable, outcome oriented, and assumes the existence of 'facts' which are somehow external to and independent of the observer or

[1] Van Lier (1988: 17) cites Brend's (1974) explanation of the terms 'emic' and 'etic': "The emic and etic standpoints are alternate ways of viewing the same reality. The etic standpoint is a view from outside, either random in its selectivity or with a set of presuppositions that have only a chance relationship to the scene being described. The emic standpoint is a view from within that notices just those features of the scene that are marked as significant by internal criteria." Bailey and Nunan (1996: 3) in a more succinct explanation of the terms, and one which is adopted in the present study refer to "…emic perspective (i.e., the viewpoints of the participants)" and the "researchers' etic perspective."

researcher. Qualitative research, on the other hand, assumes that all knowledge is relative, that there is a subjective element to all knowledge and research, and that holistic, ungeneralisable studies are justifiable. In metaphorical terms, quantitative research is 'hard' while qualitative research is 'soft'. (ibid.: 3)

However, not only the data collection is of relevance here. The analysis and interpretation is also of great importance. For example, Nunan and Bailey refer to Allwright and Bailey's (1991) argument for the following combinations of data collection and data analysis:

1. Data collected quantitatively can be analysed quantitatively (as is common in statistical studies).
2. Quantitatively collected data can be analysed qualitatively.
3. Qualitatively collected data can be analysed quantitatively.
4. Data can be qualitatively collected and qualitatively analysed. (1996: 3)

Qualitative research, then, is not so much a research methodology in its own right as, in Lazaraton's words, "an umbrella term for a very large group of research methodologies" (2003: 3), including those of conversational analysis and ethnography.

However, such distinctions are seen by some researchers as somewhat simplistic and misleading. Although quantitative research favours certain methods such as controlled experiments, social surveys, and quantifying data in numerical form in order to determine cause and effect, Silverman points to the fact that differences exist within each tradition:

The methods used by qualitative researchers exemplify a common belief that they can provide a 'deeper' understanding of social phenomena than would be obtained from purely quantitative data. However, just as quantitative researchers would resist the charge that they are all 'positivists', there is no agreed doctrine underlying all qualitative social research. Instead, there are many 'isms' that appear to lie behind qualitative methods – for example interactionism, feminism, postmodernism and ethnomethodology. (2000: 8)

However, as I discussed in 1.3, there are signs that an increasing number of researchers in SLA are turning to alternative paradigms informed by social theory or a number of schools of thought, for example, among those mentioned by Silverman in the citation above, a combination of both feminism and post-modern thinking informs the work of Norton (2000; 2001), whose work has done much to raise the profile and importance of identity in SLA and language learning.

For this project, whilst I have not relied exclusively on one school of thought, I have looked to some of the ideas within the social turn in SLA as well as ethnography and ethnomethodology in order to facilitate my rethinking of LA.

Ethnomethodology was founded by Harvey Sacks and brought to prominence by Harold Garfinkel, and is, in the words of Cohen et al.:

> ...concerned with how people make sense of their everyday world. More especially, it is directed at the mechanisms by which participants achieve and sustain interaction in a social encounter – the assumptions they make, the conventions they utilize, and the practices they adopt. Ethnomethodology thus seeks to understand social accomplishments in their own terms; it is concerned to understand them from within... (2000:24)

It is, then, like ethnography, very much concerned with people in their given social contexts, or as Antaki and Widdicombe point out, "it's about treating social life as the business that people conduct with each other in their everyday practices" (1998:2) or, as Seedhouse says, in his conversational analysis perspective of classroom interaction, "Ethno methods can be seen as the interpretative procedures used by social actors *in situ*" (2004:4).

Ethnomethodology is also interested in the 'emic' viewpoint, and rejects the notion that people are merely unthinking individuals with little agency, or to take Garfinkel's famous words, "dopes" who react in a passive way to the larger structural forces in society as set out by functionalist sociologists such as Talcott Parsons. Garfinkel, in fact, as Layder points out:

> ...insists that people are not simple automata responding to the dictates of an external social system. In fact, people are highly knowledgeable about social life and employ this knowledge in a creative manner to bring a certain sense of smoothness and order to day-to-day social behaviour. (2006:100)

In fact, this day-to-day order is underpinned by normative principles that govern how people display their actions to each other, embedded in rules and principles that are taken for granted to such an extent that they are no longer 'visible', and so people relate to each other through an understanding of shared meaning or intersubjectivity. In other words, when interacting, people always try to make sense of what their interlocutors are saying. Hence, Garfinkel conducted his infamous breaching experiments, whereby his students were encouraged, for example, to act extremely informally with family members, the result being that the students' families often reacting angrily and in a bewildered manner. This exposed the assumptions behind how people have strong expectations of how others should act. As Heritage says, these reactions arise because breaching the rules "threatens the very possibility of mutual understanding and, with it, the existence of a shared world" (1984:95, cited in Seedhouse, 2004:6).

Seedhouse says this view of understanding has strong affinities with Grice's (1975) co-operative principle, and hence, politeness theories. In fact, it is no coincidence that Fraser (1990:221) mentions Garfinkel's experiments in his review of politeness theories. Fraser uses

Garfinkel's theory to illustrate that to simply act politely or very formally in a given situation is far from an adequate explanation of politeness. What is the crucial consideration in explaining how shared understanding is brought into existence and maintained in the face of the ambiguities and uncertainties of everyday interaction is whether "the interactants agree to fill in all of the contextual detail and cooperate" (Seedhouse, ibid.).

In terms of relevance for this project, then, I see ethnomethodology as a particularly useful way of viewing the actions of the trainees and mentors in the post-observation conferences, how they establish their particular practices, and providing insights that will complement the categories of analysis based on politeness theories I discussed in 2.9.1.2.

Before going on to look at how the case study fits into the research rationale of this project, I would like to briefly discuss Layder's Domain theory (1993; 2006) because this theory provides a useful lens through which we can view people's behaviour in given situations and the shaping influences on that behaviour – from beliefs and past history to the larger macro forces in our society.

In Garfinkel's comments about people who are portrayed by "dopes", that is, everyday people whose lives are largely constrained by macro structures in society, we can see the issue of tension between structure and agency hinted at in the considerations of ethnomethodology. Such thinking has also been more evident recently in SLA. After considering in Part 1 more recent accounts (Breen, 2001; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko, 2005; Ushioda, 2009) of how affect and emotions may be related to issues of time, agency and inequitable power relations, a useful approach to think about the interconnectivity of life is Layder's domains theory (1993; 2006). In this theory Layder suggests that we should not think of the social universe as "a simple dualism", that is of agency and structure, but as "multi-dimensional – as four connected domains" (2006:273) that influence and constrain how we live our lives.

In Figure 10 below, we can see the four domains that Layder proposes impact on our lives. The first level, psychobiography, constitutes characteristics of the person, a unique emotional being due to his or her unique life trajectory. In this domain we find beliefs, prior experiences and personality characteristics. Subsequent domains are situated above the individual level. As Layder says "we can never escape from social influences entirely, but as individuals we also retain a significant measure of independence from them" (2006:275-276). In fact, in discussing emotions and the fact he believes we are not "simply rational self-reflexive agents choosing the most appropriate way of maximising our satisfaction" (ibid.:275), Layder encapsulates one of the main criticisms that has been aimed at Brown and

Levinson's politeness theory, more specifically, at the rational being who moves logically and smoothly through the stages of deciding whether to commit a face-threatening act:

> Emotions such as jealousy, anger and hatred are capable of disrupting the smooth veneer of social situations and relationships. Motivations associated with these emotions drive us to behave in ways contrary to custom, ritual and routine, although this behaviour is also shaped by important social components. Such emotions and motivations ensure that we are never entirely the creatures of society. (2006:275)

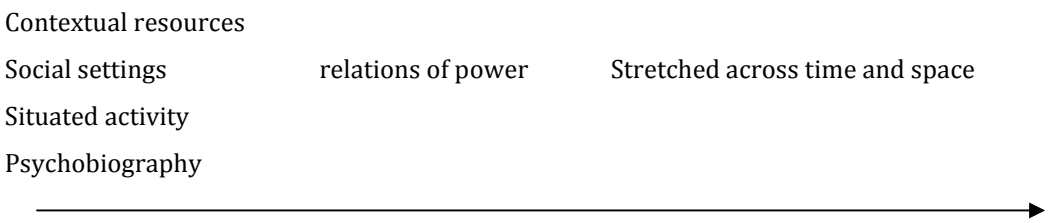

Figure 10 Layder's theory of social domains (1993; 2006)

Situated activity is the domain where social interaction takes place, and what ethnomethodologists and conversational analysts, for example, regard "as the primary arena of the creation of meaning" (ibid.:277). This domain, Layder says, is both influenced by the psychobiography domain below and by the social settings domain above. The latter domain constitutes the "immediate environment of situated activity" (ibid.:280) such as schools and hospitals. The final domain, and which is furthest from the individual is the contextual resources domain which refers to macro forms of economic, social, and cultural power and reproduction.

These domains are interrelated and influenced by the ongoing relations of power across time and space. I should say that this is but a brief sketch of Layder's theory that cannot do justice to the depth of the ideas he discusses. However, I do think it is a useful theory to consider when thinking about interaction and the degree of influence of agency and structure on our lives.

In terms of this study, I see it as a useful way to think about issues related to agency and structure and whether, for example, factors outside of the school environment may exert an influence on trainees' emotions and considerations of themselves as teachers. I believe that the domain which is of main interest to my study is that of the second, that of situated activity, the realm of interaction. However, it is highly likely that factors pertinent to my study will arise from the first domain, too, whilst I do not discount the possibility of influences from the third and fourth domains. Although the domain of contextual resources would appear to be a more remote influence, Layder does explain that this domain also

includes the "historical accumulation of resources" (ibid.:281), which includes styles, fashion, culture and popular culture, media representations and knowledge. Perhaps it is not unreasonable, then, to suppose, that the trainees may be influenced by the media discourse on teachers.

Finally, all these domains are not static but are in fact continually influencing and being influenced, and develop over time and space. As such this perspective dovetails with the discussion of the social turn in SLA in 1.3. On a longitudinal study such as this one that involves trainee teachers' being assessed by and in contact with the mentors, it is also pertinent to bear in mind how these power relations will develop over time. In a nutshell, these theories at least allow me – in principle – to consider the possibility of other influences on the experience of anxiety, and not simply see it as an internal variable largely determined by personality.

3.2 A case study approach

Before I talk in more concrete terms of the participants of this study, that is to say to 'introduce' the 'faces' so to speak of those who agreed to participate and who enabled me to carry out my research, this section explains the characteristics of case study that led me to focus on this approach to research.

One of the first things to emphasise is that a case study fits squarely into the naturalistic paradigm, and is greatly used in educational contexts precisely because of the flexibility it affords researchers. McDonough and McDonough are of the opinion that the "…notion of a 'case' is in many ways quintessentially naturalistic, though not exclusively so…" (1997: 203)[2].

Along with the fact that they "frequently follow the interpretive tradition" (Cohen et al., 2000:183), perhaps the distinguishing characteristic of the case study – and which is also the source of some confusion – is that it is generally recognised as not being a research method as such. In the words of Stake, an educational researcher who has written extensively on case studies:

[2] Cf. Cohen, Manion' and Morrison's (2000: 181) comments based on Hitchcock and Hughes' assertion (1995: 316) that "case studies are distinguished less by the methodologies that they employ than by the subjects/objects of their inquiry (though there is frequently a resonance between case studies and interpretive methodologies)".

> Case study is not a methodological choice, but a choice of object to be studied. We choose to study the case. We could study it in many ways…As a form of research, case study is defined by interest in individual cases, not by the methods of inquiry used. (1994: 236)[3]

Although researchers seem to be in relative agreement that a case study is not a research method, there has been considerable debate over what actually constitutes a case, and its status as a research approach.

The question of how to delimit and define a case study has not been fully resolved and, due to its elusive and subjective nature, is unlikely to be resolved in the near future. Some researchers have preferred to define it by saying what it is not, while others have attempted to define what it is. Cohen et al. cite Adelman's (1980) definition of a case study as "the study of an instance in action", and go on to elaborate on this by saying:

> The single instance is of a bounded system, for example a child, a clique, a class, a school, a community. It provides a unique example of real people in real situations, enabling readers to understand ideas more clearly than simply by presenting them with abstract theories or principles. (2000: 181)

Nunan (1992: 76), for example, takes a broad approach and avoids defining what a case study is. Instead, he selects six definitions from the literature which centre on and around the notions of the unique and individual. Similar to Cohen et al. (2000) he says a case may be an individual student, a school, a class or a whole community, or as Wallace says, "Case studies concentrate on what is unique (i.e. with individual units)" (1998: 161). As we will see, this notion of 'uniqueness' is at the root of why many quantitative researchers still regard the case study with suspicion.

Two of the definitions that Nunan cites are especially significant for this study. These definitions are those of Yin and Larson-Freeman and Long's respectively:

> A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used. (1984: 23)

> A longitudinal approach (often called a case study in the SLA field)…could easily be characterised by at least three of the qualitative paradigm attributes: naturalistic (use of spontaneous speech), process-oriented (it takes place over time) and ungeneralizable (very few subjects). (1991:11-12)

In relation to Yin's definition, it is interesting from this study's perspective to ponder the possible sources of anxiety previously discussed, that is to say one of the difficulties of

[3] Cf. Previous footnote and McDonough and McDonough's (1997: 203) comments that "A case study…is not itself a research method nor the equivalent of one: it employs methods and techniques in the investigation of an object of interest".

studying anxiety is not only determining the signs and existence of anxiety but also to what degree anxiety is influenced by factors both outside and inside the individual. As for multiple sources of evidence, this study has collated a reasonably wide range of data on which to base its analysis. With regard to the second definition, all three of the above attributes obtain.

Furthermore, Stake (1994: 236) defines a case study by citing Smith's term "bounded system" and invoking the notion of "specificity". In Stake's own words:

> Custom has it that not everything is a case. A child may be a case. A doctor may be a case – but *his doctoring* lacks the specificity, boundedness, to be called a case…The case is a specific. Even more, the case is a functioning specific. (ibid.: 236, emphasis in original)

This notion of a bounded system is represented by Stake using the Greek letter Θ – theta – so as to "indicate that it has both boundaries and working parts" (McDonough and McDonough, 1997: 205).

Stake, citing Goode and Hatt (1952), also reminds us that "it is not always easy for the case researcher to say where the child ends and the environment begins" (1994: 237). It is probably *because* of this complexity, however, that case studies continue to be a popular research method with teachers as they are able to bring out the unfolding intricacies in teaching. Tudor is particularly clear on this point when he declares that:

> All case studies are idiosyncratic to the extent that they relate to the specifics of the teaching situation. Nevertheless, by focusing on the details of language teaching as it is lived out in a particular context, case studies can bring to light the dynamic interaction between participants and context. In this way they can provide more relevant insights into the specific realities of teaching and learning than methodological generalisation...it is precisely in the untidiness or 'messiness' of local detail that teaching and learning are lived out in real classrooms. (2001:135)

In terms of classification of case studies, Stake identifies three types: *intrinsic*, *instrumental* and *collective*. Intrinsic case studies, Stake says, are "undertaken primarily because one wants better understanding of this particular case" (1994: 237). They are not intended to illustrate or help us to understand a theory or something else. It is the case itself that is of paramount interest.

Conversely, instrumental case studies are those that are intended to enlighten us on a particular theory or issue. In Stake's own words, "The case is of secondary interest; it plays a supportive role, facilitating our understanding of something else…The choice of case is made because it is expected to advance our understanding of that other interest" (ibid.: 237).

The collective case study is not a study of a collective but several individual cases that are studied "jointly in order to inquire into the phenomenon, population or general condition"

(ibid.: 237). Again, from Stake's perspective, "It is not the study of a collective but instrumental study extended to several cases" (ibid.: 237).

In terms of this classification, then, I view my research project as an instrumental case study that focuses on three trainee teachers of English and the degree to which their experience on the TP may provide insights and understanding of the nature and influence of language anxiety. In fact, as will be seen in the research procedure, this started as an instrumental study extended to several cases but due to unforeseen events during the course of the project ended up being that of a single instrumental case study.

An important attribute of the case study is that the researcher is able to use a wide range of data collection methods, whether qualitative or quantitative. This is one reason for its popularity both in education and the social sciences but also explains the antipathy[4] of researchers working in more positivist-oriented paradigms. Nevertheless, they have been used with greater frequency in studies of language learning – particularly in the field of second language acquisition where longitudinal studies permit the researcher to monitor and evaluate language development in greater depth.[5]

Perhaps the main reason for such tension stems from the case study's ubiquity and accessibility, the fact that it is recognised as being particularly 'teacher-friendly', an eminently applicable approach which goes hand-in-hand with action research and the teacher-researcher. Wallace makes this point when he states:

> Action researchers are usually interested in their own unique situations: *their* students; *their* lessons; *their* classes, and so on. The *specific focus* of the case study therefore becomes a positive advantage for action researchers, since it may meet their professional needs better than more traditional empirical research studies relating to large target populations. (1998: 161, emphasis in original)

McDonough and McDonough, whilst recognising the flexibility of case studies to operate at both the 'macro' and 'micro' level, express their belief that it is at the latter level which is most appropriate for teacher-generated research, and add that they "have an important role to play in action research, whether for personal or whole school development" (1997: 203).[6]

Although this is not an action research project, a further consideration of the case study as an appropriate approach to be adopted for this study is the fact that it lends itself not only to a more human interpretation of events in the classroom by the teacher but may also

[4] Cf. Cohen and Manion's (1989: 125) assertion that the "present antipathy towards the statistical-experimental paradigm has created something of a boom industry in case study research" (cited in McDonough and McDonough, 1997: 203).

[5] For example, in his discussion of case studies, Nunan (1992: 83-88) uses Schmidt's (1983) three-year case study of an adult learner of ESL as an exemplary single case study.

[6] Nunan (1992: 74) is also another researcher who also views case study research in language learning as a suitable partner for action research: "the potential of the method [case study], particularly for those interested in action-based research, is considerable."

encourage greater interest within the teaching and research community due to this very human dimension. As Wallace says:

> By its nature…case study research often generates more *human interest* than generalised statistical findings. For practitioners of a caring profession like teaching, this fact makes case study research more accessible, and indeed more valuable, than some approaches. (1998: 161, emphasis in original)

In her article on second language classroom research, Larsen-Freeman (1997) makes reference to the differences between researchers' cultures and teachers' cultures citing Kagan's (1993) study of her experience as a researcher working with teachers. One of the conclusions to which Kagan came was that researchers view teaching as a rational, scientific activity from a predominantly cognitive perspective whereas teachers take a considerably different stance towards their profession. In Kagan's words:

> Each teacher's practice is driven by affective, highly personal considerations…inextricably connected with his or her personality and life experiences…In addition, teachers define the objectives of the classroom instruction as extending beyond the purely cognitive…the objectives are broader and include helping students develop self-esteem, social skills, and a healthy personality. (cited in Larsen-Freeman, 1997: 168)

Such a rationale goes a long way to explain why case studies and a range of qualitative research methods are used by those, myself included, working in education – they do so in the knowledge that they are working *with* and *within* a research design that permits personal and affective characteristics to be incorporated into their data and interpretation of that data. Both teachers *and* researchers, recognise the importance of these characteristics.

Given the participants, the context, and the questions and objectives of this study, the case study approach and the methods of data collection used enable the study to better capture the participants' 'emic' perspective. Like the researcher who will be more likely to benefit from trying to understand the teacher's perspective, so the teacher-researcher is likely to benefit from trying to understand the student's perspective. As Cohen et al. say:

> Case studies strive to portray 'what it is like' to be in a particular situation, to catch the close-up reality and 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) of participants' lived experiences of, thoughts about and feelings for, a situation. (2000: 182)

There is, then, a certain affinity between case studies, ethnography and ethnomethodology because they are all essentially concerned with 'insiders' in a particular context, with understanding how people behave within their given and natural routines.

Nunan, whilst essentially recognising ethnography as more ambitious in scope and scale, makes this point when he says case studies and ethnographies "both attempt to provide a portrait of what is going on in a particular setting" (1992: 77).

In summing up the advantages of case study research, the same author appeals to the principal advantages put forward by Adelman et al. (1976:149 cited in Nunan, 1992:78):

1. It is 'strong in reality' and therefore likely to appeal to practitioners, who will be able to identify with the issues and concerns raised.
2. One can generalise from a case, either about an instance, or from an instance to a class.
3. It can represent a multiplicity of viewpoints, and can offer support to alternative interpretations.
4. Case studies can provide a database of materials which may be reinterpreted by future researchers.
5. The insights yielded by case studies can be put to immediate use for a variety of purposes, including staff-development, formative evaluation, and educational policy making.
6. Finally, case study data are usually more accessible than conventional research reports, and therefore capable of serving multiple audiences, and the 'democratisation' of decision making and knowledge itself.

However, in choosing a research approach, it is also wise to be aware of the weaknesses, controversies and criticisms that may surround its use. The most oft-cited criticism aimed at case studies has to do with generalisabilty. As McDonough and McDonough say, "It is the intrinsic, naturalistic case study in particular that has been accused of failing to meet the conventional research criteria of generalisabilty and external validity" (1997: 216). In other words, those who would want to replicate the study would have virtually no hope of doing so given that its uniqueness is its *raison d'être*; secondly, given that cases are often just single instances, then there is "obvious difficulty of arguing from the single instance to the general" (Nunan, 1992:81). Stake counters such arguments by suggesting such hostility is evident because "Uniqueness, particularity, diversity is not universally loved" (1994: 238).

On the other hand, researchers who defend the case, such as McDonough and McDonough, feel this preoccupation with generalisability only makes sense to researchers if they are "seeking typicality or primarily concerned with theory-building" (ibid.: 216), yet as Stake points out, the "…insistence on the ultimacy of theory building appears to be

diminishing in qualitative social science" (ibid.: 238). Indeed, the very issue of generalisability is called into question by Larsen-Freeman when she states:

> I would question, however, whether generalizability has ever been attainable in classroom research…And now with our newly won awareness concerning the influence of diverse contexts and multiple contributors to research agendas, generalizing from a single study to all contexts seems an even more remote goal. (1997: 164)

Nevertheless, although many researchers and teacher-researchers carry out investigation in their particular contexts, they do not work in a professional vacuum isolated from colleagues, ideas and influences; whilst most would recognise that their research projects are unlikely to be generalisable – that is from the perspective of and parameters used by quantitative research – the majority would hope that their work can serve some purpose and contribute to a greater understanding of other classrooms. In fact, Mason, whose position I personally agree with, says that qualitative research should aim to generalise:

> I do not think that qualitative researchers should be satisfied with producing explanations which are idiosyncratic or particular to the limited empirical parameters of their study...Qualitative research should ...produce explanations which are generalizable in some way, or which have a wider resonance. (1996:6, cited in Silverman 2000:103)

Teachers and researchers, I would argue, will not be outraged if research which is relevant to their needs and contexts does not fulfil the procedures that are characteristic of quantitative research. In Larsen-Freeman's words, "Ultimately...I think we researchers would all agree that the fruits of our research should be useful outside of the particular context in which they were generated" (ibid.: 164).

It is in this spirit that Larsen-Freeman invokes Clarke's (1995) notion of 'particularizability' as a way of applying the complexity of our research beyond our own classrooms: "…it is particularizability – helping teachers make connections between the findings of research and the particulars of their lives – that we should strive for rather than generalizability" (ibid.: 164).

Given the nature and dimensions of my own research, it is this view of research that I endorse – that researchers, teacher-researchers, teachers, and mentors working with future and/or in-service teachers will hopefully find both relevance and resonance in the findings of this study.

3.3 Case study participants and context

This part of the study is where I describe the participants and the context of the research project. However, although I mention the three trainees who were the central focus of this project, they will not be 'introduced' until the beginning of the data analysis. This is because I present the data that was collected through their responses to the questionnaires, the analysis of which provides a suitable starting point from which to move further into the more important data analysis of the study.

I finished the last section by discussing the issue of representativeness in case study research, and how this is sometimes seen as a 'problem' that qualitative researchers have to justify and wrestle with. In relation to this study, I can swiftly deal with the manner in which the trainee English language teachers were chosen. In Silverman's words, "Very often a case will be chosen simply because it allows access" (Silverman, 2000:102).This was the overriding reason why I initially chose three groups of trainee teachers who were studying on the Curso de Formação de Professores do Ensino Básico, variante de Portugês e Inglês[7] course during the 2005-2006 academic year, at the Escola Superior de Educação de Leiria[8], the school of higher education at the Instituto Politécnico de Leiria, where I was, and still am, a member of staff.

Firstly, I approached both the supervising teachers at ESEL, both of who were my colleagues, and who agreed to participate in the study. One of these colleagues would be the supervising teacher of two of the groups while the other would be the supervising teacher of the remaining group. Each group had three trainees. Two of the groups were assigned their teaching placement in a school in Leiria, and the other group was assigned their teaching placement in a school in Fátima. As for access to the schools themselves, a letter from the Conselho Directivo (see Appendix 1) of my institution was sent to each school explaining that I was undertaking PhD research, and requested that I be allowed to collect a variety of data in the classrooms. I also sent a personal letter (see Appendix 1) which accompanied the request from my institution.

The three trainees placed in Fatima were all females, the trainees in one group in Leiria were also all female, whilst the other group in Leiria contained two males and one female. All the teachers were giving English classes to either 5th or 6th year pupils in the

[7] The official designation of the practicum or teaching placement is the following: Prática Pedagógica do Inglês which was part of the above course (portaria nº 474/95 de 18 de Maio).
[8] The official designation of the school was recently changed to Escola Superior de Educação e Ciências Sociais.

Second cycle of Basic Education. The group in Fátima was also giving Portuguese classes, the only trainees of the three groups who had opted to do this.

In terms of what I told my colleagues and the trainees about the topic of my research, I was forthcoming that I was doing my PhD at the University of Aveiro in Portugal, and that I was studying trainee teachers on the practicum and it was aimed at better understanding trainees' lives during this period. I felt it vital that that the topic was not made known to the participants. My reasons for this were essentially twofold: firstly, the first was the 'observer's paradox'. Labov coined this term to characterise the dilemma the researcher faces when wanting to be present among those he or she is observing. What happens is that by observing the people, these same people change their behaviour and do not act as they would if the researcher were not present. Allwright and Bailey put this dilemma in the following way:

> …if you let everyone know the focus of your investigation, then they may well try to make their behavior fit whatever pattern they think you are looking for. If you keep it a secret, they may find it that much more difficult to believe that you do not pose any sort of threat to them. (1991:71)

Secondly, trainee teachers are already under a great deal of pressure. Assessment and observation of classes are a constant part of the practicum. My presence as well as the mentors' presence was another layer of pressure for them – and the pupils – to cope with. If the trainees had known I was studying language anxiety, then my regular presence in their classes might have increased the chances of the trainees appealing to this emotion as a mitigating factor in their reflections on their own classroom performances.

Furthermore, what I refer to as the 'researcher initiated data', that is, the data I collected that was not part of the natural cycle of their practicum, would have been seriously compromised.

As for the mentors, a similar dilemma also presented itself because they were also participants in the data collection – the post-observation conferences that were audio recorded, the video recorded final meeting, and the mid-term written reports all involved their presence and recording of their practices. Although not a research objective in this study, it is quite possible that my research project also modified their behaviour and, possibly, their anxiety levels. On the other hand, awareness of my research topic might have encouraged a temptation to 'help' a colleague to collate the right data by exploring this topic, albeit indirectly.

Given a key tenet of the research design and procedure was to research anxiety through the trainees' own interpretations and orientations, rather than to ask the trainees about their anxiety, it simply was too great a risk for me to divulge what I was investigating.

However, I should acknowledge that my colleagues were aware of my previous research into language anxiety, and my Master's thesis was already in the ESEL library at that time. It would simply be disingenuous of me to think they did not have their suspicions. In other words, the mentors, especially, may have suspected what the research topic was. In researching local contexts, however, there are certain factors beyond our control.

Therefore, I was always willing to talk in an open manner about my presence and the research in general, but I never revealed the central focus. In terms of my presence in the classes, I should point out that all of the trainees had been my students on various English language disciplines in previous years. Generally speaking, I think this facilitated my access and entry into their classrooms. However, one female trainee in one of the schools in Leiria initially strongly objected to my video recording the classes and claimed that it was her image that was at stake, and that she did not want me to film her classes. Eventually, she was persuaded by her colleagues and my gradual presence in her colleagues' classes to let me film her classes.

For reasons of confidentiality, the school in Fátima will not be named. When students answered the questionnaires they were told that the information they provided would remain confidential, and in the case of any data relating to the project being published, they were informed that pseudonyms would always be used. The mentors were also informed of these factors. In essence, I tried to be open, ensure my presence was non-threatening, and to minimise concerns over what my research was about. Nevertheless, they are always risks involved, and normally these are far greater for those being researched. As Richards point out ethical issues are vital considerations:

> Good QI [qualitative investigation] discovers things about people they didn't know themselves and might not want others to know. It can hurt; a lot; and for a long time. This means that no researcher should ever duck ethical issues. (2003:139)

This is one of the reasons that I use pseudonyms throughout the empirical study and also explains why I have not named the schools involved in the study.

Throughout Part 2, I use pseudonyms for the trainees, but these are names, not numbers or letters. My rationale here is not only to protect them but also to give these participants a 'face' a 'real' identity, a more human label because they are different people with unique characteristics, and giving them a name provides the reader with an opportunity to recognise and come to 'know' each individual as they go about their business, an important consideration in qualitative research. However, for the supervising teacher and cooperating teacher, I will use ST and CT respectively, and mentors when I refer to them jointly.

Contradictory though this may seem, the reason for this is that the mentors always called the trainees by their Christian names whereas the trainees called each of the mentors 'Professora'. In other words, I maintain the scheme of honorifics used on the practicum, a small detail but one that tries to approach a faithful representation of the details of interaction from the perspective of the participants.

Before I begin to explain the research procedure, it is necessary to explain important events that significantly influenced they way this project was initially conceived. During the whole academic year of 2005-2006, I collected data from the three groups in two schools in the Leiria region. However, given the quantity of data that I was collecting this meant that I was unable to verify some of the data in detail. As I was also working during some stages of the research process, it often took me weeks before I could start transcribing certain recordings. This was to cause serious problems in terms of organisation and the quality of the corpus. To clarify this situation a little further: at the beginning of the research project I had 9 trainees. I was in the process of video recording 4 of the 10 90-minute lessons of each trainee, plus I was depending on the trainees and mentors to record the post-observation conferences of each of these lessons. In addition, I video recorded a 90-minute semi-structured interview with each group of trainees and, finally, a 90 minute stimulated recall protocol with each trainee.

One of the ideas to have three groups was that if there was a problem with one of them, then I still had two groups to provide not only a rich corpus but also a comparison within the case itself. Such a problem happened. As I began to transcribe, towards the end of the academic year, I realised that several of one of the group's post-observation conferences had not been recorded properly[9] and in some cases the audio file was non-existent. This unfortunate accident meant that I took the decision to no longer regard this group as part of the research project.

A further event that I had not planned for then forced my hand into taking the decision to drop another group from the project and focus on just one. IPL introduced a programme for encouraging teaching staff to get their PhDs, if possible by December 2009. This concern for deadlines in relation to my academic career, then, led me to ponder which group I should focus on. I eventually opted to focus on the three trainees working in Fátima for two reasons. Firstly, one trainee in the remaining group in Leiria, had given up, and I was concerned about whether another trainee could follow suit. Three students provided – in

[9] I drove to each of the schools when I knew the date and time of the POC to leave a high quality digital tape recorder with the trainees and mentors so they record their POCs. This made transferring the POCs onto the computer for the task of transcribing easier. I also usually transcribed the POCs sometime after the video recorded lesson because the Portuguese was considerably more difficult for me to transcribe.

principle at least - a richer corpus. Secondly, I also felt that the data emerging from the three trainees in Fátima was of greater relevance to my study. In particular, it seemed to me that the data emerging from the group in Fátima was tenatively pointing to the experience of debilitating and facilitating anxiety in two of the trainees, a factor which significantly influenced my choice to study the group in Fátima. A further consideration was that the three trainees in Fátima were a close group, and it looked very unlikely that one of them would give up. I did not have the same intuition with the other two trainees in Leiria.

However, one of the factors that also shaped when I could collect data from the school in Fátima was that I only received authorisation from the school administration in November 2005. At that time I had already organised to observe lessons in the other two schools in Leiria up until the school Christmas holidays so my first opportunity to begin recording lessons in Fátima only presented itself in January 2006. On the other hand, this could be viewed as beneficial to researcher and trainees and mentors because it allowed them to begin working without added pressure at the beginning of their teaching practice. In other words, it was predictable that the trainees would be under pressure and feel a certain amount of anxiety, so whilst beginning to collect data approximately three months after they had begun does not mean that trainees would not feel a sense of greater evaluation with a researcher and the video cameras in the room, it does help to avoid a possible accusation that the researcher helped to accentuate an already unstable and uncertain period for the trainees.

I acknowledge these contingencies and decisions as part of the research process that, at times, is unpredictable and messy, but which has, nevertheless, been the experience of this particular study. From this point on, therefore, unless otherwise stated, I will be referring to the participants of the group in Fátima.

Before proceeding to explain the research procedure itself, and as the trainees will be 'introduced' at the beginning of the data analysis, I think this is an appropriate moment to briefly describe both the supervising and the co-operating teacher.

The supervising teacher was 36 years old at the time when the research project started. She had graduated with a Bachelor of Arts and a Bachelor of Education from a university in Canada. She also studied a Master degree in Education at a UK university. She had 8 years experience in supervising trainees on the English practicum from the aforementioned Portuguese-English course and also had 2 years experience supervising trainees doing their practicum on the primary school (1º Ciclo de Ensino Báscio) courses at ESEL, but she had no qualifications in supervision.

The cooperating teacher was 40 years old and had an undergraduate degree in Linguas e Literaturas Modernas-Variante Português-Inglês from a Portuguese University. She

had 5 years experience of supervising trainees from ESEL doing the English practicum on the aforementioned Portuguese-English course, and had no qualifications in supervision.

3.4 Exploring the case: research procedure

This section describes how the research methodology was implemented. As I knew the object for my project, and I believed the case study to be a suitable approach in order to research it, I then began to implement the procedure.

When talking about the difficulties of trying to observe processes that are difficult to identify, Allwright and Bailey have the following to say. In this case it is both fortuitous and fortunate that they use anxiety to illustrate their point:

> There are many interesting aspects of classroom processes that are not actually observable in any very reliable or manageable way. If we want to know what makes people anxious in class, for example, then just looking at them will not tell us everything we want to know. Sometimes people do look anxious, of course, but a lot of people who in fact feel very anxious may be able to cover it up very convincingly in class. If we want to investigate anxiety, then, some other way of eliciting the data will be necessary. (1991: 4)

I tried, then, to devise a research procedure whose methodology would permit me to collect a range of data focusing on the contexts in which anxiety is likely to be a feature shaping actions, considerations, decisions and reflections. Not wanting to strictly limit myself to one of the aforementioned research paradigms of ethnography and ethnomethodology, but instead to acknowledge both of these as well as other useful perspectives, I collected data from various sources at varying times throughout the research period.

The research procedure was divided into a tripartite structure of data collection: pre-teaching practice, teaching practice (TP) and post-teaching practice data. The pre-TP data consisted of the responses to the questionnaires; the post-TP data consisted of the transcriptions of the Stimulated Recall Protocol (SRP) and the final meeting. The rest of the data was collected during the TP period itself, that is, when the trainees were still in the cycle of giving lessons and reflecting on these with their mentors. In Figure 11 below, the chronological overview of the data collection and research procedure can be seen. Table 4 contains a detailed overview of data collection methods and research objectives.

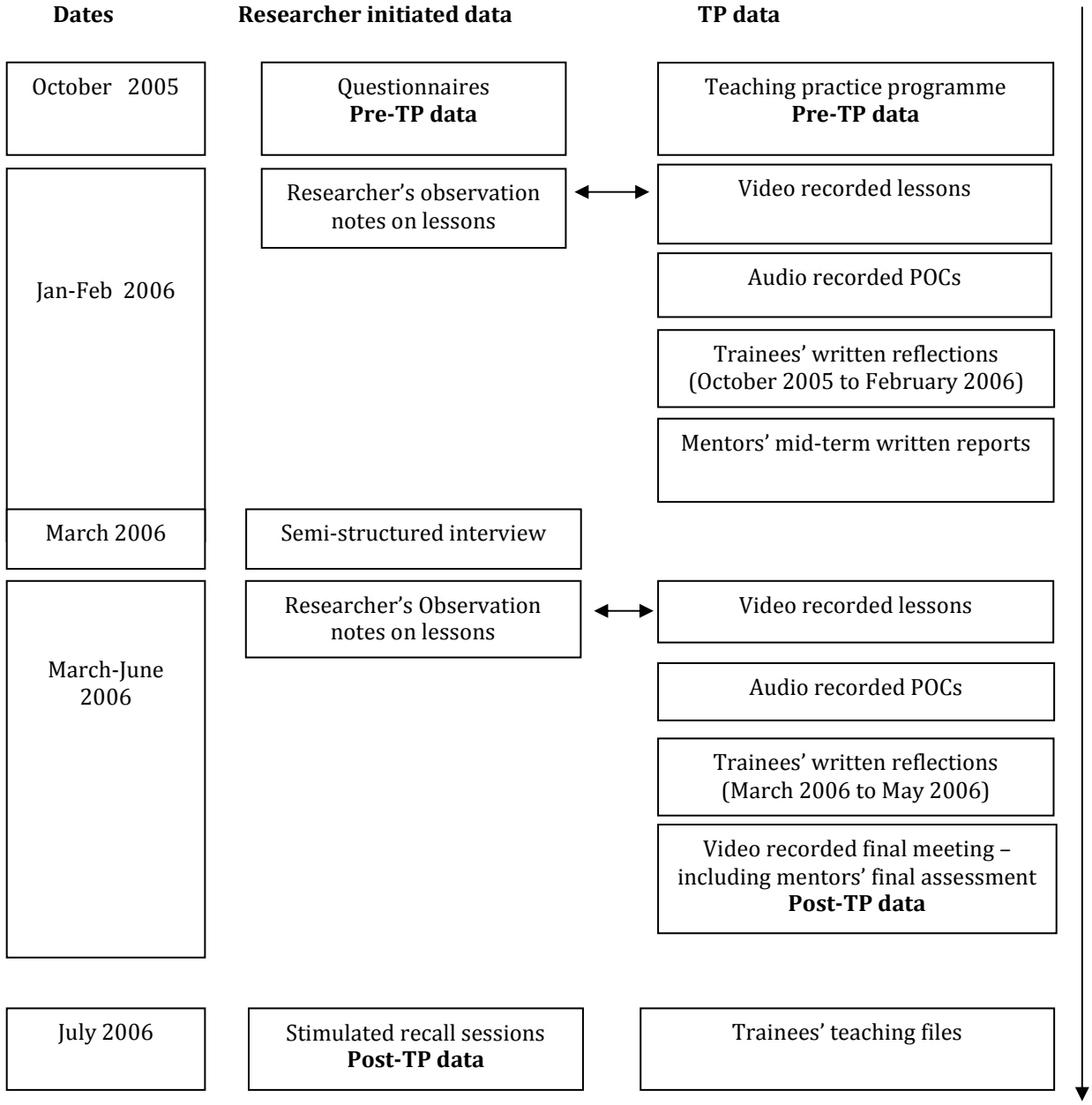

Figure 11 Overview of researcher initiated data and teaching practice data

Data collection methods/Instruments	Dates/period collected	Participants	Research objectives	Comments
Questionnaires				
a) Language learner profile b) TP pre-conceptions	October 2005 before TP had started	All trainees	To collect data to triangulate with data to be subsequently collected throughout research period To identify possible sources of anxiety prior to beginning their TP	Both questionnaires written in English although trainees had the option of responding either in English or Portuguese
Video recorded lessons VRLs				
	16-01-2006 13-02-2006	(Odete's lessons) TT/CT/ST/R TT/CT/R	To identify signs of anxiety evidenced in trainees' interaction and behaviour in the classroom To explore possible reasons for trainees' anxious behaviour To identify episodes to use for the SRPs	I could only begin to observe lessons in the school in Fátima from January 2006 as authorization to video record and observe lessons only came from the school administration at the beginning of November 2005. At that time, I had already agreed to video record and observe lessons in the two other schools in Leiria in the period leading up to the school Christmas holidays. All lessons of 90 mins duration Verbatim transcriptions carried out * See comments on POCs
	09-01-2006 09-02-2006	(Renata's lessons) TT/CT/R TT/CT/R		
	30-01-2006* 02-02-2006	(Sandra's lessons) TT/CT/R TT/CT/ST/R		

Data collection methods/Instruments	Dates/period collected	Participants	Research objectives	Comments
Audio recorded post-observation conferences POCs				
	16-01-2006 (25 mins) 13-02-2006 (30 mins)	(Odete's POCs) TT/CT/ST TT/CT	To ascertain whether interaction of POCs substantiates possible moments of anxiety identified in classes	POCs on same day as lesson Verbatim transcriptions carried out
	09-01-2006 (13 mins) 09-02-2006 (35 mins)	(Renata's POCs) TT/CT TT/CT	To identify other possible reasons for trainees' anxious behaviour in the classroom that might be revealed in POCs	POCs on same day as lesson Verbatim transcriptions carried out
	30-01-2006* 02-02-2006 (43 mins)	(Sandra's POCs) TT/CT/TT TT/CT/ST	To identify characteristics of mentors' style or interaction that may shape trainees' experience of anxiety	*POC audio-recording not available due to technical problems POCS on same day as lesson Verbatim transcriptions carried out

Data collection methods/Instruments	Dates/period collected	Participants	Research objectives	Comments
Trainees' written reflections on lessons				
	Written reflections on trainees' lessons up until the end of February 2006 given to the researcher in the SSI on 9th March. Written reflections from March until May were given to the researcher at the end of July	All trainees	To identify possible reasons for or factors influencing trainees' anxious behaviour in the classroom that are revealed in their written reflections To identify whether reflections substantiate possible sources of anxiety identified in VRCs and POCs	Reflections written and handed in to CT/ST sometime after POC for each lesson
Mid-term written reports on trainees				
	15-02-2006	All trainees	To identify whether report substantiates possible sources of anxiety identified in VRCs and POCs To consider how report may constrain trainees' thinking and/or behaviour in subsequent lessons given by the trainees	Reports jointly written by both CT/ST and each trainee received copy

Data collection methods/Instruments	Dates/period collected	Participants	Research objectives	Comments
Video recorded semi-structured interview[10] **SSI**				
	09-03-2006 (110 mins)	TT/R	To explore and better understand when and why trainees experience emotional reactions/strong opinions about certain aspects of their TP To ascertain whether there are factors that inhibit or enhance their language competence – especially spoken interaction – whilst teaching To explore whether SSI substantiates possible sources of anxiety identified in questionnaires VRCs and POCs	Verbatim transcription carried out Interview conducted in a room in ESEL with which the trainees were familiar Trainees given option to respond in English or Portuguese. This may indicate to what degree the trainees take the opportunity to speak English (are they motivated, do they feel comfortable speaking it) Written reflections completed by trainees during period from October to February given to researcher

[10] See semi-structured interview guide in Appendix 2.

Data collection methods/Instruments	Dates/period collected	Participants	Research objectives	Comments
Video-recorded lessons VRLs				
	24-04-2006 08-05-2006	(Odete's lessons) TT/CT/ST/R TT/CT/R	To consider signs of anxiety evidenced in trainees' interaction and behaviour in the classroom To explore possible reasons for trainees' anxious behaviour To select episodes to use for the SRPs	All lessons of 90 mins duration Verbatim transcriptions carried out
	13-03-2006 22-05-2006	(Renata's lessons) TT/CT/R TT/CT/ST/R		
	20-03-2006 23-003-2006	(Sandra's lessons) TT/CT/R TT/CT/ST/R		
Audio-recorded POCs				
	24-04-2006 (44 mins) 08-05-2006 (22 mins)	(Odete's POCs) TT/CT/ST TT/CT	To ascertain whether interaction of POCs substantiates possible moments of anxiety identified in classes To identify other possible reasons for trainees' anxious behaviour in the classroom that might be revealed in POCs To identify characteristics of mentors' style or interaction that may shape trainees' experience of anxiety	POCs on same day as lesson Verbatim transcriptions carried out
	13-03-2006 (13 mins)	(Renata's POCs) T/CT		POC on same day as lesson Verbatim transcription carried out No POC for 22-05-06 due to illness of CT. ST provided written feedback of the lesson to the researcher

			To identify characteristics of trainees' style or interaction that may shape their fellow trainees' experience of anxiety	
	20-03-2006 (23 mins) 23-03-2006 (8 mins)	(Sandra's POCs) TT/CT TT/CT/ST		Both POCs done on the 23-03-06 Verbatim transcriptions carried out

Data collection methods/Instruments	**Dates/period collected**	**Participants**	**Research objectives**	**Comments**
Video-recorded final assessment meeting FAM				
	09-06-2006 (90 mins)	TT/CT/ST/R	To identify whether interaction of POCs substantiates possible moments of anxiety identified in classes To identify other possible reasons for trainees' anxious behaviour in the classroom that might be revealed in POCs To identify characteristics of mentors' style or interaction that may shape trainees' experience of anxiety To identify opinions, emotions, and reactions of trainees that can be further explored in SRPs	Verbatim transcription carried out Interview conducted in a room in ESEL with which the trainees were familiar Final mark awarded to each trainee according to assessment criteria (copy of mark and assessment instrument for each trainee given to researcher)

Data collection methods/Instruments	Dates/period collected	Participants	Research objectives	Comments
Video-recorded Stimulated recall protocol sessions (SRP) [11]				
	05-07-2006 (90 mins)	Odete/R	To illicit trainees' interpretation and explanation of episodes chosen from VRCs To identify emotional or significant reactions of the trainees to the VRCs episodes To triangulate with other data collected – especially that of the VRCs and POCs To explore issues related to anxiety arising from SRP sessions	Verbatim transcriptions carried out SRP sessions conducted in a room in ESEL which the trainees were familiar with Like the SSI, trainees given the option to speak in either Portuguese or English Written reflections completed by trainees during period from March to May given to researcher
	20-07-2006 (85 mins)	Renata/R		
	05-07-2006 (83 mins)	Sandra/R		
Additional data				
Trainees' teaching files (reflections on lessons, Introduction to files) Lesson plans	Given to researcher in July 2006 Lesson plans for the weeks researcher observed classes provided in July 2006 but plans of the VR classes usually given to me at beginning of the lesson		To triangulate with other data collected To aid researcher identify moments discussed in POCs and/or comments made in researcher observation notes	

[11] See episodes selected from lessons for SRPs (Appendices 4, 5, 6), to consult the questions related to each episode, the objectives of each question. and the trainees' responses.

Data collection methods/Instruments	Dates/period collected	Participants	Research objectives	Comments
Researcher's observation notes	Taken during each trainee's lesson		To identify significant moments in trainees' practice in the classroom that can be triangulated with other data, especially the POCs To identify episodes in the trainees' classroom practice that can be further explored in the SSI and the SRPs	

Table 4 Overview of data collection methods and research objectives from October 2005 to July 2006

In keeping with the principles of ethnography and ethnomethodology outlined earlier, it can be observed that I did not intervene many times during the period covered. In fact, the questionnaires and the observation notes are relatively unobtrusive, the former being applied before they had begun giving lessons, and the latter I made while sitting at the back of the classroom. The semi-structured interview and the stimulated recall protocols, then, were the moments I thought would be fruitful in terms of being able to directly interact with the trainees in order to ensure that I could probe and question them on issues I thought to be related to the research questions and objectives.

I should add that at the beginning of the year, I asked whether the trainees would be willing to keep a TP diary in which they could record more personal feelings and reflections. While some of the trainees agreed, the group in Fátima politely refused on the grounds that they would be giving lessons in both Portuguese and English so added work was not something that was welcomed.

3.4.1 Pre-teaching practice – written data

The rationale behind applying the two questionnaires was chiefly concerned with ascertaining information in relation to the trainees' previous experience in terms of language

learning – formal and informal – and whether these could, eventually, shed any light on their attitudes and behaviour during the practicum.

Furthermore, I wanted to have a reasonable idea – at least a snapshot – of their expectations in relation to the upcoming TP. The questionnaires would give me sense of what the trainees expected. This is why at the beginning of the data analysis I present a brief analysis of the questionnaires in order to provide a short description of the participants' perspective before they started giving lessons. This is part of the process of telling the story of this research project. As Holliday says of qualitative research, "Qualitative writing becomes very much an unfolding story in which the writer gradually makes sense, not only of her data, but of the total experience of which it is an artefact"(2007:122).

3.4.1.1 Questionnaires

The questionnaires (see Appendix 2)[12], given the emphasis placed on interaction in this project, were secondary data, and applied to the trainees at the beginning of October 2005 after the groups (núcleos de estágio) had been selected and assigned to the school in which they would do their practicum.

Questions 1-4 of the 'Language learner profile questionnaire' aimed to collect information in relation to the trainees' contact with languages, what languages they had studied, where they had studied them, why they had studied these, what their level of proficiency was in each one, and how much contact they had had with other cultures. These questions and the trainees' responses to them will be presented and discussed at the beginning of the analysis in 4.1 because they allow me to present a brief profile of each trainee when 'presenting' them for the first time. In sum, the central objective of the first four questions was to better understand their openness to and contact with other languages and cultures. Questions 5-10 of this questionnaire (see Table 5) addressed their formal language learning experience. Here the aim was to probe the trainees' own experience in language classes and how their responses might provide indications of what they would like to maintain or change in the classes they would give as language teachers which, in turn, might reveal potential areas of anxiety.

Secondly, the 'Teaching Practice pre-conceptions questionnaire' was applied (see the questions and objectives in Table 6). The aim of this questionnaire was to tap into the trainees' representations about what they thought they would enjoy/dislike about the

[12] The titles given to each questionnaire were not placed on the versions applied to the trainees.

practicum, what they would find difficult, and what their strengths and weaknesses were, in other words, this was exploring possible sources of anxiety.

The questionnaires were open-ended questions as I wanted to see what information they would provide. When the questionnaires were applied, the trainees completed them without speaking to one another. If they had any doubts, they could have asked me as I was present throughout. The trainees also had the option of filling in the questionnaires in either Portuguese or English but the questionnaires themselves were written in English. Although the trainees were informed that all data collected would be treated anonymously, they were asked to place their names at the top of the questionnaires. However, such reassurance to research participants is no guarantee that those responding will do so faithfully. Oller's (1981) notion of 'self-flattery' is cited by Brown (1994a:152) to show that "Generally, testees will try to discern 'right' answers (that is, answers that make them look 'good' or do not 'damage' them), even though directions to these tests say there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers". Nevertheless, I thought the open-ended questions would at least encourage them to respond to the questions on their own terms.

The trainees' responses to the questionnaires are presented and discussed at the beginning of Chapter 4. In the next section, I will discuss the data collected during the TP.

Question	***Question objective***
What types of activities or lessons were common in these classes?	*To identify some of the notions used by trainees to characterize their language classes*
What are some positive and negative aspects of studying a language this way?	*To identify trainees' representations of positive and negative aspects of formal language classes*
How successful were you/have you been in learning these languages?	*To ascertain trainees' perceptions of their own success as language learners*
What contributed to your success or lack of success in these languages?	*To explore trainees' representations of the reasons for their degree of success in languages*
How do you feel about learning languages as a result of these experiences?	*To ascertain trainees' degree of motivation for language learning*
What would you change about language classes to make them more effective?	*To explore trainees' representations of effective/good classes*

Table 5 Questions and objectives of 'Language learner profile questionnaire'

Question	*Question objective*
What do you think your strengths will be as an English teacher?	*To ascertain representations trainees have of their strengths which may contribute to levels of confidence and/or anxiety on their TP*
What difficulties do you think you will have as an English teacher?	*To explore possible sources of anxiety identified by trainees in relation to their TP*
Do you feel prepared for the TP? If not, can you specifically identify why you do not feel prepared?	*To ascertain perceived degree of trainee preparedness and to identify what factors have contributed to this, and how these may be related to feelings of anxiety*
What do you think you will enjoy the most about your TP?	*To identify significant areas of motivation for trainees*
What do you think you will dislike the most about your TP?	*To identify significant factors that may impact on levels of motivation and/or possible sources of anxiety*

Table 6 Questions and objectives of 'Teaching practice preconceptions questionnaire'

3.4.2 Teaching practice - interactional data and transcriptions

The key data in my research came from contexts of interaction. In any qualitative research project such data is invariably transcribed, and the process of transcription is an essential part of the qualitative researcher's work enabling him or her to read, re-read, interpret, and re-interpret the data *ad infinitum*.

However, depending on the research tradition the researcher is working in, it can range from a relatively 'straightforward' transference of the spoken words onto paper to the incredibly exacting standards researchers are expected to adhere to in the conversational analysis tradition.

In terms of time and effort expended on a transcription, these factors vary enormously. van Lier (1988:241) estimates that one lesson takes about 20 hours to describe. Whatever the time spent on a transcription, it is never finished. van Lier gives the example of two researchers still making improvements to a relatively short recording several years after their first version had been completed!

Despite its time-consuming nature, Richards says, "Transcription is not a mechanical process, even though it can seem that way at times. From the time we select specific conversations or extracts for transcription, we are making decisions that bear on interpretation" (2003:199). In other words, in doing transcriptions we are already analysing data and beginning to form judgements in relation to our research objectives. Richards goes on to say that standard advice is to avoid transcribing with your research questions influencing your thinking but he also adds that this is easier in theory than it is in practice. In actual fact, he adds that there are researchers who argue the opposite case. The type of transcription and the sort of detail that one includes depends on the research needs. Ultimately, there is no 'correct' way of making a transcription.

Transcriptions, then, are not a written substitution for the recording itself, but 'theorised representations' (Atkinson 1988:454, cited in Richards, 2003:202) or, in ten Have's words:

'theory-laden' renderings of certain aspects of what the tape has preserved of the original interaction, produced with a particular purpose in mind, by this particular transcriptionist, with his or her special abilities and limitations. (1999:77)

Accepting these limitations, however, does not invalidate the essential need to carry out transcripts. van Lier (1988:238) lists some of the most important reasons when when says that:

- A transcription allows researchers to immerse themselves in the data
- Important phenomena only come to light after careful study of the data
- Other researchers can access your transcriptions and criticise your interpretations of the interaction
- The observer can step back and look at the interaction in a detached manner

As far as my own project is concerned, all recordings – audio or video – were transcribed verbatim, and continually updated and listened to repeatedly. It is difficult to estimate the time I spent transcribing, but the data I collected from the three groups doing their practicum, and which I subsequently transcribed, were carried out over an academic year with further revisions included on a regular basis[13]. One of the reasons for this is that I

[13] As I am a non-native speaker of Portuguese, I asked for the transcriptions of the audio recorded post-observation conferences, the video recorded final meeting, and some excerpts from the video recorded lessons to be revised by a native speaker. However, I am aware that the transcriptions may still contain some errors.

included a significant amount of information about proxemic and kinesic behaviour. Furthermore, given the position of the cameras at the rear of the classroom it was often difficult to discern what the pupils were saying so the teacher's speech and behaviour is much clearer than the pupils. The uncertainty of anxiety and how it is manifested also influenced my thinking on what was necessary to include or exclude. Hence, the continual revisions that I felt necessary to carry out.

All the transcriptions and transcription conventions are included in the Appendices of this study. I include information with respect to the date and duration of the recordings, who was present, the number of the intervention and who made the intervention. I also felt that a readable transcript was important so this was the reason why I opted to number each intervention as opposed to number each line. The latter being even more time-consuming was also a factor that influenced this choice. The transcription conventions I used were based on the work of Andrade and Araújo e Sá (1995), Richards (2006a), and Seedhouse (2004).

The POCs were especially difficult to describe due to the difficulties I had in understanding the Portuguese. After I had carried out the transcriptions, I than asked a Portuguese teacher to listen to the transcriptions to verify spelling checks as well as whether I had understood the correct word. After these checks were done, I then listened again to see if the updated transcript could be further enhanced by adding intonation, stress and volume. This was especially important because of the role of positive and negative boosting that I considered within the approach to politeness, and how I could begin to build up a picture of how the mentors delivered their praise and criticism.

Despite the difficulties and protracted nature of the transcriptions, I have to agree with ten Have when he says an analyst makes his or her own transcriptions because despite the tedium and monotony "it gives one a kind of access to the 'lived reality' of the interaction that is not available in any other way" (ibid.).

3.4.2.1 Video recorded lessons

The video recorded lessons are principal data and central to the research project because it was through the viewing and transcription of these that I looked for signs of anxiety in the trainees' behaviour.

As I detailed the way that the transcriptions of data gathered from contexts of interaction were described and organised in the previous section, here I will limit the discussion to the procedures I used to video record the classes.

In terms of going into the classroom to make either audio or video recordings, Richards (2003:175-176) identifies three areas of concern for the researcher in the classroom: the selection of the equipment; ethical considerations; and, finally, procedures for recording.

As I have already dealt with the ethical considerations – in terms of gaining access to the school itself, trying to reassure the participants in relation to confidentiality, and being friendly and open – so I will not go over these points again but simply say that when I was in the classroom, I also acknowledged pupils in a friendly manner, but made a concerted effort to make notes discretely, and generally be as unobtrusive as it was possible to be in the circumstances.

The equipment that I used to video record classes throughout the research period included two video cameras and tripods; to complement the video recordings I sometimes used one digital audio recorder the size of a small book.

As for procedure, I always made sure I entered the classroom with the teacher at roughly ten minutes before the lesson started. This meant that I could set up the two cameras on their tripods and place them in either corner at the rear of the classroom and not at the front. Although interaction is always reciprocal, I thought it would be wiser to avoid any possible distractions to the pupils. Also, the teachers often used resources at the front of the class such as OHPs and TV and DVD players so I did not want to impede or obstruct their work, which would only draw attention to my presence and distort the context which I was observing.

When possible, I used the digital audio recorder that I placed on a shelf at the side of the classroom to aid in understanding what was said, especially if the video-recording did not pick up the sounds clearly. I was not always able to use this recorder as it was the property of my institution and was also used by other members of staff.

When the pupils came into the class, I would already be sitting at the rear of the classroom. During the lesson if I felt it was necessary to move the camera, I would try to be inconspicuous in doing this. All the tapes of the video recorded classes were given to the Multimedia Centre in ESEL and transferred to CD format so this would make possible the viewing and transcribing of the data on computer possible.

The categories of analysis for the video recorded classes emerged from the data. These were designated 'Possible manifestations of trainee language anxiety in classroom interaction'. These are not *a priori* categories that were established before going into observe the trainee's taught classes but those that I considered to be most relevant for the case study of Odete, Renata and Sandra as I observed their classes over a period of time. However, as

some researchers have pointed out, it is somewhat disingenuous of a researcher to believe that he or she has no idea of what they are looking for. As Richards makes clear:

> There's no such thing as a completely open mind, but we can at least avoid the mistake of setting out having already decided what we want to find – if you set out to discover something, you *will* discover it. We need to remain open to different layers of explanation, and reflect on our own procedures in trying to uncover these. (2003:267)

However, whilst I do understand Richard's caveat, I have endeavoured to make the procedures by which I investigated this context both transparent and coherent. As I have indicated in the title of the grids above, these are possible manifestations of language anxiety, not manifestations. This was one of the reasons that I felt it was imperative in the context of the practicum to also collect data from other contexts, otherwise these possible signs of anxiety in the language classroom would have remained pure speculation on my part.

In terms of abbreviations used above the examples illustrating each category, the first letter indicates the initial letter of the trainee's pseudonym, the 'L' indicates this is a lesson, which is followed by the date of the lesson, and finally, if necessary, the numbers of the interventions in the transcript.

Example:
R/L/9-01 – this designates Renata's lesson on the 9th January 2006 from which the example illustrating each category is taken.

O/L/16-01/87-295 – this is Odete's lesson on the 16th January 2006 from which a part of the example illustrating each category is taken. However, to see this category in a comprehensive way it is necessary to look between intervention 87 and 295. This is because some data illustrating a particular category may be evident over a period of minutes, for example, Odete's grammar explanation lasted approximately 20 minutes.

The categories applied to the data were done so using a colour code. To facilitate the identification of the examples of each category, an explanation of the colour code can be found at the beginning of each transcription. I will now describe the categories and give examples of each of these from the trainees' classes.

(Over) use of comprehension checks

The trainee seems to be noticeably concerned with ensuring the understanding of pupils evidenced by the use of comprehension checks.

O/L/16-01

15	O	very good [turning towards class] do you understand?
16	PP	yes
17	O	I will do all my questions then she will answer my questions then we change she will ask questions and I will answer ↑ok (..) everybody understood?

Overlong grammar explanations/noticeable focus on form

In classroom interaction, the trainee noticeably focuses on grammar explanations or grammar terminology. This may involve giving explanations or asking the pupils questions on language 'usage', that is, an explicit concern with the rules of grammar.

R/L/9-01

191	R	the simple present and in the simple present what do we do to the third person?
192	PP	acrescenta-se um s

Trainee uncertainty related to unforeseen events (interaction or written)

The trainee appears to be uncertain in relation to situations that arise in classroom interaction. These situations may arise, for example, when having to deal with pupil doubts or questions which may or not be connected with the topic being discussed in the lesson. These may arise from spoken interaction or written texts.

R/L/9-01

3	R	[standing at the front of the classroom] is everybody here? [moves around the classroom] pay attention please [moves to the teacher's desk in front of the blackboard and moves things around on the desk, then looks up] may I? [continues to move things around on the desk] did you all have a nice Christmas?
4	PP	ye::s no [nearly all pupils say yes, but one pupil says no]
5	R	no ?
6	P	<IND>
7	R	[moves away from the blackboard and goes to speak to the pupil who spoke in 6] ok may I? [indicating she would like to clean the blackboard]

Resorting to Portuguese in questions, explanations and instructions

The trainee changes from English to Portuguese in order to ask or answer questions, and to explain activities to the pupils, where it could be expected that the trainee explains in English.

O/L/16-01

151	O	yes? ok [turns towards the blackboard and then turns back to face the class] ok you have the third person so you know that in the third person you have to add an s (.) ahm what what did I say? ok Kelly?
152	K	<SIL>
153	O	ok I'll explain in Portuguese vocês têm a terceira pessoa o he o she o it na afirmativa ao verbo acrescenta-se um s ou então es vocês já sabem isso?

Persistent patterns of nominating certain pupils to answer questions or explain

The trainee resorts, on a consistent basis, to asking/nominating certain pupils in the class to answer teacher questions, to give instructions of an activity or to explain an activity. The pupils may be asked to explain in either English or Portuguese.

R/L/9-01

89	R	[standing in front of the OHP] ok may I? Vanessa [waiting for pupils to settle down] João João (..) Vanessa André (..) ok now everyone pay attention please (..) have dinner with my family (.) João (.) which one did you put (-)
90	J	<SIL>
91	R	Bruno may you help him please?

Trainee uncertainty related to board work or written explanations on blackboard

The trainee appears to be uncertain about what she is writing on the blackboard, or about the content that is being discussed and/or is displayed on the blackboard.

See O/L/16-01/87-295;

91	O	[nods slowly once] it's the third person and <you usually use does in the interrogative questions isn't it?> (.) ok so [looking at the board and moving her hands over some of the words written on the board] ok when it's the third person interrogative we put does [looks briefly at the sheet she has in her hand and then turns to face the class] ok do you understand till now?
92	C	<SIL>
93	O	no? (.) [turns back towards the board] for example here you have what does Hermione like [briefly looks at her sheet again] you have this verb like [underlines it with her finger] like needs an auxiliary (.) an auxiliary verb

Prolonged proximity to blackboard and teacher's desk

The trainee spends noticeable periods of time near the area between the teacher's desk and the blackboard. This may involve positioning oneself near the blackboard or desk.

See O/L/16-01/87-295

73	O	fantasmas [turns towards the blackboard and picks up some chalk]
74	R	[Renata moves from behind the teacher's desk and goes to the back of the class]
75	P	teacher
76	O	yes?
77	P	<IND>
78	O	yes I have to explain [turns back to the blackboard and begins writing] wait a minute

Trainee distracted or not focused on classroom interaction

Here the trainee appears not to be focusing on the interaction that is taking place between the trainees and the pupils or between the pupils themselves.

O/L/13-02

10	P	=oh stora stora se o meu irmão estivesse numa escola inglesa começava com quarto anos (.) porque ele só faz anos em Dezembro
11	O	= oh yes [looking down at desk and briefly looking at and moving papers] that's right [smiling] (.) º in England it's earlier than America º [moves towards the TV which is on the right hand side of the blackboard from the pupils' viewpoint] OK [turns to face the class] NOW let's watch a film

Trainee asides

The trainee teacher either consults or is consulted by one or more of her colleagues in a manner that what is being communicated is intended to be heard only by them, and is therefore outside the normal patterns of classroom interaction.

S/L/31-01

377	S	[looks at the blackboard and goes to Renata and speaks quietly with her] is it right? [picking up the worksheet] let's see here
378	PP	não falta um t <IND> [considerable noise]
379	S	[briefly consulting with Renata again] ok why? (..) WRITING (.) ok::: we have a problem [waving her arms in the air] let's look (.) can you all look here please (.) writing one t or two ts?

Consulting notes

In this category, the trainee appears to be consulting notes – or worksheets – in order to ensure greater security in relation to the classroom proceedings. These may be consulted on the desk or by carrying notes/sheets in their hands.

192	O	it's group number ↓two (.) [to pupil who is with her at the front of the class] so you may sit down thank you [going to the teacher's desk and looking at sheets] so tell me (.) where do they want to go?

Language difficulties in English

The trainee appears to have some difficulties in English in formulating instructions, explanations, asking questions, or making errors in their speech that would, in a broad interpretation, attract the attention of a mentor or supervisor in English. These may include written mistakes on the blackboard or on other displays such as Powerpoint or OHP.

S/L/30-01

352	S	ok have you all passed it did you all pass it? yes?
353	PP	n::o (-)

Noticeably animated or varied movements around the classroom

In this category, the trainee moves around the classroom in diverse ways or in an animated manner. This may be a more constant feature of the trainee's behaviour or a behaviour that is noticeably different from the previously observed behaviour of the trainee.

R/L/9-01

31	R	ok very good (.) so she has lunch at the school canteen at one o' clock very good [walks towards another group of pupils pointing] I can't remember your names (.) João
32	J	I finish the school at half-past three
33	R	at half-past three very good [walking backwards towards the blackboard, pointing at another pupil] I'm sorry what's your name? I can't remember your name

Noticeably animated kinesic and/or verbal behaviour of the trainee

This category involves the trainee's kinesic behaviour that may include a range of gestures and body movements that appear to be particularly animated, and often occurs in clusters (see example below). It may also involve animated vocal and verbal behaviour including stress and loudness. This may be a more constant feature of the trainee's behaviour or a behaviour that is noticeably different from the previously observed behaviour of the trainee.

R/L/09-02

73	R	COme on
74	P	'a'
75	R	[points to the letter 'a' on the blackboard] come on
76	PP	já fizemos [talking amongst themselves] Vasco
77	R	COme on quickly choose a letter

Trainee's reactions to pupil laughter

In this category, pupil laughter appears to make the trainee uneasy and defensive, and often involves the trainee showing her displeasure.

S/L/23-03

23	P	<IND>
24	S	[turns to pupil who made intervention 23] it's not funny (..) [turns to another pupil sitting in the first row of desks at the front of the class] I'm not laughing (..) [moves around the class hading out worksheets] we're going to listen to it again but this time I'm going to ask you to do something different (-)

Trainee's reactions to pupil behaviour and classroom management issues

The trainee reacts to a variety of pupil behaviours which from the trainee's perspective appear to be a disruptive influence on classroom proceedings. Such behaviour may include making noise, speaking out of turn, not paying attention to the teacher.

O/L/16-01

319	O	[moves around class talking to pupils and then cleans the blackboard and then turns around to face the class] you are making too much noise [banging the desk with her hand, and then turns back to the blackboard and writes the summary of the class and homework]

3.4.2.2 Audio recorded post-observation conferences

The audio recorded post-observation conferences (POCs) are also principal data for this study. These were recorded and transcribed because of the importance of mentors and trainee interaction, and the possibility that anxiety could arise in these meetings..

The POCs were particularly difficult for me to control, and at times they were problematic because of additional hazards. If I observed one of the trainee's lessons, and the POC was done immediately after the lesson, then I could set up the digital recorder and leave the participants to reflect on the lesson, and one of the trainees or the mentors would subsequently hand me back the recorder. However, if the POC was organised at another date,

this meant that I was sometimes unable to set the recorder up. As I have already explained, this led to serious consequences in terms of lost data because some audio files were lost or not recorded.

Although I had initially considered video recording the POCs, such a data collection method would have involved a degree of logistical organisation that would have been unfeasible for me to carry out – especially at the beginning of the research period. There would have also been the issue of a greater threat in terms of the sense of being evaluated, and here I would say the threat could have been just as great for the mentors as well as the trainees, because although from the point of view of this study I see the POCs as being an interactive space where the trainees' identities, self-esteem, levels of motivation and feelings of anxiety may be significantly shaped and co-constructed, it is also a context in which the mentor is also likely to experience tensions and face difficult decisions. The invasive presence of a video camera may have drastically altered the proceedings. Although Grácio's (2002) study showed that video recordings of POCs is a feasible and worthy research exercise, I feel that in the case of my study it would have perhaps burdened the participants with a sense that they were being constantly evaluated.

All the POCs, like the video recorded data, were transcribed verbatim[14]. Analysis of the POCs used the politeness categories that were discussed in 2.9.1.2 and also considered some of the principal positioning categories that arose from these. Features of the mentors' discourse were also used to characterise their supervisory style. I have placed the mitigation and politeness strategies under the general name of emotive strategies in supervisory talk after Arndt and Janney (1985). I will now explain the rationale behind the choice of categories as well as describing and giving examples of each.

Emotive strategies used in supervisory talk

Mitigation categories and strategies

The following categories are taken from Wajnyrb's (1994) study of mitigation in supervisory talk with TEFL teachers. The examples of each mitigation strategy within each category are shown below in the colour codes which are used in the transcripts of the post-

[14] As I am a non-native speaker of Portuguese, I asked for the transcriptions of the audio recorded post-observation conferences to be revised by a native speaker. However, I am aware that the transcriptions may still contain some errors.

observation conferences (see Appendices 4, 5 and 6 for each trainee's corpus) to highlight examples of these in the mentors' talk. The name of each strategy of mitigation within each category is also colour-coded so as to make it clearly identifiable. Furthermore, the examples of the mitigation strategies have been taken from the post-observation conferences of this study. The initial letter of the name of each trainee and the date of the lesson/POC is also provided. The POCs usually took place on the same day shortly afterwards the lesson. Only one POC (Sandra's on the 20th March 2006) took place on a different day to the lesson (see Table 4).

The categories of Wajnyrb's typology are based on a tripartite distinction of mitigation categories: semantic, syntactic and indirect. For the purposes of this study, I have taken the semantic and the syntactic categories and some of the sub-categories in each of these in order to look at the way the mentors mitigate negative feedback. Wajnyrb acknowledges that utterances that mitigate may not only include examples from the first two categories but also the third category, that of indirect mitigation. However, what is of most relevance for this study is the distinction this author makes between the semantic and syntactic categories:

> The syntactic category covers mitigation that is grammaticised in to the mechanics of message construction through the syntax of the language (e.g. tense, negation, interrogation). The syntactic category covers mitigation conveyed directly through the functions of the words as signals of meaning (e.g. lexical hedges, hedging asides). (Wajnyrb, 1994:229)

The rationale behind my selection of these categories, and the mitigation strategies subsumed within these, was that they represented a reasonably broad range of strategies that had already been found in supervisor talk, albeit these derived from a study in an English-speaking country. Grácio (2002) found some of these strategies in her study of the supervisor-trainee relationship although she refers to these strategies as politeness strategies and not mitigation.

A further reason for this choice was that a limited number of strategies had to be chosen to complement the supportive positive strategies and the nonsupportive negative strategies. Mitigation was an important part of the study, but not the sole focus. Finally, a number of these strategies, as will be seen in the descriptions below, are often used in order to decrease social distance and increase solidarity between the interlocutors. Therefore, the presence or absence of these strategies in the mentors' discourse, along with the other emotive strategies chosen, may help to explain the feelings of anxiety and other emotional reactions that the trainees may experience.

As can be seen from the presentation of the examples of each strategy below, one of the advantages of using a colour code is that it illustrates different mitigation categories are often used in close proximity to each other or are even embedded within other categories.

Semantic categories

Asides

In Wajnyrb's words the "supervisor's aside signifies the wish to speak, as it were, in another voice" (ibid.:273). In practice this means that the supervisor temporarily breaks off from his/her main message to add another idea or concept. Below the four types of aside that were selected for this study are described.

Stroking asides

Essentially, this type of aside provides praise before delivering the criticism. In Wajnyrb's words, "By buffering or cushioning the teacher's ego against the critical onslaught, they bolster confidence so as to enable the teacher to deal better with the blow" (1994:278).

O/16-01

92	ST	continuando olha na aula eu penso que houve actividades diversificadas e interessantes principalmente aquela do PowerPoint ahm mas se calhar ahm a concretização das actividades nem sempre correu da melhor ↓maneira e mais uma vez O se calhar por causa destas instruções um ° bocadinho ° pouco claras e uma explicação muito elevada ao nível linguístico dos alunos (..) no step 4 que é as

Excusing asides

The excusing aside provides the trainee with a 'safety net', which effectively protects them from absorbing the full force of the negative feedback, in other words the supervisor provides the trainee with at least a partial reason as to why the event did not go as it should have done. In Wajnyrb's words, "the supervisor makes allowances for the event which has drawn criticism...with one hand they strike the blow (FTA); and with the other they administer the antidote" (ibid.:279)

O/16-01

110	ST	eu penso que vocês têm que- < o plano é o plano quando se pode cumprir cumpre-se não é? < se se não se conseguir cumprir por causa de arrastamento de actividades é uma coisa agora quando o plano não se pode cumprir porque as crianças não perceberam e há necessidade de mudar o plano (.) ↑muda-se qual é o problema ? esta actividade não se fez porque as crianças não perceberam eu não tinha isto previsto mas aconteceu portanto não estejam obcecadas > em ter que fazer exactamente tudo o que está no plano as coisas mudam consoante as necessidades das crianças <

Conceding asides

When using this aside the supervisor normally acknowledges the effort despite the unsatisfactory results, or in other words, the positive words reduce the impact of the FTA.

R/13-03

25	CT	e portanto sempre eles perceberam as regras do jogo (-) explicou bem as regras do jogo e penso que em conclusão a actividade foi do agrado dos alunos apesar de eu achar que ainda há:: ahm ↑muita agitação e ↑também é verdade eu noto que da sua parte há muito esforço para manter a ordem já na última aula o João esteve de castigo =

Deflecting asides

This aside usually marks a shift to "shared human qualities; and momentarily flattens the hierarchy" (ibid.:282). This aside is carried out through positive politeness, with the supervisor establishing shared concerns and often resorting to the first person and using instances from their own experience.

R/13-03

29	CT	estão muito barulhentos prepare-se porque o segundo período é sempre:: =
30	R	= é o calor é o tempo =
31	S	= é o calor <IND>
32	CT	hoje teve sorte porque num dia de calor à tarde como eu tenho aulas todos os dias até às cinco e meia (.) ↑é complicado (-)

Lexical hedges

Lexical hedges refer to the words chosen by the supervisor at or near the point of criticism, that is, the choice of words is used to reduce or mitigate the impact of criticism. Although Wajnyrb identifies three types of lexical hedges, this study focuses only on 'style-shifted lexemes'.

Style –shifted lexemes

This type of mitigation, as indicated above, may lead to the social distance being reduced, more specifically, it involves the use of colloquial or non-technical language to "reduce distance, increase solidarity and level out the asymmetry" (ibid.:288), and involves using positive politeness. This entails the supervisor moving away from more formal aspects of supervision and marks an attempt to move to more informal modes of talk. As Bailey (2006) remarks these "register shifts indicate that the discussion is informal and therefore perhaps not serious" (2006:177).

O/16-01

72	ST	= não mas atenção O não é só a O é muito boa gente (.) pronto é só para ter o cuidado para que os erros não sejam interiorizados pelos alunos não é ? esta do isn't it? se calhar talvez

Hedging modifiers

Hedging modifiers are used to minimise the impact of the message. In the case of this project, I have chosen degree hedges from Wajnyrb's typography. This category contains minimisers and modal verbs.

Minimisers

Minimisers lessen the impact of the message by reducing the amount or quantity of some related item, often by understating "the degree to which things are bad" (ibid.:292). In Portuguese, this will often meaning using 'pouco', 'bocado' or the –'inho' suffix at the end of words, as in 'bocadinho'. Pavlenko (2005:119), when talking about Spanish, Polish and Russian, states that these languages have "a rich system of emotive diminutives", which may be used to intensify affect. The use of 'inho' in Portuguese in contexts of mitigation might therefore be seen as not only reducing the impact of the message but also delivering it in an affective way.

O/24-04

314	S	= eu gostei da aula o plano da aula eu acho que resultava bem (.) a mesma aula se ↑ela- tivesse (.) dado mais (-)
315	CT	uhm
316	ST	dado um bocadinho mais de vida (.) mas oh O o que é que achas é que depois ficas ahm sentes-te um bocadinho mai::s inibida ficas nervosa ?

Modal adverbs

This strategy also lessens the impact of the criticism but through reducing certainty and obligation (ibid.:293), in other words, the criticism appears to be anchored in the realms of possibility and therefore the degree of imposition on the hearer is reduced. In this study the two modal adverbs identified in the mentors' talk was 'se calhar' and 'talvez'.

O/24-04

116	O	<INT> eu parti eu pelo menos parti do princípio como era uma revisão que //eles já sabiam//
117	ST	// que já sabiam//
118	O	depois verifiquei que não (-)
119	ST	mas se calhar tem que se fazer sempre uma revisãozinha

Semantic categories

Interrogatives

Wajnyrb makes the point that questions "cannot be falsified...and therefore are not a source of confrontation, debate or controversy – a feature that renders them a useful device for speakers wishing to avoid conflict" (ibid.:246). The two forms of interrogatives that have been included in this project are questions and question tags.

Questions

In terms of mitigation, questions avoid direct criticism and convert it "into an apparent inquiry"(ibid.), and can be seen as attempts at stimulating dialogue, and therefore would appear to be more in line with a less directive supervisory style.

S/02-02

52	ST	mas o que é que vai acontecer a::hm o que é que poderá acontecer de os alunos estarem constantemente a traduzir ? O que é que vocês acham ?

Tag questions

Tag questions are a common feature of Portuguese and, similarly to tag questions in English, they generally seek "cooperation rather than obedience" (ibid.:248). Fraser, in what is considered a seminal article on mitigation, states that questions tags are a "softer way of asserting" (1980:349) the illocutionary force of the speech act, whilst Holmes also says their "most general function...is to attenuate or to soften" (1984:358).

O/16-01

94	ST	ahm temos de temos de ter um bocadinho de atenção à parte da tradução que aliás já foi referido não é ? (.) que não tem que haver aquela tradução constante por parte dos alunos porque senão já se sabe que eles vão começar a não ouvir talvez a professora e começar a

Clause structure

In this category, two mitigation strategies were selected, subordination and conditionals and modals. The use of these two strategies centres on incorporating subjectivity and distance into the discourse.

Subordination

A first person verb indicating a mental process (julgo, acho, penso) at the beginning of the utterance quickly establishes subjectivity, and the utterance takes on the quality of an opinion, which allows the hearer room to express opinion or disagree. As Wajnryb (ibid.:256) says, this reduces the imposition and offers "negotiability" to the hearer.

O/13-02

238	CT	não foi suficiente (.) eu acho que tem que ser mais firme na forma como se impõe na ↓sala ahm circulou também hoje não tinha mu::ito para observar a não ser que tem que devesse ver se eles passaram bem as //frases//
239	O	//sim//

Conditionals/modals

As for conditionals, these render "the proposition hypothetical and generalised…rather than actual, immediate and personal…The distancing …effectively removes some of the sting" (ibid.:258) from the FTA, and the 'if 'also indicates the 'non-assertiveness' of the claim.

Modal verbs have a similar function and so for the purposes of this study, conditionals and modals have been placed together.[15] In supervision the use of these structures can "turn blunt directives into indirect suggestions" (Bailey, 2006:174). The use of these modals was also found by Waite (1995:41-42) to be a feature of supervisor talk.

[15] See Grácio's (2002:81-82) study where modals and conditionals are placed under the generic term 'desactualizadores'.

S/23-03

196	R	pois
197	ST	que que se eles não estivessem em círculo para jogar este joguinho se calhar conseguiam fazer TODOS em dois minutos não é ? ( ) º foi mais

S/23-03

117	CT	<INT> eu acho que poderia (.) é uma sugestão só entende? poderia ahm ahm explorar melhor a canção (.) no fundo poderia até aparecer na canção o que eles tinham que fazer para de forma a estar- ou outra cor (..) percebe ?

Person shift

The key consideration in looking at the use of the first person plural ('nós') is what Wajnyrb refers to 'jointness' (ibid.:263). This 'jointness' is evident in the use of the first person plural but, more importantly, it also signals solidarity and not distance. The supervisor is saying "you and I are both teachers" as opposed to "you are the teacher and I am the supervisor" (ibid.).

S/23-03

137	ST	sabe M nós temos a tendência às vezes eu acho que somos todos nós que às vezes há a tendência (.) para se os bons alunos respondem e rapidamente ou ouve-se em coro parece que > está tudo a correr lindamente e que os alunos perceberam < nós temos a tendência de pensar (.) bom a::hm =

Supportive positive strategies

As detailed in the last section of Chapter 2, the two other emotive strategies, besides mitigation, that I employ in this study to analyse supervisor talk are nonsupportive negative and positive supportive strategies.

The latter strategy acknowledges both personal and interpersonal face needs of one's partner, and in effect such strategies are about delivering fulsome praise to the trainee. Given that this praise often uses a combination of positive-negative clues at the verbal level and

involvement clues both at the verbal and vocal level, examples of supportive positive strategies in the POCs are highlighted if they contain one or more of these clues. However, examples of praise may contain all three. For example, in the first example below, the CT uses an involvement clue at the verbal level ('bem') to describe how the class went, but she also uses an involvement clue at the vocal level, that is, a marked fall in intonation to emphasise assertiveness (Arndt and Janney, 1985:288) and therefore boosts (Holmes, 1984) the illocutionary force of her utterance. The ST then follows the CT's comments up using involvement clues both at the vocal and verbal level.

In the second example, the CT uses all three clues to praise Odete. She stresses (involvement clue – vocal) the past tense of the verb 'adorar' (involvement clue- verbal) and then goes on to use a marked rise in intonation (involvement clue – vocal) to emphasise the adjective 'imenso' (positive-negative clue – verbal).

S/23-03

198	CT	= mas olhe eu acho sinceramente que (.) que a aula correu ↓bem tem uma forma de:: iniciar as coisas (.) que deixa os alunos à vontade e com vontade de aprender
199	ST	tem a ver com a dinâmica com a dinâmica as actividades também que motivam bastante

O/16-01

		eles estavam visualmente atractivos do interesse dos alunos utiliza personagens conhecidas dos alunos o Harry Potter que eles tanto gostam ahm (.) adorei gostei ↑imenso da sua performance na tentativa de imitar as vozes deles (.) eu não era capaz eu não era capaz =
117	ST	eles gostaram imenso

Nonsupportive negative strategies

On the other hand, nonsupportive negative strategies neither acknowledge the personal nor interpersonal face needs of one's partner. In direct opposition to the fulsome praise, this strategy employs direct criticism that is not mitigated. Like the supportive positive strategies, nonsupportive negative strategies may use both involvement and positive-negative clues at the verbal and vocal level to boost the criticism, as can be seen below in the two example.

In the second example below, from Renata's first POC in 2006 – the first that was recorded for this project – the CT uses all three clues by uttering just three words. Criticism, then, can arrive quickly and go directly to the point.

R/9-01

12	CT	↑porque as actividade não estavam de forma alguma de acordo com os seus interesses (-) (..) na comunicação da sala de aula recorre com alguma frequência à classroom routine language adequa a linguagem ao nível do conhecimento dos alunos a::hm deve esforça-se de forma a utilizar estratégias que sejam facilitadoras da comunicação recorrendo à linguagem corporal e expressividade > o que é que eu quero dizer ?< a R por feitio é uma pessoa pouco expressiva expressa-se num tom num tom de voz muito baixo de forma inibida e ↓monótona .hh portanto ao procurar estratégias mais dinâmicas e inovadoras imprime

R/9-01

8	CT	= ora bem relativamente primeiro relativamente aos planos apresentados a R adequa e aplica correctamente os conceitos essenciais da planificação do ensino do inglês .hh contudo e como disse deve reflectir melhor sobre as actividades escolhidas (-) apresentar propostas de actividades mais ↑motivadoras e diversificadas (-) ahm as actividades apresentadas são mu::ito monótonas e:: como viu permitem a desconcentração dos alunos (-) (.) pois não são incentivadoras de uma participação activa e voluntária (.) as

By using these strategies as a way to explore supervisor talk it allows us not only to think about what is being praised and criticised in the POCs, but it also permits us to explore what is oriented to in interaction, what is being marked out as important and how the trainees might be positioned and how they might respond to such interactional moves.

3.4.2.3 Video recorded semi-structured interview

The semi-structured interview together with the stimulated recall protocols were principal data and the only two methods of data collection from contexts of interaction that I initiated during the research period (see Figure 11), that is, they would not have taken place had I not been conducting research. The SSI took place whilst the trainees still had four or

five more lessons to teach, and took place half-way through their TP. The SRPs were only conducted after the trainees had finished their practicum and received their final marks.

The SSI was particularly important in that it allowed me to explore possible areas of anxiety that had been identified in the interaction of the trainees when teaching their classes, but also permitted me to explore other questions related to anxiety taking into account the discussion in Part 1.

This was a key moment that I felt had to be taken advantage of given the trainees' busy timetables, and the few moments of direct researcher intervention that were scheduled into the research procedure. Therefore, I decided to elaborate an interview guide (see Appendix 2)[16] that would allow me to explore these ideas in a structured way, but at the same time give the trainees space and time to share and follow their own ideas. In many respects, it is the classic semi-structured interview.

The SSI was conducted in a classroom in ESEL with which the trainees were familiar. I positioned the chairs in a circular fashion to reduce the feeling of an "asymmetrical relationship" (cf. Nunan, 1992: 150) and I used two video cameras. The reason for using two cameras was to ensure against losing such important data in the case of any technical problems arising.

Another important consideration, and one that I thought would also reduce the sense of uneven power distribution, was that the trainees did the interview in group. The three trainees had established what appeared to be a close relationship, and I thought they would feel more comfortable together and that the interaction with all its potential for tension, discrepancies and solidarity would be richer because of this feeling of being at ease with each other.

The recording of the SSI was then transcribed, and the process of assigning the responses into categories began, which was essentially a content analysis of the SSI (Appendix 10) carried out by placing the data into the themes arising from the underlying question variable or categories.

It is certainly commonplace now, if not almost redundant, to refer to the fact that we live in an 'interview society'. The interview is as ubiquitous in qualitative research as it is in popular culture. In the social sciences, especially sociology, the open-ended and in-depth interview is, according to Rossman and Rallis (1998:124, cited in Richards, 2003:47) "the hallmark of qualitative research" while Silverman (2000:291) says "I suspect that the choice of the open-ended interview as the gold standard of qualitative research is pretty widely

[16] The Semi-structured interview guide can also be found in Appendix 2.

spread." Indeed, Silverman goes on to hint that an over-reliance in qualitative research is 'ironic' in that it "respects a division of labour preferred by quantitative researchers", the irony being that quantitative research "focuses on objective structures" while the task of qualitative researchers is to "give 'insight' into people's subjective states" (ibid.:292).

The following words from Silverman on this 'division' are important because they are especially resonant for this project:

> The unfortunate consequence of this division of labour is that both approaches neglect a great deal about how people interact. Put more strongly, both kinds of research are fundamentally concerned with the environment around the phenomenon rather than the phenomenon itself. (Silverman, 2000:292)

This has been one of the abiding features of LA research with its over-reliance on interviews and self-reports, to paraphrase Silverman, it has concerned itself with the environment around the phenomenon not the phenomenon itself, in other words, and as I have emphasised throughout this thesis, most LA research has looked at what people *say* about the problem as opposed to looking at people behaving and interacting in their language classes, and trying to explore anxiety in that context.

However, as my project focused on the classes and the post-observation conferences, there was a danger that I was inverting this problem, that is, I may have been concentrating too much *on* the phenomenon itself and not considering what could be said around the problem.

Despite the data I was collecting from the various events of the TP, the emerging interrelationships that I saw as developing into possible claims would not have made sense without talking to the trainees themselves.

This is why I deemed it imperative to carry out the interview and the SRPs. I also wanted the trainees to talk *around* the phenomenon itself. Without their voices, my project and claims would be poorer and have less validity. The SSI was, then, a key method in data triangulation. As McDonough and McDonough say: "Interviews may be used as the primary research tool, or alternatively in an ancillary role, perhaps as a checking mechanism to triangulate data gathered from other sources" (1997: 181).

However, it is important to point out that researchers should be aware of simply taking participants or the interviewees' words at face value. Mishler (1986:7), for example, refers to interviews as "as form of discourse between speakers", a join-construction of meaning, whilst in the area of TESOL, Block alerts researchers to the notion that what most

"readers encounter...is presentation of data plus content analysis, but no problematization of the data themselves or the respective roles of interviewers and interviewees" (2000:757). Block says the responses may be considered *veridical or symptomatic*, the former being taken as responses from well-meaning individuals that are seen as reliable, whereas the latter are interpreted by the analyst as being "more about the research participant's relationship to the topic and the interview context than about the topic being discussed" (ibid.:758).

In this respect, Richards's words here are also of great relevance:

> Everything we say, and the way we say it, is affected by our relationship with the people we're talking to, the circumstances in which we speak, relevant past experiences, things we might have already said, and so on. If we ignore all this in analysing an interview, we fly in the face of our everyday experience. (2003:87)

Question-related variable (s)	**Questions/sub-questions**	**Question (s) objectives**
Trainees' perceptions of teacher images	How does it feel to be a teacher? How does it feel to be at school on a regular basis? Do you feel part of the staff – like a professional in the school? What about with the English teachers?	To explore trainees perceptions of themselves as trainee teachers and what factors and images they associate with being a teacher To better understand any tensions they may feel as a result of these perceptions
Moments of emotional significance for the trainees	Can you tell me one or two significant moments that have had an impact on you during your TP up to now?	To explore any moments /events that may have contributed to positive or negative emotional experiences from the trainees' point of view
The quality of relationship with their pupils	Do you think you have established a good working relationship with your pupils?	To assess the extent that the trainees consider themselves to have established a positive working relationship with their class
Constraints and inhibitions that trainees may think are evident on the TP	Do you think you are able to show your true potential as teachers on the TP?	To better understand factors that the trainees perceive as being inhibiting or facilitating during the TP
Vision of trainees as perceived by more freedom and lack of constraints of TP	Let's imagine that this was your own class – how would things be different? Do you find that some things restrict you at the moment?	To explore specific classroom practices on the TP that trainees would change To better understand factors that trainees may consider inhibitive in their TP

The significance of the post-observation conference for trainees **The trainees' perceptions of any differences between mentors' styles and discourse**	How do your supervision feedback sessions benefit you? Sometimes you have these sessions with both CT and ST and sometimes just the CT. Is it different?	To explore features of POCS that trainees orient to as being significant To explore similarities and differences – of mentors discourse that trainees perceive as beneficial or unhelpful
The benefits or drawbacks of institutional course for their TP and careers	How do you think your course over the last three to four years has contributed to your TP? Did you feel prepared for your teaching practice?	To better understand features of degree course that trainees' consider as positive or negative influences on their level of preparedness and classroom practice on TP
Trainees' perceptions of whether pupils enjoy classes and how they learn	What do you think pupils enjoy about your classes? Do you think they are learning English in your classes? When you see they are participating what sort of activities are you doing in class?	To identify features of classroom practice that trainees perceive pupils to enjoy To better understand trainees' perceptions of factors that demonstrate pupil learning To ascertain trainees perceptions of activities that are likely to facilitate pupil participation
Trainees' perceptions of factors that facilitate or impede pupil interaction in English	Have you succeeded in getting your pupils to interact in English? When do you actually decide to speak Portuguese?	To explore features of classroom practice that may inhibit interaction in the classroom To better understand trainees' perceptions of why they code switch from English to Portuguese
Degree of anxiety and other emotional factors that may influence trainees' interaction in the classroom	How do you feel when you speak English in the classroom? Do you feel comfortable? Do you feel more control when you speak in Portuguese?	To better understand trainees' perceptions of their degree of comfort when interacting in English
Identification of significant factors for trainees that may inhibit classroom practice	Are there times when you feel frustrated in the classroom?	To identify possible difficulties and sources of anxiety identified by trainees
Trainee perceptions of differences between being a trainee and qualified teacher	What do you think will be the main differences between being a trainee teacher and being a fully qualified teacher?	To explore trainees' perceptions of the differences that exist between trainee and qualified teachers and how difference identified may influence classroom practice
Areas of significance for trainees to improve	You are half-way through the TP now. Can you choose one or two areas in which you would like to improve over the next four or five lessons?	To better understand significant areas of concern and possible sources of anxiety for trainees in their classroom practice

Degree of anxiety and motivation related to the anticipation of giving lessons	When you enter the school and know you are going to give a lesson are you looking forward to it or are you still thinking how is this going to go?	To identify trainees' perceptions of levels of anxiety and motivation in anticipation of teaching lessons
Trainee identification with preferred language	You are doing the Portuguese-English course. At the end of the course if you had to choose one of these which would you choose?	To better understand any factors – emotional or otherwise – that may underlie choice of preferred language to teach

Table 7 Relationship between main variables[17], questions and objectives of the semi-structured interview

3.4.3 Teaching practice – written data

The 'teaching practice written data' consists of secondary data written by the trainees, mentors and researcher during the TP period. It consists of three types of data which is detailed below.

3.4.3.1 Trainees' written reflections on their taught lessons

The trainees' written reflections on their lessons up until the end of February 2006 were given to the researcher in the SSI on 9th March. The written reflections from March until May were given to the researcher when the SRPs were carried out at the end of July.

As far as this data is concerned, it is necessary to point out here that the trainees' written reflections on their taught classes were likely to have been influenced by prior interaction with the mentors. These were put on paper and delivered to the mentors sometime after the post-observation conferences. This sequence means that the mentors' discourse would have, in all likelihood, strongly influenced the content of the reflection. Furthermore the written reflections were placed in the 'Teaching file' (see 3.4.5) which, in principle, could be consulted by the mentors at any given time, and could be used as supporting evidence in the overall assessment of the trainee, although the file itself was not directly assessed. However, whilst secondary data and far less important than the data collected from the contexts of interaction, it does make sense to collect data that may

[17] All the themes emerging from the variables and the trainees' discourse exemplifying these themes can be consulted in Appendix 8. The analysis and discussion of the data emerging from the SSI is the central subject of section 4.3 Mid-term blues or half-way to paradise?

eventually shed light on other data or provide different perspectives. As Silverman says, it is possible to see research as "one of many kinds of puzzle-solving among a set of activities like doing jigsaws, completing crosswords or solving crimes" (2000:68). My chief interest is how the trainees may represent their experience, feelings and actions in the classes through their own accounts albeit shaped by mentor discourse, and how this may be related to or reveal signs of anxiety. This was also the only regular written data I was able to collect from the trainees. As mentioned earlier, at the beginning of the research period, I had asked the trainees to keep a TP diary, but the group of three students who gradually became the sole focus of this project reluctantly declined as they were preparing and giving classes in both English and Portuguese.

Ultimately, the reflections were data from the cycle of the TP and therefore available, and it seemed somewhat short-sighted of me not to at least consider them.

3.4.3.2 Mentors' mid-term written reports on trainees

In accordance with the official programme of the discipline 'Prática Pedagógica' for 2005-2006 (see Appendix 9), one of the meetings that would have to be scheduled between 30th January and 17th February 2006 was the 'Reunião Intercalar' consisting of a formative assessment of a qualitative nature. This meeting was held approximately half-way through the TP and consisted of the trainees giving a self-assessment in the presence of both the supervising and the co-operating teachers who, in turn, then read out their written report which was given to the trainees to read and sign.

Due to institutional commitments, I was unable to be present in the meeting itself, but did request a copy of the written report, which I considered a significant document in that it provided an interpretation of the mentors' views of the trainees' progress as well as an indication of qualitative assessment. Furthermore, it contains guidance on where the trainees could improve. The report, therefore, was seen as important to collect as it might validate my own observations on the trainees' performance as well as pointing to future areas where the trainees felt they had to invest and improve in, consisting, conceivably, of possible sources of anxiety.

3.4.3.3 Researcher's observation notes on video recorded classes

The 'researcher's observation notes are important secondary data that refer to the notes I took when observing the trainees' classes. I designate the notes that I made in each

trainees' classes as 'observation notes' rather than 'field notes' because of the following reasons.

Firstly, it was important for me to be in the class itself and to form my own impressions of potential moments, patterns of interaction or events that might be indicative of LA or which might impact on the trainees' performance by bringing into play anxious feelings. Watching a video recording is not the same as having been there when the recoding was made. Furthermore, and of particular significance in terms of validity through triangulation, I would be able to relate and compare my own observation notes with the other sources of data throughout the research period. Of special interest were the comments made in the post-observation conferences (POCs). If either the mentors and/or trainees oriented to and discussed the features that I had noted down during their classes, then I could at least begin to see that other teachers with experience were noting the same patterns and, just as important, the possible underlying reasons for these.

Secondly, an important aspect of the these observation notes was that when I made notes on what I thought to be particularly significant moments, worthy of further observation and attention, I made an accurate reference against my notes in relation to the time registered on the display panel of the video recorder. Taking into account the original dimensions of the project and the number of the video and audio recordings that I had to view and transcribe, this was an essential time-saving device that allowed me to locate the episode in question more quickly than would have otherwise been possible.

A further reason was simply to have a register of my thoughts that I would be able to revisit in the face of intervening events and the passing of time. In addition, as I mentioned above when describing how I video recorded trainees' classes, I passed on the video recordings of each lesson – in tape form – to the Multimedia Centre in my institution so they could transfer each recording to CD format therefore making the viewing and transcription of the lessons an easier task. Therefore, it was not always possible to view the recording of the class again for at least a week. The observation notes were therefore important.

Finally, a combination of the video recordings of the lessons and the observation notes meant I could begin to identify episodes of the trainees' classes and/or issues related to these that could be further explored through the questions I would ask them in both the semi-structured interview (in the case of lessons given up to the beginning of March 2006) and the stimulated recall protocols (all lessons given because the SRPs were carried out in July).

3.4.4 Post-teaching practice – interactional data

The 'post-teaching practice – interactional data' refers to the final assessment meeting between the trainees and the mentors, which was video recorded, and a video recorded stimulated recall protocol session which I carried out with each of the trainees. As we can see in both Figure 11 and Table 4, these were the last interactional data that was collected in the research period. These two key moments of the research project are principal data that allowed me to triangulate with the other data sources.

3.4.4.1 Video recorded final meeting between mentors and trainees

The final meeting was an important stage in the research procedure. Firstly, and as explained above, it was not thought to be a sensitive or sensible data collection method for me to be present in the post-observation conferences. Although I had initially considered asking to be both present and to video record these conferences, I eventually decided against it, considering a combination of subtle resistance and too higher a degree of influence on the 'observer's paradox' as prices not worth paying. Such a decision was largely based on the notion that these supervisory conferences are, as Grácio (2002) notes, usually conducted behind closed doors, an interactional space where the sensitive issues of criticism and praise are at least maintained within a given group, and relatively safe from outside eyes.

However, after considering my request to be present in the meeting, both the mentors and trainees agreed to me being present and video recording the proceedings. This was a significant concession and opportunity. My thinking here was that given it was the final official meeting between the mentors and the trainees, then both parties would know that the assessment, had been decided prior to the meeting, and hence the same constraints that may have shaped the POCs, might not be so evident in this meeting, in other words, there may be a sense of having less to lose which could facilitate greater openness. Indeed, the fact that it was the final time that all participants would be together (that is, in a scheduled meeting of the discipline), it was hoped that there would be substantial and significant reflection and comments – by all participants – on the developments of all trainees over the previous academic year. Another train of thought was that, it would, perhaps, provide a little insight into how video may have provided valuable data the audio recorded POCs could not, especially the non-verbal behaviour of participants.

Another important consideration was that any noteworthy comments and/or significant moments of interaction could be related to previous data and so help to select the

episodes for the yet to be realised stimulated recall protocols (SRPs), which would be conducted approximately four weeks after the final meeting.

The final meeting took place on the 9th June 2006 in a classroom in ESEL that was chosen and arranged in terms of space by the supervising teacher. Four tables were put together in the middle of the room, and the mentors sat on one side of the table and the trainees on the other. The video camera was positioned on a tripod at approximately a metre's distance away from the table, so it had a side view of the participants, and was not directly facing any of them. I had entered the room before the participants and was seated on a chair next to the camera, and did not participate directly in the proceedings. Occasionally, I also discreetly made notes. Although, the co-operating teacher asked me whether I wanted to make any comments at the end of the meeting, I politely declined, but gave no reason. I still had to carry out the SRPs with the trainees and felt that any contributions on my part could taint the SRPs in two ways: firstly, by fomenting trainees' expectations in relation to the content and my possible reactions when conducting the SRP sessions; secondly, if this was the case, this would help to strengthen the overall validity of the research design.

The final meeting was analysed using a narrative structure. Although it was clear that mitigation and politeness strategies were being used by the mentors, I felt that this meeting was not a post-observation conference, and although there were similarities, I believed that an analysis of the key moments of the meeting – short stretches of the participants' talk – would perhaps capture the perspectives of both the trainees and the mentors as they reflected on what they had jointly constructed during the practicum.

At the end of the meeting, I was given a copy of each trainee's final mark attributed by the mentors using the assessment instrument of ESEL. The final mark is the last document in each trainee's corpus (see Appendices 4, 5 and 6).

3.4.4.2 Video recorded stimulated recall protocol meetings with trainees

The stimulated recall protocols were the last principal methods of data collection to be implemented. Along with the semi-structured interviews, the SRPs were the two occasions[18] incorporated into this project where I directly interacted and questioned the trainees about their experiences both in and outside the language classroom during the practicum. This was deliberate in the sense of aligning the project with a combination of the

[18] Here I am referring to the methods of data collection that were conceived as part of the overall research procedure before data collection began. I do not include here informal moments with the trainees such as chance meetings in the staffroom in the school where the teaching placement took place.

principles of both ethnography and ethnomethodology that were discussed earlier in this chapter. If I wanted to minimise direct researcher intervention and collect data centred on the words and actions of the participants themselves, then my direct intervention as a researcher had to be calculated and coherent.

Given that one of my concerns with implementing a suitable procedure to investigate LA in a significantly different manner from what has generally gone before in terms of methodology and epistemological assumptions, this restraint in terms of my direct participation with trainees translated my researcher role as one closer to observing participant as opposed to participant observer. Using Cohen et al.'s words, my overriding concern, then, was "with an understanding of the way in which the individual creates, modifies and interprets the world in which he or she finds himself or herself" (2000:7).

However, a competing, and significant, concern for me was that the trainees might not orient to or engage sufficiently – whether directly or indirectly – with the study's central concern with anxiety. In some respects, then, I was concerned with the inverse of the problem Silverman talks about with respect to an overreliance on interviews, that is to say that there may have been a risk in the research design where I was neglecting what people, to paraphrase Silverman, 'say around the problem', and focusing too much on how they interact.

Therefore, like the semi-structured interview, the SRPs not only allowed me to question the trainees about significant moments or episodes – *selected a priori* – from their lessons, and therefore get their interpretation of these moments but they also allowed me to probe issues or comments emerging from the SRPs that had not been identified a priori. In other words these two moments provided me with the opportunity to explore the episodes or issues which I considered of particular relevance to the questions of the study. In addition, I could also take the opportunity to ask the trainees more general questions arising from the SRPs, but that might not have been directly related to the episodes.

Before going on to describe the actual rationale of SRP methodology, I would like to detail how I organised these sessions.

The dates of the SRPs were agreed with the trainees at the end of the final meeting on the 6th June 2006. My preference was to do all the SRPs on the same day with each trainee being invited into the room as the previous one was leaving so as to avoid the exchange of comments between them. However, it was only possible to conduct the SRPs in this manner with Sandra and Odete whilst Renata's SRP was conducted two weeks later (see dates on Table 4) due to her personal commitments. All the SRPs were conducted in the same room, which was spacious, had natural light, and was in a relatively quiet part of the school in order to avoid interruptions or background noise. The episodes selected for the trainees to view

were shown on a laptop computer positioned on top of a desk which meant both the trainees and I were close to the images and that I could replay and go to the selected episodes on the various CDs containing the recordings of the lessons. Each trainee and I sat side-by-side. The episodes were not separate but still part of the recordings of each lesson, so this meant that I had to find the correct place on the CD which was made easier because I had previously marked the times of the episodes. I had also decided upon a selection of questions. Given my interest in trying to establish patterns of interaction in the classroom that may be indicative of LA-influenced behaviour, quite a few of the questions were similar for each trainee. As referred to above in the discussion of the case study, although part of its central appeal to those working in education is its capacity to describe the particular in rich detail, I did not simply want to analyse a collection of disparate signs of individual anxiety. It seemed, and still does, important to explore and attempt to explain issues that are of interest within and beyond the case.

To implement the SRP, two video cameras were positioned in front of the desk. Given the importance of this part of the study, the detailed organisation that it involved, and the fact it was my only chance to conduct these sessions, I opted for two cameras in case of any unforeseen technical difficulties. The two recordings of each of the SRPs were then taken to ESEL's Multimedia Centre to transfer to CD so this would make the task of accessing and transcribing the SRPs easier. The transcription of the SRP session and the section of episodes (containing a description of the selected episodes, researcher questions, objectives, and responses) are documents 6 and 7 respectively in each trainee's corpus.

In the transcriptions of the SRPs, I have colour-coded the episodes when the researcher and the trainee watch a part of the lesson selected for viewing and to subsequently comment on. To facilitate the process of identifying the episodes in the SRP transcription, the episodes are highlighted and alternate between yellow and green for the first lesson and grey and light blue for the subsequent lesson, and are organised in chronological order. For example:

Episode 1A is the first episode selected from the first lesson and is highlighted in yellow.
Episode 1B is the second episode selected from the first lesson and is highlighted in green.
And so on.
Episode 2A is the first episode selected from the second lesson and is highlighted in grey.
Episode 2B is the second episode selected from the second lesson and is highlighted in light blue.
And so on.

The selected episodes for SRPs are presented in the following format with the intervention number (s) from the lesson transcript from which the episode is taken indicated beneath the episode. For example, the episode below selected for Renata's SRP is taken from Renata's lesson on the 9th January 2006. The intervention number of the lesson transcript is 3.

Lesson 1 - 9th January 2006

Episode/ no of intervention in lesson transcript	Brief description of Episode selected	Questions/comments related to episode selected	Objective(s) underlying question	Renata's responses
1/A 3	At the beginning of the lesson Renata asks the pupils if they had a nice Christmas. Most pupils respond in the affirmative but one pupil says no. Renata replies with a 'No' terminating with rising intonation, possibly demonstrating her surprise, but does not ask further questions related to Christmas	Did you think that this was an opportune moment to have gone forward and had a little bit more conversation with them?	To ascertain whether Renata was reluctant to engage in more spontaneous interaction and whether this was related to anxiety/ the avoidance of uncertainty	When we have a plan we know that we have to do everything…if I didn't do the plan and I was talking about Xmas maybe it's not a good explanation

Table 8 Episode selected from lesson for stimulated recall protocol

In their discussion on SRPs in second language research, Gass and Mackey (2000) define this method in the following way:

> Stimulated recall is one subset of a range of introspective methods that represent a means of eliciting data about thought processes involved in carrying out a task or activity. The assumption underlying introspection is that it is possible to observe internal processes in much the same way as one can observe external real-world events. Another assumption underlying introspection is that humans have access to their internal thought processes at some level and can verbalise those processes. (2000:1)

In education, including SLA contexts, this has translated into asking students and teachers to comment on certain aspects of their behaviour – both verbal and no-verbal – at particular times or over certain stretches of the classes. Nunan opines that "Such a technique can yield insights into the processes of teaching and learning which would be difficult to obtain by other means" (1992:94). Reitano in his discussion of SRP suggests that neither detailed

observations by a researcher nor rich data obtained from interviews between researchers and teachers are effective tools "in the disclosing of interactive decision making of teachers in action" (2006:2). Hence the increased use of SRP amongst educational researchers, including research carried out in Portugal (Bento, 2000; Grácio, 2002).

In terms of orienting and implementing SRP, Faerch and Kasper (1987, cited in Gass and Mackey, 2000, 48-50) classify SRPs in the following ways:

1. The researcher or subject may initiate questions or recall interactions; the researcher may stop or start the recording to be viewed; the participant may do this; or there may be a sharing of this control.
2. There may be strong or weaker support for helping subjects to overcome any difficulties.
3. Procedural structure may be higher or lower, that is SRPs may be structured in terms of guides and questions or open-ended with interaction arising from the viewing itself.
4. Researchers may have more or less training in SRP procedures.
5. The time elapsed between the event and recall may be immediate or delayed.
6. Finally, the degree of specificity may range from the concrete to the abstract. for example, rather than asking learners "Can you remember why you go to the desk now?" the researcher may ask "What strategies have you used this week?"

Gass and Mackey then provide a range of recommendations, the most salient being the following: try to keep participants on track and in the 'there and then' rather than the 'here and now' (2000:52); longer periods of time may lead to controversy in terms of claims the researcher makes, so as a general rule dictum 'the sooner the better' should be followed; the researcher should preferably use back channels or non-responses such as *oh*, *uhm, I see*, *ok*, *right*, or, in Gass and Mackey's words "try to be a 'warm body', not a conversational partner" (ibid.:60), the logic being not to influence the cognitive processes of the subject. However, the constraints often involved in carrying out research, do not always allow for the luxury of avoiding the pitfalls of not keeping this advice.

In terms of this project, I did attempt to be a 'warm body', once the trainees began speaking, although the number of questions in relation to the time available meant that I had to direct questions more than I wanted to. Also the detailed organisation needed to carry out SRPs meant that the only real opportunity I had to carry out these sessions was at the end of the academic year. Such constrictions led me to use a highly structured guide and to also start

and stop the selected episodes. However, the trainee could always ask me to play it again or make comments as and when they wanted to. I also attempted to use silence in order to delay moving too quickly on to the next episode.

Despite these constraints, I still felt that it was an important part of the research procedure for the trainees to have the opportunity to view their lessons and respond to my questions.

3.4.5 Additional data: trainees' teaching files

The trainee 'Teaching files' consisted of the following documents written by the trainees: firstly, the written reflections which have already been discussed; secondly, the 'Introduction' and 'Conclusion' to the files[19]; thirdly, the lesson plans[20] for the weeks in which I observed classes. As I noted in Table 4, the lesson plans for the weeks in which I was present were given to me by the trainees at end of the SRP sessions in July and placed on a CD with the rest of the teaching file. However, when I was present in the classroom to video record and observe their lessons, the trainees usually provided me with a copy of the lesson plan on paper. The lesson plans were used in mainly two ways: firstly, to get an overview of what types of activities the trainees were doing in the classroom; secondly, to help me identify what was being talked about in the POCs. This was because the gap between the lessons I observed and when I had the opportunity to listen to the POCs or get access to the transcript was sometimes a number of weeks.

The trainees' files were collected in an ethnographic spirit as complementary but secondary data that could be of potential use in furthering my understanding of the trainees' point of view. Silverman cites Alasuutari's (1995) metaphor of research and qualitative analysis as akin to a detective story "where findings and (and even topics) are only gradually revealed" (2000:243). Whilst I do not claim to be writing a detective story, I would say that to ignore data available, although not central to one's research focus, might involve neglecting possible, and insightful, relationships between the data.

The research procedure and the data collection instruments used in this project were designed and implemented in order to give me access to a wide range of data that would help

[19] Odete included the introduction and conclusion in her file; Sandra included only the conclusion whilst Renata did not include either of these documents.

[20] The trainees only provided me with the lessons plans for the weeks in which I observed their lessons. The trainees usually gave two lessons per week in their scheduled lessons for the practicum. This meant I received 8 lesson plans for Odete and Renata, but only four for Sandra. This is in accordance with the dates I observed their lessons.

me identify and explore the trainees' experience of language anxiety. As I have indicated, the principal sources of data were collected through the interactional contexts whilst the secondary data were obtained through the written texts produced by the trainees and the mentors, and the official programme of the practicum (see Appendix 9).

In the following chapter, I move from the research procedure and its underlying rationale to the data analysis in an attempt to show how the methodology employed enabled me to make certain claims about the questions surrounding my study.

Chapter 4. *Data analysis: exploring anxiety*

> There are times in our lives when learning is intensified: when situations shake our sense of familiarity, when we are challenged beyond our ability to respond, when we wish to engage in new practices and seek to join new communities.
> (Wenger,1998:8)

In this chapter I move from the theoretical and methodological considerations that inform and underlie the research procedure to the heart of the empirical study itself, that is to say the focus is now on the trainees and the degree to which language anxiety was part of their emotional experience during the practicum and whether the data collected and analysed allows me to answer the research questions established at the beginning of the study.

The organisation of the analysis moves forward in a chronological manner and the focus of each section of the chapter is the analysis of the principal data collected through the methods referred to in Chapter 3. The choice to move forward chronologically is an attempt to trace the degree to which the trainees' feelings and thoughts changed, or appeared to change, as the practicum progressed. Furthermore, certain moments during the teaching practice were deliberately chosen in an attempt to gauge the representations and 'emotional temperature' of the trainees at these times, and to explore and better understand some of the factors that may have contributed to these feelings.

As I have already noted, the data collection procedure was divided into a tripartite structure of 'pre-teaching practice', the 'teaching practice' itself, and the 'post-teaching practice', and the analysis essentially adheres to this structure, beginning with the analysis of the data obtained through questionnaires applied in the 'pre-teaching' phase, and ends with the analysis of data collected through the stimulated recall protocols that took place in the 'post-teaching' phase.

However, it is vital to emphasise that although the structure of analysis proceeds in this manner, this does not imply a simplistic linear attempt to chart the unfolding of the trainees' emotions and representations of their experiences. On the contrary, emotions are processes that ebb and flow in relation to numerous factors – both internal and external – and emerge and are shaped by interaction with others, an ecological view that sees emotions as organic features of our lives and not as stable states with clear cut boundaries and straightforwardly identifiable effects on our behaviour.

In this sense a significant part of the trainees' experience on the practicum is likely to involve the emotional fluctuations that normally arise in the intense period of the teaching practice. From this perspective, Planalp's words are illuminating:

> Powerful feelings are not so much a sign of trouble as a way of keeping up the pressure to understand an emotionally charged experience and reconcile it with other beliefs about the world and ways of living. (Planalp, 1999:5)

From the point of view of the trainees, then, possible feelings of language anxiety may well be related to their attempts to make sense of a range of factors – including tensions, difficulties, and degrees of success and motivation – that they face during this period.

Another important factor to emphasise in relation to the analysis is that although I do focus on the principal data collected in each period, I also relate and connect data collected though the principal methods to each other as well as to secondary data. As Richards says, "Analysis depends on identifying key features and relationships in the data" (2003:273). Given the perspective of emotions that I have outlined, it simply would not make sense to analyse data collected though certain instruments in isolation from other data sets. In this way, the data analysis assumes a holistic perspective that attempts to explore LA by capturing the continuing and complex relationship between past, present and future.

The sequence of analysis is as follows: questionnaires; lessons and post-observation conferences up until the mid-term break in the middle of February; the semi-structured interview that took place between the mid-term assessment and before the trainees began to start giving lessons again; the lessons and post-observations from March until May; the final assessment meeting; finally, the stimulated recall protocols. In the next section, therefore, I shall begin by looking at the questionnaires.

4.1 About to get started: thinking back and thinking ahead

This section is essentially based on the responses of the trainees to the questionnaires (see Appendix 2 for the format in which the questionnaires were given to the trainees). One of the considerations of the questionnaires was that they should be general enough to give me an idea of potential areas of interest for my study, but at the same time clearly avoid giving the trainees ideas about the object of my study, in other words I did not want the questionnaires to raise suspicions about my main research topic which could eventually influence them to adapt their behaviour according to their expectations of what I was observing.

Given that I had been the teacher of Odete, Renata and Sandra for two years when they were frequenting the disciplines of English at ESEL, this idea of getting to know them may sound somewhat superficial, but it was important for me to reacquaint myself with them because I would be visiting and recording some of their classes on a regular basis, and I wanted them to feel as comfortable as possible with the idea of me as a researcher being present in their classes. I had always had a good working relationship with all three, and wanted to ensure that this would continue.

The two questionnaires had distinct objectives. Firstly, the 'Language learner profile questionnaire' aimed to obtain data about each trainee's contact with other cultures, their level of proficiency in languages, and where they had studied these languages and why, that is, a brief overview of their language learning history. A further objective of this questionnaire was to obtain the trainees' representations of their formal language learning experience, how this had impacted on their attitudes towards language learning, and what they would change about language classes to make them more effective, thereby, perhaps, revealing possible sources of anxiety.

The second questionnaire is what I term the 'Teaching practice preconceptions questionnaire', which shifted the focus of the questions from the trainees' past and their previous experience as language learners to their very near futures as language teachers, the aim being to identify and explore responses that might be related to anxiety. For example, were they motivated, apprehensive, or worried about particular areas of the TP?

As I mentioned in 3.4.1.1, the answers to the first four questions of the 'Language learner profile questionnaire' were used to put together a brief 'learner profile' of each trainee, so these could be used to 'introduce each trainee'. The first four questions of the questionnaire can be seen below:

Name:
Age:
Sex:
Nationality:

- Countries permanently lived in and dates (for example: Germany from1982 to 1989):
- Any extended visits or stays (1 month or more) in countries other than Portugal (for example, Erasmus
  student in Hildesheim, Germany, 6 months in 2002; three-month trip to US in 2003):

1. Which languages have you tried to learn up until the present time? Please write them in the spaces provided below. Please indicate which language you consider to be your mother tongue.

(**Mother tongue**) _____
_____
_____
_____
_____

2. Please state how proficient you are in each of these languages in writing and reading and speaking and listening. Use the levels "Basic" (B), "Intermediate" (I) and "Advanced" (A) to indicate your proficiency in **each skill** in **each language** (for example, French: listening (A);Speaking (I); Writing (I); Reading (I)) :

3. Where did you study these languages (in a foreign country, at a state school or a private language school), what time in your life and for how long? (For example, French in the 2º Ciclo or English from the 2º Ciclo until now, also in a private language school from 15 to 18 years old)

4. Apart from compulsory education where these foreign languages were part of the curriculum, what were your reasons for studying these languages? (For example, my parents made me go to a language institute, I wanted to learn this language because I had family/friends who lived in France/Germany/Italy etc)

Up until the present time, I have been referring to the main participants and focus of this study as 'the trainees'. It now seems an appropriate moment to give 'names' to the trainee teachers who I accompanied and studied throughout the 2005-2006 academic year. The descriptions below of each trainee are based on their responses to the first four questions of the 'Language learner profile questionnaire'. It is hoped these brief profiles will begin the process of building up a picture that will contribute to an understanding of their experiences and enable the reader to focus more closely on the data presented throughout this chapter.

Odete

At the beginning of the research project in October 2005, Odete was 29 years old, the oldest of the three trainees. She stated that her nationality was Portuguese. She was born in Germany and lived there for 14 years before returning with her parents to Portugal. The only extended stay in another country outside of Portugal was that of her residence in Germany. She refers to her mother tongue as German and listed the other languages she had tried to learn up until her return to Portugal in the following order: English, French and Portuguese. She evaluated her own proficiency in listening, speaking, reading and writing in each of the above languages within the broad bands of Basic, Intermediate and Advanced as follows:

English	French	German	Portuguese
Intermediate/Advanced in all four skills	-Intermediate in all four skills	-Advanced in all four skills	- Advanced in all four skills

Table 9 Odete's self-assessment of proficiency in languages

When Odete started primary school, she began studying German, and at this time she also began to study this language at a private language school. She studied English at both state and private language schools from the age of 10 until 14 years of age. She studied French from the age of 12 until 14 in both state and private schools whilst Portuguese was described by Odete as the language of family. When citing reasons – apart from compulsory education – for learning these languages, Odete, refers to her love of languages ("I love languages") and her aptitude for learning them but also refers to their usefulness in "our everyday lives" and that they will always be needed.

Renata

In October 2005, Renata was 26 years old. She stated that her nationality was Portuguese. She was born in Zimbabwe in 1979 and returned to Portugal with her parents in 1988. She mentioned a three-month holiday in France as the only extended visit in another country other than Portugal and her time in Zimbabwe. She refers to English as her mother tongue, with German and Portuguese – in that order – being the other languages she had tried to learn up until that time. She evaluated her own proficiency in listening, speaking, reading and writing in each of the above languages within the broad bands of Basic, Intermediate and Advanced as follows:

English	German	Portuguese
Advanced in all four skills	Basic in all four skills	-Advanced in listening, speaking and reading -Intermediate in writing

Table 10 Renata's self-assessment of proficiency in languages

Renata started learning German in the 10th 11th and 12th years of secondary school in Portugal. She refers to the fact that she has always learned English – either as a language she has been exposed to at home or as an academic discipline whilst Portuguese she began to learn, in a formal context, when she returned to Portugal. She says she wanted to learn

Portuguese because she came to Portugal when she was 9 years of age and that she wanted to learn German because "I liked the language".

Sandra

Sandra was 23 years old, the youngest of the three trainees. She stated that her nationality was Portuguese. She was born in Canada and lived there for 11 years before returning with her parents to Portugal in 1994. She referred to one-month stays in both the USA and Spain, and a two-month stay in Switzerland as extended visits to countries other than Portugal and her residence in Canada. She refers to her mother tongue as Portuguese and listed the other languages she had tried to learn up until that time in the following order: French, English, and German. She evaluated her own proficiency in listening, speaking, reading and writing in each of the above languages within the broad bands of Basic, Intermediate and Advanced as follows:

English	French	German	Portuguese
-Advanced in all four skills -Intermediate in writing	-Advanced for listening -Intermediate in speaking, reading and writing	-Advanced in listening and reading -Intermediate for speaking and writing	- Advanced in all four skills

Table 11 Sandra's self-assessment of proficiency in languages

Sandra began learning French in nursery school until the age of 10 whilst she had studied English since nursery school. Sandra studied German in the 3rd cycle and secondary school in Portugal and in a private language school for 2 years. When citing reasons – apart from compulsory education – for learning these languages, Sandra says that she always liked to hear German being spoken and this was the reason why she went to a private language school.

Perhaps the first thing that stands out is that the three trainees were all born in countries outside of Portugal and that, broadly speaking, their experience is somewhat representative of Portuguese children born in a foreign country who then return to Portugal with their parents at a relatively early age. Without getting into the complex arguments and issues surrounding what constitutes a first and second language, I think it is reasonable to identify Odete, Renata and Sandra as bilinguals, the latter two Portuguese-English bi-linguals, and Odete a Portuguese-German bi-lingual. Odete considers her mother tongue to be German,

which might be attributed to the fact that she returned to Portugal when she was 14. On the other hand, Renata returned to Portugal when she was 9, but still considers English to be her mother tongue, perhaps because English was used at home. Sandra returned to Portugal when she was 11 and refers to her mother tongue as Portuguese.

In terms of formal language learning, Odete has had classes in German, English, Portuguese and French, Renata in German, English and Portuguese, and Sandra French, English, Portuguese and German. Although there may have been permutations in what languages they used to speak with parents, brothers and sisters, and friends at home or outside home, the language of home appears to have been predominantly Portuguese.

As far as their levels of competence in these languages are concerned, there is a considerable variety. However, given their circumstances as children of Portuguese parents living in a different country, it is no surprise to see the trainees self-assessing both their Portuguese and the respective language of the country in which they and their parents were living as advanced. Only Renata assesses herself below advanced in Portuguese and that is in writing. As for English, Odete rates her competencies in all four areas as advanced/immediate, Sandra as advanced apart from writing, and Renata advanced in all areas.

The reasons for these self-assessments are likely multiple and complex, yet what I think is evident is that in terms of language learning experience, all three trainees appear to have a rich background in terms of exposure to different languages – more so Odete and Sandra. As for English, all of the women would appear to be advanced or near-advanced learners – as would be expected of future English teachers – and especially of future teachers with bi-lingual backgrounds and significant exposure – either formal and/or informal – to the English language. Tempting though it may be to intuitively attribute sound levels of confidence and low anxiety to such levels of competence, this does not necessarily mean, as was discussed in Part 1, that anxiety is absent from teachers' interactions and behaviour in the language classroom.

Now I will discuss the trainees' responses to questions 5-10 of the 'Learner profile questionnaire' (see Table 12) before going on to discuss their answers to the 'Teaching practice preconceptions questionnaire' (see Table 13).

In their responses to these instruments of data collection, only Odete chose to write all her answers in English. Renata wrote some of her answers to the language learner profile in English and others in Portuguese whilst her answers to the Teaching Practice

preconceptions questionnaire were all written in Portuguese. Sandra wrote all her answers to both questionnaires in Portuguese.

As will be seen later, the questionnaires do point towards significant representations that Odete, Renata and Sandra had of themselves, and which would become increasingly important notions in terms of their images as English teachers as the practicum progressed. This would seem to suggest, therefore, that the questionnaires did in fact tap into areas of interest for the objectives of this study.

Question	**Question objective**	**Teacher trainee response**		
		Odete	**Renata**	**Sandra**
What types of activities or lessons were common in these classes?	To identify some of the notions used by trainees to characterize their language classes	Expositive lessons, games, debates, writing to pen friends	Traditional lessons. The teacher spoke and the students would listen and then do a worksheet	Ler e falar
What are some positive and negative aspects of studying a language this way?	To identify trainees' representations of positive and negative aspects of formal language classes	Positive aspects – you know a bit of what concerns this foreign language (politics, history, literature…) Negative aspects – I can't find any	It becomes boring, you don't learn anything because you don't practice speaking. I don't think there are any positive aspects because if you don't have the chance to practice when you are learning, you will never be able to speak it well	Não é muito motivante para os alunos, pois as aulas devem ser mais criativas para os alunos
How successful were you/have you been in learning these languages?	To ascertain trainees' perceptions of their own success as language learners	I have already worked in some places where I have to use languages	Na aprendizagem do Alemão não foi muito, porque deixei de aprender Alemão no 12º ano e Português ainda estou a aprender muita coisa	Tem sido mais ou menos pois como não se pratica acabamos por nos esquecemos
What contributed to your success or lack of success in these languages?	To explore trainees' representations of the reasons for their degree of success in languages	Speaking with different kinds of persons because it improved my English and my way of speaking	What contributed to my lack of success in German was because of the way it was taught. It became boring.	Quando gostamos de uma coisa torna-se mais fácil aprender
How do you feel about learning languages as a result of these experiences?	To ascertain trainees' degree of motivation for language learning	I feel great. I love languages, they're always very useful	É muito interessante aprender novas línguas. Tentar perceber as diferentes culturas.	É muito bom para nos como jovens, pois podemos comunicar com outros povos
What would you change about language classes to make them more effective?	To explore trainees' representations of effective/good classes	More dynamic classes	I would make them more dynamic, interesting and would give the students a chance to speak in class	As actividades, acho que há muito para ser feito. Os alunos devem ter prazer nas aulas, devem gostar de aprender e isso é a função do professor

Table 12 Relationship between questions, objectives and trainees' responses to 'Language learner profile questionnaire' (questions 5-10)

First of all, the types of activities selected to describe lessons they had in the past were most varied in Odete's case, Renata stressed the traditional, and Sandra simply referred to the two competencies of reading and writing in a very general way.

As for identifying positive and negative aspects of these activities, Odete seemed to emphasise culture with a big 'C', whilst Renata highlighted the negative, inferring that learning is achieved by speaking, and not by the traditional type of lessons she herself had experienced in her own language learning. Lastly, Sandra focuses on the pupils by saying lessons should be more motivating and creative for the pupils. In terms of success in learning these languages, Odete, again, seems to stress the positives of learning languages by referring to employment where she has had to use these. Renata refers to an unsuccessful attempt at learning German and also refers to that fact that she is still learning a lot about Portuguese. Sandra refers to the importance of using the language in order not to forget it. In considering what contributed to their success or lack of it in learning these languages, both Sandra and Renata address the importance of enjoyment and motivation in being successful although Renata specifically attributes her lack of success to boredom, whilst Odete puts her success down to coming into contact and speaking with other people. As for their feelings about learning languages as a result of their experiences, Odete stresses her passion for languages as well as their usefulness. Despite some of their reservations about the lack of creativity and interest in their formal language learning, Odete's colleagues, Renata and Sandra, also underline the positives of language learning, referring to learning about other cultures and being able to communicate with people from other cultures respectively. Finally, in the case of the learner profile questionnaire, the final question draws answers from each trainee that are remarkably similar in content. Both Odete and Renata think language classes should be more dynamic if they are to be more effective, and Renata adds they should be more interesting and give students a chance to speak in class. Sandra believes much is still to be done and that students should like their classes and enjoy learning, which, she says, is the role of the teacher.

For future teachers of English about to start their practicum, then, these are ideas and considerations concerning their previous language learning that may influence their thinking. However, as we noted in the previous chapter, the gap between what a person says they do may be significantly different from what they actually do in practice. Nevertheless, the idea of this questionnaire was to elicit information on potential sources of anxiety by eliciting

representations of what types of lessons they valued and disapproved of based on their own previous experience.

Question	Question objective	Teacher trainee response		
		Odete	Renata	Sandra
What do you think your strengths will be as an English teacher?	To ascertain representations trainees have of their strengths which may contribute to levels of confidence and/or anxiety on their TP	My speaking and my dynamism.	Ser capaz de perceber e falar a língua inglesa. Ser capaz de conseguir dar "a volta" quando vejo que um aluno não está a perceber sem recorrer ao português.	Saber falar inglês e gostar de comunicar com as crianças.
What difficulties do you think you will have as an English teacher?	To explore possible sources of anxiety identified by trainees in relation to their TP	To find out what the kids really enjoy because it's so difficult to motivate all the students.	Não utilizar a língua portuguesa, porque normalmente quando falamos inglês e vemos que a pessoa não está a perceber, automaticamente falamos em português. Conseguir cativar os alunos que não gostam de inglês.	Tenho medo de eles não gostarem das minhas aulas mas vou fazer o meu melhor.
Do you feel prepared for the TP? If not, can you specifically identify why you do not feel prepared?	To ascertain perceived degree of trainee preparedness and to identify what factors have contributed to this, and how these may be related to feelings of anxiety	Yes, I do feel prepared.	Não porque não temos contacto suficiente com o inglês, tirando as aulas de inglês que acabam no 1º semestre do 3º ano. Não nós é dada qualquer indicação prévia de como é que havemos de abordar as crianças. A única cadeira que nos dá algumas "luzes" e MEI, mas é mais teórica.	Sim.
What do you think you will enjoy the most about your TP?	To identify significant areas of motivation for trainees	Dealing with children of different ages and teaching a foreign language to them	Ver as crianças a descobrir uma nova língua e a interessarem-se por continuar a aprender.	Ver as crianças aprender o que eu ensinei, e saber que vou fazer aquilo que gosto, que é ensinar.
What do you think you will dislike the most about your TP?	To identify significant factors that may impact on levels of motivation and/or possible sources of anxiety	It's too much pressure and hard work because as it is a foreign language you have to teach and to motivate children by doing dynamic and enthusiastic things all the time	Ver que há crianças que não gostam do inglês e são obrigados a aprendê-lo. Penso que deve ser da opção de cada um. Há crianças que são mais maduras que outras, é tudo uma questão de maturidade.	Nada.

Table 13 Relationship between questions, objectives and trainees' responses to 'Teaching practice preconceptions questionnaire'

Now I will look at the trainees' responses to the 'Teaching practice preconceptions questionnaire'. I will focus on each trainee's responses to all the questions in order to provide a more detailed idea of their thinking. Firstly, I will look at Odete's responses.

One of the links between Odete's responses to her previous language learning and the upcoming TP was the quality of being dynamic. Odete identified her own strengths as an English teacher as her speaking skills and dynamism, while the difficulty she envisaged for herself would be finding out what the pupils really enjoy as she said it was difficult to motivate all students. She wrote that she felt prepared for her TP, and that the aspect of her TP that she would enjoy the most would be dealing with children of different ages and teaching them a foreign language. However, her last response expressed a concern with the levels of pressure and hard work needed by foreign language teachers to constantly motivate the pupils by implementing 'dynamic and enthusiastic things all the time'.

Sandra's responses were direct and to the point, perhaps indicative of confidence about what she felt, someone not weighed down by expectations of what the practicum held, or, perhaps, not willing to show that she had certain concerns. The categories in which she wrote more than one word all contained references to pupils/children. On describing what her strengths as an English teacher would be, she chose to mention that she knows how to speak English and communicate with children. As for the difficulties, Sandra refers to being scared about the possibility of the pupils not enjoying her lessons but says that she will do her best. Seeing children that she had taught learn, and knowing that she was going to do what she enjoys – teaching – were the ideas expressed by Sandra in response to the question about what she will enjoy most about the TP. She put 'nada' in response to what she will dislike most about the TP.

I have chosen to discuss Odete and Sandra's responses first because after discussing Renata's responses to the Teaching practice preconceptions questionnaire, I will discuss some of the key representations that both Odete and Sandra include in their introductions to their 'Teaching file' (Appendices 4 and 6 respectively) [1].

In contrast to her colleagues' answers, Renata's responses reveal more specific and, perhaps, considered concerns. For her strengths, Renata refers to her language ability like her colleagues but is more explicit, that is, she speaks of her ability to speak and understand English with the added benefit of being able to go around 'problems' without resorting to Portuguese when she sees that a pupil does not understand. Yet, in the next answer, she describes the difficulties she will have in not falling back on Portuguese because she says that when 'we' see that someone does not understand English the automatic reaction is to speak Portuguese. This may sound somewhat contradictory but may be a simple recognition that her competence in English, very useful in many situations, may be constrained by classroom

[1] Renata did not include an introduction in her teaching file.

decisions, namely the difficulties of pupils understanding English, two sides of the same coin for bilingual teachers. In addition, like her colleagues, Renata mentions the pupils but points to the difficulties that she may face in captivating those who do not like English. What she says she will enjoy most about the TP is seeing the pupils discover a new language and maintaining their interest in learning it. In relation to feeling prepared for the TP, however, Renata hints at dissatisfaction with the curriculum of the course given the last discipline of English was in the first semester of the third year, and that they were not given any indications of how to work with children, though she does mention some suggestions in English methodology classes although she sees these as being mainly theoretical. In answering the final question, she makes the point that there are pupils who do not like English and are obliged to learn it, and suggests that it should be up to the pupils to decide if they want to learn, depending on their maturity.

Here, then, were the first data showing broad similarities – in terms of wanting to work with children and seeing them learning a foreign language, wanting to make their classes dynamic and motivating for children – but also specific concerns in relation to what difficulties or areas of concern might lay ahead for them. Based on these questionnaires, I would suggest that what are emerging from the trainees' responses are some of their representations of what factors make up 'good' foreign language learning and teaching, including the role of teacher and considerations of the pupils' needs and that these would appear to be partly based on their previous language learning experience and their expectations for their own teaching practice.

Although it would be unwise to state that such representations make up sources of anxiety, it would also be imprudent to dismiss them as irrelevant, and at the beginning of the research period they did begin to hint at areas that could be of particular interest for my study. Indeed, notions such as being dynamic and making sure the pupils enjoyed the lessons became central to the trainees' perceptions of themselves, and were intimately related to how they perceived their progress on the practicum.

Taking into account these responses to the questionnaires, the four tables (14-17) below illustrate 'possible' sources of anxiety for the trainees[2]. If the role of the teacher, needs of the pupils and certain important features of foreign language classes were absent or not sufficiently evident in their classes, then perhaps these could be seen as possible sources or signs of anxiety. The lack of practice and knowledge mentioned by Renata, could also be seen

[2] The letter(s) in brackets in the tables indicates the initial of the first name of the trainee (s) who refers to these ideas which have been interpreted as possible sources of anxiety.

as a potential source of anxiety because being placed in a situation where one feels the lack of certain skills and knowledge may lead to insecurity and anxiety.

Role of teacher	• Not being dynamic (O, R) • Not making learning enjoyable (S) • Difficulties in communicating with pupils (S) • Difficulties in not avoiding Portuguese in English classes (R)

Table 14 Possible sources of trainee anxiety related to the role of the teacher

Needs of pupils	• Lack of creative activities (S) • Pupils not enjoying classes (S) • Pupils not having chance to speak in classes (R) • Difficulties in knowing what pupils really enjoy (O) • Not captivating the pupils who do not like English (R)

Table 15 Possible sources of trainee anxiety related to the needs of pupils

Important features of foreign language classes	• Classes need to be dynamic and interesting (O, R) • Foreign classes constantly need motivating activities (O) • Classes need to be creative (S)

Table 16 Possible sources of trainee anxiety related to important features of language classes

Level of trainee preparation for TP	• Lack of practice in English before TP (R) • Lack of knowledge about how to work with pupils of this age group (R)

Table 17 Possible sources of trainee anxiety related to level of trainee preparation for TP

I will now briefly discuss the introductions to their 'Teaching files' written by Odete and Sandra. These files were given to me by the trainees in July 2006, and, as I referred to in Chapter 3 when discussing the written reflections (see 3.4.3.1) and the 'Teaching file' (see 3.4.5) itself, consisted of their introduction and conclusion to the files, their written reflections, and lesson plans (see corpus of each trainee, Appendices 4, 5, and 6).

At this moment, therefore, I would like to add further to the picture of Odete and Sandra obtained through the questionnaires by briefly referring to their written introductions to the aforementioned files. It might well have been the case that these introductions were written sometime after the TP had started, especially in the case of Odete as she says in the introductory text that she had already placed materials, plans and reflections in this file. They are, nevertheless, interesting in terms of how they refer to their experiences and how they may have approached the beginning of their practicum.

Sandra's introduction starts with a quotation from Paulo Coelho: *Quando se tem um objectivo na vida, ele pode ser melhor ou pior, dependendo do caminho que escolhemos para atingi-lo, e da maneira como cruzamos este caminho.* She then moves on to her own personal choices and has this to say: *A vida é feita de escolhas, que nem sempre, são fáceis de tomar. Tendo isto em mente, reflecti bastante antes de entrar por este caminho.*

The rest of the introduction, however, is an affirmation of this choice characterised by a sense of agency evidenced by her choosing the teaching profession as the professional path she will follow. The text is an optimistic one, and only briefly refers to being sad and tired so she can write about being cheered up by the children. She writes about the how the teaching profession has brought her happiness and that the teacher's role is by no means a simple one. In Sandra's own words: *A meu ver, ser professor é mais do que uma simples profissão, é uma mistura de profissões, que têm como objectivo acarinhar, educar e, por fim, ensinar.*

After stressing the affective nature of teaching, Sandra then goes on to say that the power of words can help the people along the path of knowledge. Her last words in the introduction on what it means to be a teacher are the following: *Porque ser professor com P grande, é ter em si o dom de comunicar.*

Here, then, Sandra aligns herself with the representations of a teacher who has a gift for communicating, is affectionate and helps pupils along the road of learning.

Odete's introduction also started with a quotation, a Portuguese popular saying: *A pressa é inimiga da perfeição*. As opposed to Sandra's positioning herself as someone who had reflected on the choices she had made prior to the teaching practice, Odete refers to how the above saying encapsulates the combination of mixed emotions that characterise the will to be successful in life and to carry out her teaching practice in the best way possible: *a ansiedade e vontade de vencer na vida e de realizar este Prática Pedagógica da melhor maneira possível.* She then says that only life will be able to teach and show her that what she wants will have to be earned, and that in order to achieve our objectives, a great deal of patience and a sense of calm will also be needed. Odete speaks of the TP as a completely different world to that she had been used to, but that the 2nd cycle of basic education is fascinating and the children charming. She also writes that it is lovely that 'our' work is being appreciated by the pupils, and for that reason she is ready to continue even when life does not always go well because there's always a brighter day.

Unlike Sandra, whose focus is more on what it means to be a teacher, on the big goals or the mission to be achieved, the central idea in Odete's introduction imparts a sense of struggle, that there are difficulties ahead. Indeed, Odete's concern with teaching experience or lack of it, which she referred to at certain times throughout the practicum, was a notion

that was employed to explain her difficulties, and perhaps her anxiety. Likewise, Sandra's identification with the image of a teacher with a big 'T' as having the gift to communicate came to be an important feature of how she perceived herself and how others perceived her, and also pointed to possible sources of anxiety in that she might want to live up to this important notion.

The questionnaires and these introductions give some sense, if only a snapshot, of what terms, notions, comparisons and representations the trainees were using at that time. The questionnaires opened up potential avenues to explore during the research period whilst the introductions – along with the written reflections and conclusions – give some insight into how the trainees reflected on their taught classes.

The introductions, like everything in the teaching file, however, were likely constrained by certain factors, and at this point it is worth developing this point. In chapter 3, I expressed my reservations about the written reflections as these were handed in after the post-observation conference (POC) which meant they were likely influenced by two broad factors: firstly, the actual reflections that had taken place between the mentors and their colleagues in the POCs; secondly, and in the light of the POCs, the trainees are projecting an image of themselves in the written reflections as acknowledging and accepting what the mentors had said. Informing these two factors to a significant extent, then, is the sense of assessment and trainees' concern with their final mark. I would also argue that it is not just academic assessment in the narrow sense (a concern with their final mark) but also 'social' assessment by their mentors, what Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope describe as the "apprehension arising from the learner's need to make a positive social impression on others" (1986 :31).

I still think, however, that these are data in their own right, because although the documents in the 'Teaching file' were written in the knowledge that they would probably be read by their mentors, they still could, in my view, reveal significant details and information that could be connected to other data. I will, therefore, be referring to these throughout the empirical study in relation to the lessons on which they were reflections.

It seems a suitable point, then, to move away from the trainees' responses to these questionnaires, and the potential sources of anxiety they suggested, and move forwards into the central focus of the empirical study to consider whether the trainees' experience of the practicum would reveal and involve language anxiety, and if this was the case, how such an experience could be better understood.

4.2 Teacher anxiety part 1 – living up to whose expectations?

> Identity, whether group or individual, is never merely a matter of assuming or assigning a label; it is something that is formed and shaped through action.
> (Richards, 2006a:3)

> …o sentimento que me "assaltava" era negativo e de desânimo total, dado que a dificuldade não reside na preparação da aula, ou em "desbobinar" a aula, mas sim, em dar energia e motivação aos alunos de forma a cativá-los e a reter a sua atenção, o máximo de tempo possível.
> (Odete, written reflection on her first lesson, 1st November, 2005)

> Após a reflexão, o meu sentimento era de tristeza, visto que me dediquei de tal maneira à aula e no final não fui bem sucedida.
> (Renata, written reflection on her first lesson, 24th October, 2005)

> …ao deparar-me com o olhar daquelas crianças, toda a insegurança sentida antes da actuação, se transformou numa certeza inquestionável do que gostaria de fazer na minha vida profissional.
> (Sandra, written reflection on her first lesson, 17th October, 2005)

This section of the study deals with the period of the practicum in which the trainees gave lessons until the 16th February 2006, essentially the mid-way point of the teaching practice (TP)[3], and a convenient hiatus in pedagogical activity. The mid-term break allowed me to organise the semi-structured interview[4] (SSI) and provided me with two periods which would be useful to compare, the trainees' first and second block of lessons. The lessons and the post-observation conferences (POCs), then, were the central focus of both periods, and constituted two of the key contexts of data collection of this study from which the data collected, it was envisaged, would help to explore any feelings of language anxiety (LA) that the trainees might experience.

Indeed, from the perspective of this study these two interactional spaces have an almost symbiotic relationship in terms of data analysis. In other words, if the trainees' lessons had not been observed, video recorded and transcribed, the reflections of the POCs would have still been of interest but could not have been related to possible signs of LA identified in the trainees' teaching. On the other hand, not having access to the data collected from the POCs would have meant this study not only lacked a vital source of triangulation through which to explore the signs of LA in the classroom, but also that a significant potential source of anxiety and influence on the trainees' teaching could not have been considered. Here, I am

[3] The mid-term assessment meeting (a reunião intercalar) was held on the 15th February 2006.
[4] The semi-structured interview took place on the 9th March 2006. The trainees started to give classes again on the 13th March.

referring to the mentors' discourse and the sense of evaluation – both academic and social – that is inherent to the POCs.

Before I focus on LA in the classroom, I briefly examine the trainees' first written reflections in order to give some indication of how they were representing their first experiences before I began observing and video recording their lessons.

Then I examine the possible manifestations of trainee anxiety in classroom interaction identified in the data, namely the transcriptions of the lessons, the researcher observation notes, the POCs and the written reflections.

Although I explore and relate different data in order to provide a holistic picture of trainee LA, after I discuss the manifestations of LA I make a brief comment on the proportion (Le, 2007) of talk in each trainee's POC in order to see who spoke and for how long. The cooperating teacher was present in all of the POCs whereas the supervising teacher was not. I therefore think it is relevant to consider how much each participant spoke, what differences existed between the POCs attended by only the co-operating teacher and those attended by both the mentors, and whether this might be related to the trainees' experience of anxiety. As will be seen, in certain POCs the amount of talk, along with what and how things were said may have been a factor in how the trainees reacted emotionally to what was said in these reflections.

In addition to the proportion of talk mentioned above, the POCs were approached from several perspectives. Firstly, the POCs were analysed in terms of the topics that were oriented to and discussed because these are considered important in that they might reveal significant information concerning the trainees' experience of LA. They were also analysed using the emotive strategies presented in Chapter 3, and which were also used to consider the supervisory styles of the mentors. However, although I refer to some of the strategies used by the mentors when discussing the POCs, a broader consideration of the strategies and styles will only be undertaken at the end of section 4.4 of this chapter in order to give an overview of the two parts of the practicum. Finally, I consider how significant moments of their talk may have positioned the trainees in ways that might have increased their anxiety, in other words, to what extent the trainees' identities and images of themselves were influenced by the identity positions jointly constructed in the POCs.

As I was only able to start observing and video recording the trainees' classes in January 2006, it was from January until the middle of February that I observed two classes of each trainee. This meant that the trainees had already started giving classes when I started collecting data from their lessons and POCs. In Sandra's case, my first observation would be her fifth lesson; in Odete's case this would be her second lesson; finally, it would be Renata's

third lesson. Each trainee would teach a total of ten lessons. Other commitments meant I had little choice over which classes to record. In Sandra's case this meant a concentrated period of four consecutive lessons to observe whereas Odete's and Renata's lessons were spread out over a longer period. A summary of the lessons observed and video recorded can be seen in Table 18 below.

Sandra	Lessons observed and video recorded	Odete	Lessons observed and video recorded	Renata	Lessons observed and video recorded
17th October		3rd November		24th October	
20th October		16th January	√	27th October	
28th November		19th January		9th January	√
5th December		13th February	√	12th January	
30th January	√	16th February		6th February	
2nd February	√	21st April		9th February	√
20th March	√	24th April	√	13th March	√
23rd March	√	8th May	√	16th March	
15th May		11th May		22nd May	√
18th May		29th May		25th May	

Table 18 Trainees' lessons observed and video-recorded

I was only given the trainees' written reflections for their lessons up to the middle of February in the semi-structured interview on the 6th March.

Desirable images of teacher and teaching	**Undesirable images of teacher and teaching**
• Giving short, concise explanations in English that lead to pupil understanding and avoid teacher having to resort to Portuguese (O, R) • Dynamic lessons (O, R, S) • When teaching new language structures, the teacher should ensure pupils practise these (S) • The importance of using games for affective and cognitive development of young pupils (S) • Creating empathy with pupils (O, R) • Establishing respect and control in the classroom • Motivating and getting pupils' attention (O) • Pupils participating spontaneously and actively (S) • Being an energetic and dynamic teacher (O, R) • Being an expressive teacher (S)	• Giving long explanations in English that lead to pupil misunderstanding and which increase the likelihood of resorting to Portuguese (O, R) • Giving lessons characterised by monotony and traditional methods (teacher-centred lessons) (O) • Not completing lesson plan (using more than the planned time for activities) (O) • Unduly resorting to Portuguese (S) • Creating distance between teacher and pupils (O) • Having a monotonous voice (R)

Table 19 Images of teachers and teaching emerging from trainees' first written reflections[5]

[5] On Renata (24 and 27th October) and Sandra's (17th and 20th October) first two reflections and Odete's (3rd November) first (see written reflections in each trainee's corpus).

However, these reflections are notable for the representations and 'emotional tone' that seem to have been quickly established at the beginning of the practicum. More specifically, these reflections clearly indicate emerging images of English teachers and teaching, that in a broad interpretation can be considered as desirable and undesirable, images and notions that would be prominent considerations throughout the TP. Table 19 below summarises the central ideas emerging from their first written reflections.

Like her introduction to her 'Teaching file', Sandra's first two reflections were positive and optimistic in tone, the first affirming, once again, her certainty in having chosen the right profession. She starts her first reflection with a quote from somebody called Alves, *Quem não ama o que faz, dá pouco de si (…) Ao ver o rosto encantado e feliz da pequena aluna sob o olhar atento e carinhoso da professora, quem há de negar a importância do amor na educação?* Later on in the SSI (612 in Appendix 7), Sandra seems to echo this idea of giving more of oneself when I ask the trainees what areas of their teaching they want to improve in the second part of the practicum. In relation to her second lesson, Sandra writes that the mentors advised her to resort less to Portuguese and to be more attentive to pupils with difficulties in English, but then goes on to say that apart from these features of her teaching, her mentors praised both her class and her qualities as a teacher:

as professoras acharam que a aula foi dinâmica, uma vez que os alunos participaram de forma espontânea e activa. Referiram igualmente, o facto de eu ter sido expressiva o que tornou a aula mais motivadora.

In many respects, these qualities – both of the lesson and the teacher – encapsulate the essential expectations of lessons and the teacher's way of being that all the trainees would strive to achieve. It was no surprise, then, that Sandra was quickly established as an example to look up to.

Renata's first reflection, on the other hand, was characterised by a sense of disappointment and frustration. Similarly to Sandra she begins her reflection with a quotation, but Renata cites Fernanda Pessoa: 'O melhor do mundo são as crianças'. Again, like Sandra, she begins her reflection by affirming her affection for children, but qualifies this statement by saying this was of limited use in her lesson:

Eu adoro crianças e tenho um afecto muito especial por cada uma delas. Porém, estes sentimentos não me ajudaram o suficiente no decorrer da minha actuação. Eu deveria ter-me soltado mais e criado uma maior empatia com as crianças, desse modo, a aula decorreria mais naturalmente e de uma forma mais dinâmica.

She refers early on in the reflection to the importance of being at ease and establishing an empathic relationship with the children so the lesson would have been more dynamic. As we

can see in Table 19, Renata mentions the long explanations that she sometimes gave in English, which meant her using Portuguese in order to avoid confusing the pupils, and she also refers to her 'monotone' voice, which, the supervising teacher had pointed out, made the lesson 'monotonous'. At the end of this reflection, Renata expresses her feeling of sadness but ends on a positive note by citing a Portuguese popular saying '*A vida é feita de experiências*', and states that although the lesson had not gone as well as she would have liked, the next one would definitely be better. Indeed, in her second reflection she spoke of how both the mentors and her colleagues thought her lesson had gone much better. She had established empathy with the pupils, motivated them to carry out the activities, and had maintained respect in the classroom. Furthermore, she had avoided using Portuguese, only resorting to using it when giving instructions for the games. Renata finishes her reflection by emphasising the importance of dynamism, *Nas minhas próximas actuações vou manter o mesmo dinamismo ou mais, e espero que tudo corra bem*, but she also acknowledges that she needs to correct certain aspects of her teaching but opines that both practice and experience will help her to overcome these.

Odete's first reflection, however, was markedly differently in tone, characterised by frustration and disappointment:

Ninguém é uma "tábua rasa", mas também ninguém nasce ensinado, tudo se aprende na vida, basta nós querermos e lutarmos por isso. Talvez isto seja apenas uma desculpa para não me sentir tão mal, contudo considero que, embora a minha actuação não tivesse nada de que me orgulhasse, eu sinto que nada está perdido.

As in the introduction to her 'Teaching file', Odete indicates that she is going to have to fight to be a teacher and that she has a struggle on her hands. She already mentions the confusion on the faces of the pupils as a factor that encourages her to explain in Portuguese, with the reason for their confusion being her overlong explanations in English. Noting the monotony and traditional features of her lesson, she also points out that the dynamic activity of the lesson that she had planned was not implemented because the correction of a worksheet took up more time than she had expected. Odete then asserts a sense of agency by stating the ultimate responsibility is with the trainees to make a success of the planned activities:

Na minha opinião, tudo depende de nós mesmos. Tudo correrá bem se conseguirmos "colocar alma e coração" no que fazemos, caso contrário, podemos ter uma planificação muito boa e saber bem a aula que vamos dar, que de nada adianta. A planificação é mesmo só um guião que, muitas vezes, nos condiciona para o bem e para o mal.

However, like Renata, Odete seems determined to make sure that the experiences of this lesson are not repeated: *tudo farei para que esta aula não se repita. Tentarei pôr mais*

energia e dinamismo em tudo aquilo que fizer, daqui para a frente. Odete ends her reflection by saying that her colleagues were in agreement with what was said about the lesson by both herself and the cooperating teacher, and relates how they supported her and tried to cheer her up given her feelings of disappointment.

In their first reflections, then, it is possible to detect certain images (summarised in Table 19) associated with the teacher and teaching that had been noted in relation to the trainees' performances, and were obviously to the forefront of the trainees' minds. The reactions of the trainees, however, are quite distinct. Firstly, Sandra appears to position herself as being in the right profession, and generally happy with her performances, which, in turn, were apparently praised by the mentors. Renata, after a disappointing first lesson, felt much more positive about her second, and asserted her willingness to maintain the levels of dynamism of her second lesson. Odete's first performance was a notably big disappointment to her, although like Renata, she positioned herself as being determined to invest in dynamism in order to avoid a repeat performance. Like the data considered in the previous section, then, there appears to be potential sources of anxiety in their comments. However, in order to look more closely at how LA may be manifested in their language lessons it is necessary to look at the lessons themselves.

As referred to in Chapter 3, the categories of possible manifestations of language anxiety are not *a priori* categories but were features of interaction that emerged from the data. However, the literature on LA and my own experience and intuition were also a shaping influence on these. Furthermore, they should be viewed as possible manifestations of LA, not manifestations. In fact, without relating these to other data, they would simply remain in the realm of possbility. This is why the presentation, analysis and interpretation of these signs is not carried out with a sole focus on these categories but is done through relating these to other data sets, especially the POCs.

In Table 20 the possible manifestations of LA have been mapped onto the four classes of each trainee that I observed. The rationale behind this is to see whether there were any significant changes from lesson to lesson or over the four lessons observed and whether such variances could be related to other data in order to better understand the trainees' experience of LA on the practicum. In addition, the table allows the apparent commonalities and differences that exist between the trainees to be explored. The first two lessons of each trainee have been shaded in grey as this section of the study focuses on the first part of the practicum. However, I have included all the lessons in the table in order to provide an immediate overview of these manifestations. Conversely, in 4.4, I also include this table again, but with the lessons of the second part of the practicum shaded. This is done so as to allow

the reader a retrospective overview of what went before and is therefore in keeping with the holistic view of analysing and interpreting the data.

Possible manifestations of anxiety	ODETE				RENATA				SANDRA			
	16th Jan. 06	13th Feb. 06	24th Apr. 06	8th May 06	9th Jan. 06	9th Feb. 06	13th Mar. 06	22nd May 06	30th Jan. 06	2nd Feb. 06	20th Mar. 06	23rd Mar. 06
(Over) use of comprehension checks	X (20)	X (12)	X (11)	X (8)	X (8)	X (4)	X (5)	X (4)	X (5)	X (9)	X (3)	X (6)
Overlong grammar explanations/noticeable focus on form	X (1) 87-295				X (8)	X (4) 167-169 171 356		X (3) 3-19 93-178 252-277	X (2) 399-417 423-451			
Trainee uncertainty related to unforeseen events (interaction or written)	X (1) 87-295				X (1) 3							X (1) 104-127
Resorting to Portuguese in questions, explanations and instructions	X (7)	X (3) 125, 141, 165	X (1) 358	X (3) 164, 243, 259	X (11)	X (3) 169,171, 394	X (16)	X (15)	X (2) 268, 381	X (3) 328,348 199	X (2) 473, 475	
Persistent patterns of nominating certain pupils to answer questions or explain[6]	X (7), B, M, Ma, V	X (5) B, M, Ma	X (7) B, C, M, Ma, V	X (6) B, M, V	X (12) B,M, V	X (5) B, M, Ma	X (6) B, C, M, V	X (3) M	X (7) B, M, V	X (3) B,M	X (5) B,C, M	X (4) B, M,

Table 20 Possible manifestations of trainee anxiety in classroom interaction[7]

[6] The letters indicate the initial of the first name of the pupils who were nominated on a regular basis: B – Bruno; C – Carlota; M - Mark; M – Mónica; V – Vasco.

[7] An X indicates that this possible manifestation of anxiety was evident in the lesson of that date. The number in brackets after the X indicates how many times it was identified. The examples of the data applied to each category can be found in the transcripts of each trainee's lessons. In the case of one or very few examples of each manifestation being found in the transcripts, the number of the intervention will be provided in the grid above. On the other hand, the numbers of the interventions of manifestations that stretch over a period of the lesson and which may overlap with manifestations of other categories will be provided in the grid. A description of the colour code used to identify manifestations of each category is provided at the beginning of each lesson transcript.

Possible manifestations of anxiety	ODETE				RENATA				SANDRA			
	16th Jan. 06	13th Feb. 06	24th Apr. 06	8th May 06	9th Jan. 06	9th Feb. 06	13th Mar. 06	22nd May 06	30th Jan. 06	2nd Feb. 06	20th Mar. 06	23rd Mar. 06
Trainee uncertainty related to board work or written explanations on Blackboard	X 87-295 87-116	X 204, 206						X 234	X 379-387 423-451			
Prolonged proximity to blackboard and teacher's desk	X 87-295											
Trainee distracted or not focused on classroom interaction		X (2) 11, 336	X (1) 251									
Trainee asides	X (7)	X (5)		X (4)	X (1) 80			X (1) 230	X (6)			X (4) 129,181 201, 277
Consulting notes	X (4)	X (8)	X (1) 249	X (2) 192, 230					X (4)			X (1) 245

Table 20 Possible manifestations of trainee anxiety in classroom interaction

Possible manifestations of anxiety	ODETE				RENATA				SANDRA			
	16th Jan. 06	13th Feb. 06	24th Apr. 06	8th May 06	9th Jan. 06	9th Feb. 06	13th Mar. 06	22nd May 06	30th Jan. 06	2nd Feb. 06	20th Mar. 06	23rd Mar. 06
Language difficulties	X (4) 126, 137, 245, 297	X (3) 262, 72, 9	X (1) 268		X (1) 294				X (3) 349,352, 401		X (1) 365	X (2) 80, 305
Noticeably animated or varied movements around classroom		X (8)			X (5)	X (6)	X (9)	X (13)	X (3) 94, 110, 403	X (4)	X (3) 90, 321, 325	X (6)
Noticeably animated kinesic and/or verbal behaviour		X (13)	X (1) 169	X (9)		X (12)	X (16)		X (18)	X (8)	X (8)	X (9)
Trainee's reactions to pupil laughter			X (2) 125, 347	X (3) 119, 218, 238			X (2) 208, 320		X (1) 54		X (3) 222, 242, 244	X (2) 24, 78
Trainee's reactions to pupil behaviour and classroom management issues	X (6)	X (8)	X (5)	X (5)	X (2) 245, 259	X (5)	X (13)	X (1) 312	X (3) 187,189 465	X (1) 316	X (11)	X (7)

Table 20 Possible manifestations of trainee anxiety in classroom interaction

Odete 16-01-06

The first lesson I observed was Renata's on the 9th January. However, I have decided to start with Odete's lesson on the 16th January because it not only came to represent a particularly disappointing moment that weighed on her mind throughout the practicum, but it was also a lesson where manifestations of anxiety seemed to be especially evident, and it remained a resonant moment for both the trainees and the mentors.

The lesson centred (see lesson plan in Appendix 4) around the use of the auxiliary verb 'does' in simple present questions using the third person. In fact, during Renata's lesson on the 9th January, Odete had said to me (see Researcher's observation notes in Appendix 4) that she was a little worried about the pupils being confused about the use of 'does' and the bare infinitive in simple present questions, especially as Renata's lesson on the 9th January had focused on the third person statements adding 's' and 'es' to the verb. In some respects, then, there were already signs of worry in relation to future events (Eysenck, 1992). Furthermore, it is also likely that she did not want a repeat of the disappointment at how her first lesson had gone, so maybe there was also a concern with negative past experiences (Eynsenck, 1992; MacIntyre, 1999). These two thought patterns are often referred to as characteristics of the experience of anxiety.

Although there were various signs of LA throughout the class, these manifestations (see Table 20) appeared to centre on a grammar explanation which lasted for approximately 20 minutes (see the interventions 87-295 in Appendix 4). This is why this explanation intersected with various categories as it seemed as though Odete was uncertain about several aspects of her teaching. In fact, the beginning of the lesson seemed to foreshadow several features that would become increasingly noticeable as the lesson progressed: Odete's attempts to get and hold the pupils' attention; a lesson that focuses on form; and Odete's concern to ensure that the pupils understand what she is teaching:

		please [raises both hands above her head and clicks her fingers] look at me please everyone do you still remember the simple present in the third person?
2	PP	yes
3	O	yes do you understand what I said? who can explain to ahm Vasco what did I say?

In the Researcher's observation notes, I refer to various factors that at that time I interpreted as possible signs of Odete's anxiety: she did not look comfortable at the blackboard; she was anxious for pupils to understand; she nominated certain pupils, especially Bruno, to get the right answer; and her writing on the blackboard and explanations were overcomplicated; and she seemed to focus on grammatical terminology.

In fact, what I took be one of the most visible signs of her LA was her aforementioned concern for the pupils' understanding. As can be seen on Table 20, there are 20 examples in the lesson transcript of Odete using comprehension checks throughout the lesson, a number that she would not reach again (here I refer to the lessons recorded for this project). In the exchange below, Odete's use of the comprehension check is coupled with an offer to explain again, which the pupils respond to positively. She then proceeds to explain the third person, but after a brief pause and other possible indications of hesitation, she then asks a pupil to explain what she had said. On this occasion, Odete's question is met by silence, so she resorts to Portuguese:

147	O	it's a noun [turns and writes on the blackboard] do you understand this? the affirmative the affirmative because we already (-)
148	C	<SIL>
149	O	do you understand this you want me to explain again?
150	PP	yes
151	O	yes? ok [turns towards the blackboard and then turns back to face the class] ok you have the third person so you know that in the third person you have to add an s (.) ahm what what did I say? ok Kelly?
152	K	<SIL>
153	O	ok I'll explain in Portuguese vocês têm a terceira pessoa o he o she o it na afirmativa ao verbo acrescenta-se um s ou então es vocês já sabem isso?

There were seven occasions when Odete resorted to Portuguese in this class, and whilst it is difficult to say that resorting to Portuguese was due to LA, it does seem likely that her concerted efforts to ensure the pupils understood may have been influenced by anxious feelings (Horwitz, 1996). Out of Odete's four lessons recorded for this project, she resorted more times to Portuguese in this lesson, again a possible indication that the interaction was partly influenced by her experiencing LA, and probably motivated by attempts to move out of uncertainty (Grundy, 2000) or avoid ambiguity (Oxford, 1999a). In her first written reflection (see Appendix 4), Odete refers to the 'confused' faces of the pupils as one of the shaping influences on why she may resort to Portuguese, and she also mentions this in the semi-structured interview (SSI/102-112 in Appendix 7). Her comments in the SSI arise when the trainees are discussing moments of significance for them on the practicum, and Sandra says (SSI/102 in Appendix 7) that it is good to see the pupils understanding what the trainees are saying. At this moment (SSI/103 in Appendix 7), Odete firmly nods her head and makes a lengthy turn explaining her feelings of frustration at seeing the pupils confused. Whilst I think it would be imprudent to dismiss Odete's concern for pupil understanding as an influence on

her behaviour, it is also possible that the use of Portuguese, either by her and/or her colleagues or getting the pupils to use their mother tongue, could be influenced by the sense of evaluation (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope, 1986) that a learner, or a teacher, of a foreign language may feel. From this viewpoint, resorting to Portuguese may, at times, have been a strategy to move the class along and to make sure they were not 'stuck' in 'uncomfortable' moments that could reflect unfavourably upon their English language skills.

In addition to resorting to Portuguese, Odete also nominated certain pupils on a regular basis to answer questions or give explanations to their classmates. These answers or explanations could be in English or Portuguese, and one of the possibilities that seemed to emerge from the data is that Odete – and her colleagues – nominated these pupils in order to avoid having to explain in either English or Portuguese. Indeed, in the stimulated recall protocols (SRPs) all the trainees acknowledge that they had difficulties in adapting their language to a level considered appropriate for their pupils (cf. Moreira, 1991). Again, given the regularity (see Table 20) with which the trainees nominate pupils with good Portuguese and English language skills, it is not unreasonable to suggest that this is a strategy motivated by uncertainty avoidance. This pattern of interaction can be seen in the excerpt (163-172) below when Bruno, one of the pupils regularly nominated, explains to his classmates. The fact that he is not 'corrected' when he responds in Portuguese to the teacher's questions in English would indicate that this practice was quickly established between pupils and teachers near the beginning of the practicum:

163	O	[moves her hand over the sentence] what doesn't Hermione like (.) so what happens here in this sentence?
164	P	é negativa
165	O	it's the negative the negative interrogative yes so what happens here Bruno for example?
166	B	ahm
167	O	<INT> can you come here and explain please?
168	B	[gets up and goes to the front of the class and stands at the blackboard with the teacher]
169	O	so what do we have here in this question?
170	B	é uma pergunta
171	O	yes it's a question but it's <IND> what is different in this question?
172	B	é negativa

What also became more apparent was the amount of times that Odete's fellow trainees consulted with her (see Researcher's observation notes on Odete's lesson on the 13th

February), what I have referred to as 'Trainee asides'. In addition, Odete also consulted notes, either on the desk or that she was carrying in her hand. In comparison with her colleagues, she did this more regularly, likely indicating Odete's greater need for security and support in the classroom, a factor that emerges from the data collected. For example, in her SRP (see Episode 1C in episodes selected for SRP in Appendix 6), Sandra refers to the fact that herself and Renata would help Odete a lot.

Although the lesson plan indicates that Odete would elicit how to use the negative and interrogative forms of the third person in the simple present, this should have been just one part of a complete stage of the lesson that would take 20 minutes. However, the grammar explanation on its own took approximately 20 minutes. It is somewhat ironic, then, that it might have been Renata who encouraged Odete to make this grammar explanation. In the interventions (55-65) below, Odete is in close proximity to the blackboard, attempting to elicit the reason why 'doesn't' is used and not 'don't', and may already be a little uncertain as she is consulting the sheet in her hand. However, she eventually elicits the correct answer, which she praises, but then briefly speaks to Renata:

55	O	why is it doesn't? (.) why do you say doesn't and not don't?
56	P	do not
57	O	[turns briefly away from the class and faces the blackboard and then turns to face the class again] for example here you said Harry Potter Harry
58	P	doesn't like cats
59	O	↓no [looking at the worksheet in her hand] first the likes Harry Potter likes?
60	P	flying
61	O	fine this is alright but he?
62	P	doesn't like
63	O	<INT> but he- why doesn't and why not don't?
64	P	because (.) because (.) it's on the third person
65	O	<it's the third person> [bends down to speak to Renata again and then moves away from the board to look at the Powerpoint which is being projected at the side of the board] very good

In her SRP (see episode 1F for Odete in episodes selected for SRP in Appendix 4), I ask Odete what Renata and her had spoken about at this point in the lesson, and she suggests that it might have been the grammar, and that Renata thought she should explain the rules. This seems a plausible interpretation because when the supervising teacher says that the grammar explanation was not really suitable for this age group, Odete replies that she

thought it was necessary to explain the grammar, a notion that Renata (POC/16/01/11 in Appendix 4) is quick to support.

For this reason, the likely signs of uncertainty manifested in the comprehension checks, the focus on form, the trainee asides, her close proximity to the blackboard, the explanations in Portuguese and the nomination of certain pupils to explain grammatical points, are likely to have been linked with what appears to be a largely spontaneous explanation. Even though Renata says in the aforementioned intervention that she and Odete had spoken about this on the Sunday before the lesson, the explanation is characterised by uncertainty, and even at the beginning of the explanation (see stretch of talk 87-93 below), Odete is looking uncertain as she tries to explain using the blackboard and consulting her notes:

87	O	you have this sentence here [pointing to each word as she says them] what does Hermione like (.) [facing the board] what ahm how do you explain this sentence for example ahm why do you use does [turns the blackboard light on] and what happens to the main verb? why do you use does [gives Vasco the chalk]
88	V	[facing the blackboard and the trainee teacher] does <IND>
89	O	yes explain to your classmates please
90	V	[turning to face the class] ahm does is the third person
91	O	[nods slowly once] it's the third person and <you usually use does in the interrogative questions isn't it?> (.) ok so [looking at the board and moving her hands over some of the words written on the board] ok when it's the third person interrogative we put does [looks briefly at the sheet she has in her hand and then turns to face the class] ok do you understand till now?
92	C	<SIL>
93	O	no? (.) [turns back towards the board] for example here you have what does Hermione like [briefly looks at her sheet again] you have this verb like [underlines it with her finger] like needs an auxiliary (.) an auxiliary verb

In many respects, then, Odete's lesson seems to be strongly marked by uncertainty and a repetitive cycle of trying to ensure pupil understanding. Her reactions to pupils' behaviour that she sees as disruptive (see, for example, her interventions 25, 30 and 319 in Appendix 4), and often cited as emotional manifestations of anxiety (Grundy, 2000; Andrade and Williams, 2009), look more like responses to rising noise levels, and whilst I would not claim that this is not related to LA, it appears Odete's manifestations of LA are more evident

in the features of interaction previously mentioned. To a significant extent, the talk in the POC on the 16th January also substantiated this interpretation.

As noted at the beginning of this section, I shall briefly consider the talk proportion of the POC before proceeding to look at whether the talk substantiates or reveals possible connections to the manifestations of LA identified, and whether the mentors discourse might constitute a source of anxiety for the trainees.

In order to characterise who talked and how much, it is necessary to define what this study considers a turn and how the lines of the transcription were counted. In terms of turn taking, the definition of a turn that I use is that of van Lier (1998:116), who refers to a turn as "any utterance that bears on the discourse, whether verbal, non-verbal (head nods, etc.)". Such a definition includes back-channels or what Waite (1993:35), citing Goodwin and Heritage's (1990) work, refers to as 'acknowledgement tokens', for example, in this study, such examples are of the participants following the talk such as 'uhm' , or of hesitations like 'ahm'. As the POCs were audio recorded, non-verbal back-channels are unavailable but vocal back-channels are evident. In terms of counting the lines of interventions, any audible contribution was considered a line whether this consisted of five words or one word, or constituted a vocal back channel, and as soon as a word goes onto a subsequent line, this is considered one more line to count.

In order to facilitate the analysis and consideration of the topics introduced in the POCs, I decided to adapt the four-phase cycle used in Grácio's (2002:143) study of the interpersonal dimension of supervisory interaction in post-observation conferences to describe the way in which these meetings were essentially organised. The four moments that are referred to in this study are the following:

1. The supervisor begins the conference with orienting remarks with respect to how the conference will proceed.
2. The trainee teacher whose lesson has been observed reflects on his or her own performance.
3. The trainee's colleagues then reflect on the same performance.
4. Finally, the supervisor makes his or her comments.

However, as I did not have access to the first POCs, I was unable to determine whether the supervisors explicitly established the above phases with the trainees or whether this procedure was simply assumed. For this reason, when I present the topics oriented to in the POCs, I only refer to the second, third and fourth phases. These are the phases that

characterise the majority of the POCs of this study. However, as will be seen, in some cases there was only the fourth phase, that is to say the co-operating teacher only delivered her reflection.

The introduction and orientation of topics is considered important because from an ethnomethodological viewpoint these are the topics the participants orient to and discuss in interaction, that is, topics are not predetermined entities taken out and placed on the interactional table for discussion, but emerge in interaction, or, in van Lier's words "a topic is not a topic until it is talked about" (1988:148).

In the topic management tables used for each POC there are four columns. The first column denotes the phase(s) of the POC in accordance with the three stages adapted from Grácio's study. The second column indicates the topic that is oriented to during each of the phases or phase whilst the third column specifies which participant introduces that topic. Finally, the last column indicates the way the topic is introduced. As the trainee who has been observed is usually granted the floor in the second phase to reflect on his or her own performance, the first topic in the second phase is indicated by an asterisk (*) symbol. A new topic may also be introduced (IT) by one of the participants or a topic may be a continuation of a previously introduced topic (C). The topic is considered to be the theme being spoken about and may be a "sustained focusing of attention, *through* the talk and *across* a stretch of talk, on some single issue or set of closely related issues" (van Lier, ibid.). However, given the tendency of the trainees in this study to mentions several aspects of their teaching performance at the beginning of their reflections, I also include as topics subjects that are only fleetingly referred to in this phase of the POC.

Returning, then, to Odete's POC, we can see from Table 21 that it is the supervising teacher who predominates in terms of turns taken and the amount of talk, more than double the turns and lines of the co-operating teacher. Odete has the second highest number of turns and third highest number of lines.

Trainee teacher	POC date	Length of POC (Mins)	CT Nº turns/ *nº lines*	ST Nº turns/ *nº lines*	Odete Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Renata Nº turns/ *nº lines*	Sandra Nº turns/ *nº lines*	TT Nº turns / *nº lines*	Other turns Nº turns/ *nº lines*	Total Nºturns/ *nº lines*
Odete	16-01-06	25	18	47	26	14	18	4	CT/ST 1	128
			125	*291*	*50*	*28*	*30*	*4*	*1*	*529*

Table 21 Talk proportion in POC – Odete 16/01/06

However, as can be seen from Table 22 below, Odete only introduced one topic, not surprisingly this was the grammar explanation, and over half of her lines came in her first six interventions. The POC, again unsurprisingly, centred on the grammar explanation.

Phase or type of post observation conference	Topic (s) oriented to in interaction	Interlocutor	The way the topic is introduced
2nd phase	Teacher explanation (grammar)	Odete	*
	Grading language	ST	C
3rd phase	Teacher emotions and attitude	Renata	IT
	Grading language	Renata	IT
	Teacher explanation (grammar)	Renata	IT
	Teacher creativity	Sandra	IT
	Pupil interest	Renata	C
4th phase	Adhering to deadlines for lesson plans	ST	IT
	Choice of classroom activities	ST	C
	Mentors' role	ST	C
	Trainees' workload (Portuguese-English practicum)	Sandra	C
	Fluency in English	ST	IT
	Teacher attitude	ST	IT
	Teacher movement in classroom (proxemic)	ST	IT
	Teacher proximity to blackboard	ST	C
	Classroom activities	ST	IT
	Teacher instructions	ST	IT
	Teacher explanations (activities)	ST	C
	Use of Portuguese	ST	C
	Classroom materials	ST	IT
	Monitoring pupil understanding	ST	C
	Pupil interest	ST	C
	Teacher emotions	ST	IT
	Pupil attention	ST	C
	Teacher use of blackboard	ST	IT
	Anticipated problems (pupil understanding)	ST	IT
	Lesson plans	CT	IT
	Use of English and Portuguese	CT	IT
	Pupil participation	CT	C
	Teacher explanation (grammar)	CT	IT
	Teacher movement in classroom (proxemic)	CT	IT
	Monitoring pupil understanding	CT	C
	Teacher explanation (grammar)	CT	IT
	Time management/lesson plan	CT	C
	Pupil attention/Interest	CT	C
	Teacher attitude	CT	C
	Teaching strategies	CT	C
	Working climate in classroom	CT	C
	Teacher emotions	CT	C
	Time management	CT	C
	Teacher attitude	CT	C
	Teaching strategies	CT	C

Table 22 Topic management in POC – Odete 16/01/2006

Odete's comments made at the start of the POC refer to her lesson as *um pouco confusa*, the same words that she initially uses to describe this lesson in her written reflection. As can be seen in her intervention (POC/16-01/14) below, there is a sense of resignation in her words that the lesson did not go well, but also an uncertainty as to whether she can claim that certain aspects of the lesson did not go as badly as the grammar explanation. In fact, the quietly spoken *eu já está* at the end of intervention 14 seems to indicate her sense of disappointment and a desire to hear what is going to be said by the others, especially the mentors, as opposed to a willingness to talk further on the subject.:

14	O	bastava dar a estrutura para as crianças perceberem e eles chegavam lá perfeitamente (.) porque eles são espertos e com exercícios eles chegavam lá e:::: (..) e pronto eu acho que é assim relativamente ao resto da au::la (..) pode não ter corrido assim (.) pronto relativamente ao resto da aula penso que até nem não correu muito ↓mal penso que o que correu pior terá sido talvez a explicação da gramática >pelo menos foi com a ideia que eu fiquei< (..) não sei (-) (..) ° eu já está °
15	CT	ai já? vamos lá então

Although the trainees' remarks at the beginning of the second phase tended to be relatively short interventions, the brevity of Odete's remarks seem to take the co-operating teacher by surprise, and she indicates that either Sandra or Renata should now make their comments. Odete's colleagues, Renata and Sandra, are supportive and whilst acknowledging the grammar explanation as the most problematic part of the lesson, they try to concentrate on the positive aspects of the lesson, namely the presentation, accompanied by music, over which Odete read the voices of the characters in a creative way:

16	R	ahm em relação à aula dela comparando à outra semana gostei mai::s tirando o facto da explicação da gramática >ela mesmo na aula estava mais solta mais dinâmica utilizou um linguagem< mai::s (..) não sei se posso dizer infantil =
17	S	= //mais simples//
18	ST/CT	//mais acessível//
19	R	circulou mais pela sala não arrastou tanto as actividades (.) o facto que marcou mais esta aula ° foi mesmo a explicação da gramática ° que não foi feita da maneira correcta=
20	S	= pois porque eu gostei imenso do PowerPoint //achei a voz dela muito// espontânea
21	R	// também gostei a leitura tudo//
22	S	muito muito engraçada

In fact, even though this was only Odete's second lesson, the two features that characterised its positive and negative side were still referred to in the final meeting in June. The positive aspect was Odete's use of the Powerpoint and her creative voiceovers whereas the negative aspect was the grammatical explanation.

However, once Renata and Sandra finish their comments, the ST then makes her first contribution. Here she uses several strategies of mitigation, some of them typical of her way of talking in the POCs, to tell Odete that it is important to hand the lesson plan in on time. It seems likely from the ST's comments, then, that there had been considerable changes to Odete's lesson plan. This would, to a certain extent, help to explain the uncertainty and spontaneous feel to Odete's lesson. The ST first uses 'subordination' (Wajnyrb, 1994), 'penso que', to introduce the sense of subjectivity into her statements, namely that Odete's lesson was somewhat confusing. More typical of the ST's mitigating strategies, though, are the 'person shifts', the 'mimimizers', 'modal verbs', and 'question tags'.

The use of the 'person shift' is particularly important for establishing a sense of solidarity with the trainees. However, its importance is twofold as she uses 'temos que' rather than 'tem que' in order to disguise directives. Furthermore, the regular use of 'se calhar' to indicate uncertainty and to reduce obligation, 'bocadinho' to lessen the impact of the criticism, and 'não é ?' to also signal cooperativeness are all strategies used by the ST that are likely to foster reduced levels of social distance and level out asymmetric relationships (Arndt and Janney, 1985; Holmes, 1984), factors which are more likely, in principle at least, to make the trainees feel more at ease (Grácio, 2002) or less nervous:

25	ST	° agora somos nós ° .hh oh O eu penso que (..) também concordo que de facto houve alguma confusão nesta aula (.) mas ahm eu > penso que esta semana temos que pensar muito bem nesta aula porquê que correu da forma como correu < ah:::m temos que se calhar ter um bocadinho de (.) a O também concorda que os planos foram feitos não quero dizer à última hora mas houve aqui muito mudança e muito transformação .hh e de facto isso não ajudou não é? e depois o facto de eu não conseguir ver os planos os segundos planos depois a M também não viu os planos (.) não estou a dizer que só o que eu e que a professora M dizemos é que está bem .hh mas temos um bocadinho
		mais experiência e também podemos dar um bocadinho de (-)
26	R	ver se vissem antes <IND>
27	ST	de pronto (..) se de facto tivéssemos visto naquela altura o modo como ias explicar a parte da gramática =
28	O	= pois isso não tinha acontecido

In the ST's words, though, there are indications that Odete had previously said the lesson was chaotic, but the ST plays down the this idea, and appears to look for a way to praise Odete, which she does by praising her and her colleagues' level of fluency in English, using a style-shifted lexeme (Wajnyrb, ibid.), 'as três meninas', probably an attempt to increase the informality of the interaction and reduce Odete's negativity:

54	ST	mas oh O ao contrário do caos que a O pensou que esta aula foi (.) revelou uma boa fluência na utilização da língua- (.) aliás as três meninas acho que são muito boas ao nível do inglês (.)

At a later point, the ST talks about the possibility of adapting to unforeseen events and moving away from the plan. This is mentioned because the ST says that Odete went on to practise the language when the pupils had not learnt what they were supposed to be practising because the grammar explanation was too complex. Again, the ST refers to Odete's negative interpretations and stresses that there are positive aspects of the classes but that the lesson would have benefited if the plans had been seen beforehand:

102	ST	e não houve nada (.) portanto esta aula uma vez que- se a O achou olha as crianças não perceberam (.) > se não perceberam então insistia mais ou insistia mais ou então seguia para outro passo e não se fazia esta parte < porque não se consegue fazer uma uma uma practise e uma consolidation se não se percebeu (..) pronto O de um modo geral também não vamos ser como a O disse que foi o fim do mundo ou que é um caos não também há aspectos positivos (.) ahm eu acho que teria beneficiado ↑imenso de ↑antecipadamente os planos e tudo serem vistos isso é algo que <IND> M peço desculpa que eu <IND> primeiro

Shortly after this intervention, the CT also refers to the fact that it did not make sense to go ahead with the language practice, and uses 'subordination' ('penso que') to mitigate the criticism that Odete took too long with the grammar explanation and does not manage time well:

109	CT	pronto não tinha muita: razão quer dizer nós diríamos que eles não iriam conseguir (.) ahm portanto penso que aqui o que é fundamental registar é que houve um arrastamento desnecessário na explicação de determinados aspectos gramaticais (.) e depois claro como houve este arrastamento também a última actividade que estava prevista não teve tempo para a concluir (.) > penso que também não geriu muito bem o tempo <

The CT then goes on to use a 'conceding aside' (Wajnyrb, 1994) to emphasise Odete's great efforts to ensure understanding of her grammar explanation despite signs that the pupils were distracted, a feature of Odete's performance that all the participants agreed with (see

interventions 74-77 in POC/16-01/06 in Appendix 4). She then uses 'person shifts' to underline the need to use other strategies to get the pupils' attention before praising Odete's materials and her voiceovers for the Harry Potter characters:

116	CT	isto é uma coisa estava preocupadíssima porque a O estava a fazer um esforço tão grande para eles entenderem .hh que quer dizer (.) é quase ingrato para si estar tão esforçada e de facto haver aquela desconcentração geral (.) mas é isso nós temos que primeiro agarrar os alunos para que eles possam e vamos agarrá-los como ? (.) temos que repensar as estratégias temos que pensar: noutro tipo de explicação para que eles possam para que possamos ahm no fundo cativar para que eles aprendam aquilo que nós vamos ensinar .hh relativamente aos materiais ahm eu acho que eles estavam visualmente atractivos do interesse dos alunos utiliza personagens conhecidas dos alunos o Harry Potter que eles tanto gostam ahm (.) adorei gostei ↑imenso da sua performance na tentativa de imitar as vozes deles (.) eu não era capaz eu não era capaz =

In one of the last interventions in this POC, it is the CT, perhaps, who best captures the overall impression of Odete's lesson when she says, using a 'stroking aside' (Wajnyrb, 1994), that in the first part of the lesson Odete moved around the class and created an agreeable working environment in the classroom, but that at a certain point the class changed:

120	CT	circulava e isso penso que é importante e proporcionou um clima de trabalho agradável (.) a sua aula iniciou-se com actividades que eu achei que estavam tão:: (.) até a própria O estava tão:: leve (.) ↓depois chegou ali um ponto que (..) bloqueou completamente não sei o que é que se passou (-)

The ST attributes this change to the grammar explanation, but there are signs that the mentors and Odete can see the lighter side of what has happened in the lesson when Odete agrees with ST that it was the grammar explanation that changed the promising direction in which the lesson was going:

122	O	foi foi *ah Jesus* [laughing]
123	ST	[laughing]

However, after the lesson and despite the support of her colleagues and the CT's reassurance that things would be different in the future, Odete's written reflection is characterised by disappointment:

Sinto que necessito urgentemente de adquirir capacidade de síntese, especialmente nas palavras. Sinto ainda que estou muito parada. Tenho de soltar-me e ser mais dinâmica, de forma a criar uma maior proximidade e empatia com os alunos. Apesar das minhas falhas, considero que a pior foi mesmo a explicação da gramática. Quanto aos materiais, estes estavam apelativos e engraçados.

However, in the written reflection on her next lesson (19th January, which was not observed as part of this project) there was a change in tone:

Relativamente a quinta-feira, sinto-me um pouco mais confiante, pois verifiquei que a minha actuação correu ligeiramente melhor. Também consegui verificar que motivei a turma. Penso que isto se deve maioritariamente aos materiais, tal como foi referido pela Professora Cooperante e Professora Supervisora, os quais fizeram com que a aula não se tornasse tradicional nem tão monótona.

The use of materials and activities to compensate for a lack of dynamism at a personal level became an important notion and strategy – especially for Odete and Renata – as the practicum progressed. It also suggests that Odete was already beginning to form the opinion that she was not a dynamic teacher. Taking into account that before the practicum had begun she considered that one of her strengths as a teacher would be her 'dynamism' (see Table 13 in 4.1) and that to make language classes more effective they needed to be more dynamic (see Table 12 in 4.1), this must have been difficult for Odete to recognise and deal with.

In Odete's next lesson observed for this project on the 16th February, however, there were indications in the interaction that Odete was attempting to move away from a static image and towards a more dynamic one.

Odete 13-02-06

On the 13th February, Odete's lesson (see lesson plan in Appendix 4) began with a video about the rooms in the school in Fátima where they were doing the practicum. Odete was in the video-recording playing the role of the presenter and was seen moving from room to room and speaking to people who were in them.

In the Researcher's observation notes for this class (see Appendix 4), I remark (approximately 17 minutes into the lesson) that Odete is moving around the classroom, is smiling, and appears more at ease and is speaking clearly. Generally speaking there seemed a purpose about her movements and I thought she was more at ease. Looking at Table 21, there are several notable differences between the previous lesson I had observed and this one.

First of all, the number of comprehension checks had almost halved. Nevertheless, Odete still appeared preoccupied with making sure pupils understood. This was especially evident when she explained activities. For example, after watching the film, some of the pupils were given images of school rooms and then had to ask their classmates what school room it was. After explaining the activity, Odete uses different forms in both English and Portuguese to see whether the pupils understand – even after they have replied positively:

87	O	are you sure? (..) are you sure? [goes across to check the image that Mark has] ↓n::o it is the canteen [goes back to the blackboard, raises her arm and clicks her fingers] s::o look at me look at me (..) when someone asks what school room is this (.) [pointing to the question on the blackboard] you answer it ↑is the canteen or the library or [turns to write on the blackboard and writes the beginning of the answer to each question after the questions] ok [turns to face the class] so Mark (.) everyone understood do you understand [turns to class] everyone understood?
88	PP	yes
89	O	[moves toward Mark] I want you to know ahm to know if you understood understood percebeste? todos perceberam? ok? ok you may start (.) show the picture to André

In the discussion on her previous lesson I suggested that Odete's use of Portuguese or asking 'good' pupils to explain to their colleagues in either English or Portuguese might be related to her – and her colleagues – wanting to avoid difficulties in giving instructions in English or Portuguese. When making notes while observing this class, I do remark that Odete seems to be less secure when having to explain activities for the first time, and that when the pupils are actually doing the activities she seems to be more relaxed. Looking at the exchange (87-89) on the previous page it does seem that her explanation in this case is followed by a certain linguistic hesitancy. It might be possible, then, that language anxiety is a subtle influence on Odete's level of confidence to give clear instructions, in other words, she asks for confirmation of pupil understanding because she is not sure whether her instructions are appropriate and/or effective. Furthermore, it might also affect the manner in which they are asked, for example, the mixture of both Portuguese and English in the aforementioned exchange. In terms of resorting to Portuguese, however, there were fewer examples in this class.

Certain features of the interaction in this class remained similar in comparison with the previous lesson on the 16th January. This was the case with the pattern of asking certain pupils to explain activities, her uncertainty in relation to doubts on the board, the number of language difficulties, and the trainee's reactions to pupil behaviour that is a disruptive influence on classroom procedure.

In terms of difference, however, perhaps the most significant was Odete's animated behaviour in terms of her movements around the class, her body language and vocal qualities. The example from the lesson below shows Odete moving around the classroom as she asks the pupils who have pictures to ask their colleagues questions:

101	O	[walking to the front of the classroom and then moving forward from the blackboard] they are playing for example (.) or ° having gym (.) classes° (.) >OK another person< [walking backwards towards the blackboard] another person (.) who has pictures? (.) so Jorge who are you going to ask?
102	J	Vasco
103	O	always [smiles briefly] the same persons
104	J	what school room is this?

Her behaviour above is also accompanied by quicker talk when she asks for another person to ask a question. It is somewhat ironic, then, given the trainees' constant nominating of certain pupils in the class that she replies *always the same persons*.

As for her vocal behaviour and gestures, these were also animated. At the start of and during the game where pupils will have to guess the room that a classmate is describing, her gestures and classroom language complement each other:

208	O	[raises her arm and clicks her fingers] ok look at me if you are talking we don't have time to play our game ok so ahm fo::r e::xample (.) Bruno can you come here please?

218	O	very good ok everybody understood right? (.) ok so [clapping her hands] pay attention (..) ok you (..) he is only going to give an example but you only have [holding up one finger on her hand] ONE minute to guess
219	PP	ONE

Towards the end of the lesson, this animated vocal behaviour is also noticeable when she is interacting with the pupils in a game in which they have to describe different school rooms. It is even possible that her aside with her colleague Sandra (see 322 below) is about how much time she has left, perhaps making Odete even more aware of wanting to get on with the game and maintain the rhythm of the activity:

322	O	there are tables and chairs good [goes to the blackboard and puts points for the team] ok now this team [points at a pupil and then speaks briefly to her fellow trainee Sandra who is near the front of the class] >quickly come on quickly quickly<
323	P	[pupil joins teacher at the front of the class]
324	O	now choose a paper say the word
325	P	playground
326	O	playground how is a playground?
327	P	there are many people playing and <IND>
328	O	ok very good >ok one more< Vasco come quickly

Whilst it is extremely difficult to say with any certainty what Odete's behaviour is influenced by, I would suggest that a possibility is that her animated behaviour is a manifestation of language anxiety, more characteristic of a facilitating anxiety driving her attempts to move away from a static, monotonous image and to move towards a more dynamic one.

Odete's first two classes had been disappointing experiences. Her written reflection for the 19th January had been more optimistic in tone, and suggested that dynamic activities and materials had improved her class and helped her motivate the pupils. It is understandable, then, that Odete would want to project a more dynamic image. It seems likely that she was beginning to do this – prompted by the mentors –through a combination of her own behaviour and a choice of activities.

The second POC for this study was five minutes longer than the previous one. However, the ST had not observed the lesson and was not present. This time the CT dominated the talk. Although Odete only had 17 turns less than the CT, the latter had nearly three times as many lines as Odete. Sandra came behind Odete in the number of turns and lines whilst Renata had the fewest.

Trainee teacher	POC date	Length of POC (Mins)	CT Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Odete Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Renata Nº turns/ *nº lines*	Sandra Nº turns/ *nº lines*	TT Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Other turns Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Total Nºturns/ *nº lines*
Odete	13-02-06	30	119	102	8	34	1	-	264
			459	*177*	*16*	*60*	*1*	-	*713*

Table 23 Talk proportion in POC – Odete 13/02/06

Odete began the POC in response to the CT's question in English 'What do you think?' by saying that her lesson 'could be better'. When asked by the CT whether she thought the lesson had gone badly, Odete vacillates and seems hesitant about actually saying what she thought. She eventually refers to her errors in English, which, she says, are out of character. However, the CT does not seem unduly concerned with these errors, mentioning one or two that Odete had self-corrected:

29	CT	who understand? who understood? mas depois corrigiu posteriormente =
30	O	= > eu depois eu corrigi:: < só que eu enervei-me foi de ter dito logo ↑mal (.) porque uma pessoa sabe
31	CT	ok uhm uhm
32	O	era por isso que tinha de estar sempre a repetir who understand who understood ficava assim mas houve alguns que eu não
33	CT	sentiu-se bloquear estava cansada o que é que (-) =
34	O	= não não não estava não estava (.) estava bem pronto

Perhaps the most obvious mistake in the lesson was the one below:

262	O	Telmo what did you said?

Indeed at the beginning of the POC, Odete refes to this mistake as being 'mesmo mal'.

19	O	não é assim em alguns aspectos por exemplo ahm ao nível da linguagem ° não é ? ° também já me chamaram a atenção para isso (.) mas ao nível da linguagem nem sempre fui muito coerente e clara no que disse e > não é hábito porque eu falo inglês < e não tenho esse tipo de problemas mas de vez em quando confundia-me confundia-me não (.) era mesmo mal falar pronto era falava what did she said? em vez de ser what did she say? (.) e > uma pessoa sabe que é say < porque tem o auxiliar não é ? (,) ahm ao nível desses aspectos ahm da linguagem

It is possible that Odete was concerned with this mistake – and others – given that it is a type of mistake that a teacher of English would not be expected to make. In her SRP (see Episode 2D in episodes selected for SRP in Appendix 4) I showed Odete this mistake and she immediately grimaced. She also said in the SRP (see interventions 281-283 in Odete's SRP transcription in Appendix 4) that the trainees had a tendency to be more careful with language when they were being observed. Furthermore, when asked whether she thought if they might be too conscious of their language she says that it is a possibility and adds that perhaps she was more concerned with mistakes at the beginning of the practicum than towards the end because she became tired and was less concerned with mistakes. In her written reflection on this lesson, she also mentions some linguistic mistakes that could have been avoided. However, in the exchange at the beginning of this POC (see interventions 29-34 above), when asked by the CT whether she felt 'blocked' or 'tired,' Odete replies that she was fine.

However, another reason for Odete's reluctance to feel more positive about her lesson at the beginning of the POC is that she may not have been overly worried about the mistakes

per se but more concerned with the overall impression she had made. Odete says she thinks that the pupils liked the video and the class in general, but also opined that some parts of the lesson might have been monotonous and that more pupil participation would have been desirable. She also reveals that she judges pupil monotony by their facial expressions. However, in the exchange near the beginning of the POC it appears Odete is uncertain about her claims and is waiting for the CT to give her opinion. Indeed when the CT praises the video, then Odete appears more willing to give her opinion and goes on to say that she thinks the pupils also liked the last activity, which had been improvised to a certain extent:

41	O	e acho que eles gostaram também das minhas figuras tristes não é a tocar piano
42	CT	nã::o estava bem
43	O	[laughing] não ma::s =
44	CT	= estava muito bem conseguido
45	O	eu acho que sim acho que eles gostaram das actividades mesmo esta última também (.) ahm

Therefore a sense of anxiety may influence a reluctance to speak (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope, 1986; MacIntyre, 1999, 2002) until a level of confidence is reached, that is to say one of the most commonly cited effects of someone experiencing anxiety is that they are reluctant to communicate until the deprecating thoughts and general sense of worry have subsided. In this case, whilst I do not propose that any anxiety she is experiencing has passed, she may take the positive comment as a sign of encouragement.

When the talk moves into the third phase of the POC, her colleagues are supportive although they do mention that she needs to be more attentive to pupil misbehaviour in the classroom. However, an interesting exchange (see interventions 62-67 below) between Sandra and the CT takes place when Sandra opines that Odete is more dynamic than she was at the beginning. Here the CT asks whether it is Odete or the activities that are more dynamic, perhaps subtly positioning Odete as not having this quality. Sandra talks about how the activities chosen oblige the person to be more dynamic and encourage them to move around the class. She also refers to the attitude of being firm with the pupils, and says that Odete is very expressive. However, the CT reinforces the idea that Odete is not expressive and needs to be firmer and more dynamic. In fact, these two ideas – those of dynamic activities and being stricter in the classroom – are referred to near the end of the POC, and are, I think, two important factors in how Odete and her colleagues approach their teaching and way of being in the classroom as the practicum progresses. As will be seen in the POCs of Renata briefly, these two ideas are key notions of the CT.

62	S	não mas é assim (.) acaba por ser quando uma pessoa vê acaba por pensar mais não é? (.) em termos da atitude da O acho que a O ahm está mais dinâmica do que estava no início ahm tem ter
63	CT	<INT> ela está mais dinâmica ou as actividades são mais dinâmicas ?
64	S	as actividades também são mais dinâmicas que obri:::gam a ser que faz com que a pessoa não pode estar parada com aquele tipo de actividade (.) tem que se mexer ahm tem que ter ahm > quando mandar calar mandar calar mesmo <
65	O	<INT> ser firme
66	S	exactamente obrigado ser mais firme ahm para eles olharem para ela e ver que ela está mesmo chateada e ela consegue porque ela é muito expressiva =
67	CT	= mas ela aqui revela aqui ela não utiliza muito a sua capacidade //de expressão //

The POC for 13th February, however, is notably different from the previous one (16-01) in which Odete had far fewer lines and turns. Indeed in the POC on the 16th January, it is likely that Odete did not feel like speaking much, and perhaps the mentors understood this. Maybe this partly explains why the mentors virtually refrained from asking questions, and concentrated more on describing what had happened, making suggestions and using directives. It is possible that on that day they felt Odete needed firmer guidance.

As can be seen from Table 24, Odete introduces three topics and, as has been noted, her participation is significantly greater than the POC on the 16th January. This may be related to the fact that the mitigation strategies used by the CT might encourage greater interaction. In the POC on the 16th January, the CT does not ask any questions, uses few examples of subordination and even fewer conditionals. On the 13th February, all these strategies are significantly higher. Given that questions have a tendency to transform criticism into 'inquiry' (Wajnyrb, 1994:246) and that several questions were asked by the CT at the beginning of the POC, this may have encouraged Odete to speak further.

Phase or type of post observation conference	Topic (s) oriented to in interaction	Interlocutor	The way the topic is introduced
2nd phase	Assessment of lesson	Odete	*
	Language errors (oral)	Odete	C
	Teacher emotions	CT	C
	Pupil interest	Odete	IT

3rd phase	Teacher attitude	Sandra	IT
	Teacher personality and activities	CT	C
	Teacher attitude to pupil discipline	Sandra	C
	Classroom management strategies	CT	C
	Pupil interest	Sandra	IT
	Language errors (written)	CT	C
	Teacher emotions	Renata	IT
	Time management	CT	C
4th phase	Socio-cultural aspects	CT	IT
	Time management	CT	C
	Teaching strategies (exemplification)	CT	C
	Matching structures with images shown	CT	C
	Classroom management	CT	IT
	Time management	CT	C
	Anticipated problems	CT	C
	Teacher presence in classroom	CT	IT
	Teacher movement in class (proxemic)	CT	IT
	Errors and teacher emotions	CT	C
	Progress of lesson	CT	C
	Classroom activities and pupil participation	CT	C
	Classroom management strategies	CT	C

Table 24 Topic management in POC – Odete 13/02/2006

For example, in the two turns below, we can see the CT asking Odete questions in order to clarify what she thought was monotonous and how she could have done an exercise that was done on an OHP differently.

48	CT	essa parte foi monótona ?
49	O	não é que tivesse- é assim tal- eu estou-me a guiar pelas caras deles =
50	CT	= dessa actividade por exemplo o que é que acha que poderia ter feito ?
51	O	<IND> talvez mesmo sem o acetato talvez em PowerPoint talvez se fosse ahm (.) até podia ser eles mesmos talvez a chegar lá e carregar no PowerPoint e descobrirem a resposta (.) não sei (-) ° talvez fosse um bocadinho diferente °

As for the conditionals and subordinates used by the CT, they are often found in close proximity to each other, and are used to make suggestions or to question actions taken in the classroom, but they have distancing effect (ibid.:258) and do not impose the criticisms. These can be seen below in interventions 127 and 216.

127	CT	nesta situação concreta a::hm não sei se haveria necessidade de passar o filme novamente >

216	CT	a::h eu não entendi eu entendi que eles não podiam fazer gestos *com a boca mas <IND>* (.) é assim penso que poderia ter feito ao ↓contrário (.)

The CT in this POC therefore uses several strategies that are associated with a less directive style of supervision, and, in comparison with the styles she adopts in two of Renata's POCs, is almost collaborative.

Before moving on to Renata's experience on the practicum, I will finish with two significant moments from Odete's POC on the 13th February. When discussing (see 242-251 below) some of Odete's (uncharacteristic) language errors in this class, the CT asks why this might have been the case. However, it is Sandra who responds to this question suggesting that Odete was worried about her mathematics mark, implying that the mistakes were likely because of her worry about this mark. Odete then says she had mentioned this to her colleagues at the beginning of the class. However, the CT then expresses her opinion that Odete always has a good activity but that her lessons become more monotonous towards the end. Furthermore, the CT then refers back to the lesson on the 16th January as a way of justifying her ideas. But despite the CT and Renata's attempts to suggest that this is in the past, this is something that Odete cannot forget.

As a result of this exchange, the CT suggests (see 255) that Odete has to avoid more traditional, teacher-centred classes because she becomes confused. Instead, she needs to concentrate on using dynamic activities that will not only involve the pupils more but will also help her to be firmer with them. The CT suggests that if this happens, Odete will progress well.

In sum, perhaps the emerging pattern of Odete's experience of LA in the classroom is a combination of her attempts to gradually adjust her teaching not only to the demands and ups and down of the practicum but also to follow the mentors' advice. The fact that her teaching and classes have been referred to as monotonous, confused and needing dynamism could, I suggest, be taken as positioning Odete as having those characteristics. It is no real surprise, then, that in her written reflection for the 16th February (a lesson which was not recorded for this project), Odete says the following: *penso que os objectivos para esta aula se cumpriram. Já comecei a recorrer à vertente lúdica, tornei-me mais dinâmica e também mais expressiva.*

242	CT	= não costuma acontecer na verdade não costuma acontecer (.) se calhar estava hoje mai::s? =
243	S	= ela vai saber a nota de matemática hoje
244	CT	a::h está nervosa hoje ?
245	O	não sei (.) no início da aula estava (.) ainda disse a elas eu estou nervosa nem é pela aula é mesmo pela nota de matemática
246	CT	sabe o que é que eu acho ? eu acho que a O tem sempre uma actividade assi::m (..) ↓boa (..) e depoi::s e >eu vejo que estava a gostar da sua-< hoje foi o filme não é? (.) e depoi::s ahm parece que ahm as aulas (.) são um bocadinho mai::s monótonas para o ↓fi::m não sei estou-me a lembrar exactamente da aula do Harry Potter aquela actividade das vozes estava tão ↑gira e depois parece que tem assim uma quebra (-)
247	O	<INT> pois tive um azar também (.) logo logo me lembrei de explicar a gramática daquela forma
248	CT	[laughing] isso já passou (.) já estamos noutro step
249	O	pois já mas eu é que no me esqueço (-)
250	R	o que passou passou (-) =
251	CT	= exactamente eu acho que tem potencialidades que nos permitem até achar que vai ahm evoluir e vai melhorar o seu rendimento =

255	CT	porque ahm (..) as aulas no seu caso concreto quando são muito expositivas têm tendência a ter um pendor tradicional e:: depois a O confunde-se toda com aquilo e:: eu penso que tem que arranjar assim actividades dinâmicas que envolvam os alunos ahm impor-se quando têm essas actividades porque consegue se quiser consegue não é? e:: eu penso que se isso acontecer que a O ahm conseguirá evoluir e bem e bem está bem? hum o que é que vocês acham ?
256	S	também
257	CT	também não é ? porque vocês começaram por dizer que ninguém é perfeito

If Odete's emotional reactions are constrained by what happens both in the classroom and the POCs, it seems reasonable to suggest that language anxiety, far from being a stable personality factor, is, in fact, an emotion that emerges from the interaction and the expectations that are created in social contexts.

Renata 9-01-06

Odete's lessons on the 16th January and 13th February contained a variety of features that indicated LA was a likely influence on the interaction in her classes, and that were, to a certain extent, evident in different sources of data collected on this project.

On the other hand, Renata's lesson on the 9th January appeared to have few signs, not only in terms of interaction but Renata herself appeared to be a very calm person both in and outside the classroom, and it was particularly difficult to 'judge' her emotionally. In some respects, however, Renata's first lesson – the first recorded for this project – was just as striking as Odete's on the 16th January. This was because the interaction took place on an emotional continuum that seemed so different from many classrooms. Generally speaking, the pupils were quiet and it appeared as though Renata's presence also affected the level of noise. In the Researcher's observation notes (see Appendix 5) for this class, I made the comment that I could find little evidence of anxiety, either debilitating or facilitating. There seemed little enthusiasm in the lesson – whether on the part of the pupils or of Renata.

When looking at Table 20, the more 'obvious' signs of LA, such as trainee asides and consulting notes, were absent. In addition, Renata's reactions to pupil misbehavior were very few. Indeed, when Renata did raise her voice or deem it necessary to draw pupils' attention to their behaviour, it felt like a surprise.

The manifestations that appeared to be most prominent included the persistent patterns of nominating certain pupils in the class, resorting to Portuguese, overlong grammar explanations, and the use of comprehension checks. Of all the trainees it was Renata who resorted most regularly in her classes to using Portuguese. In the 'Teaching practice preconceptions questionnaire' (see Table 13), Renata had responded to the question about possible difficulties she would face on the practicum by saying 'not using Portuguese' when interacting with the pupils. This pattern of interaction merited further attention.

The focus of this class was the daily routine. The pupils were asked to make sentences in the simple present about a girl whose name was put on the blackboard. One of the possible manifestations of anxiety that was noticeable in Renata's lessons was her nominating particular pupils. This happened regularly with all the trainees' classes but the highest number in the twelve classes recorded for this project was in this lesson. The example below of Renata nominating Bruno is typical of these nominations. Firstly, there is an explanation of an activity that will follow, then, similarly to her colleague, Odete, Renata asks the pupils if they understand, first in English then in Portuguese. The pupils respond positively, but Bruno is asked to explain in Portuguese:

69	R	thank you very much now you're going to have to match the images with the actions (.) does everybody understand? todos perceberam?
70	PP	yes
71	R	Bruno can you explain please?
72	B	[explains in Portuguese] <IND>

Another pupil who is nominated regularly is Mónica. In the following intervention the focus on form and nominating the pupil are two of the manifestations of anxiety noted in this lesson. It is also worth noting that in the example below that Mónica explains in Portuguese without being prompted. This is a common feature of all the trainees' classes and points to a routine that was quickly established.

287	R	[moves around the class observing pupils, then goes back to the blackboard] Mónica can you tell me why here you put only an s [indicating the verbs written on the blackboard] here you put an s s and here you put es?
288	M	[explains in Portuguese] <IND>

However, a notable feature of Renata's first class was her explanations in Portuguese. In comparison with her colleagues, her interventions in Portuguese are often several lines long. In the SSI (545-548 Appendix 7), I ask the trainees whether they feel more control or more secure using Portuguese, and Renata replies that trainees 'may pay more attention if we speak Portuguese'. Whilst it is difficult to fully understand why teachers fall back on Portuguese, as we have seen with Odete, there is the sense that the trainees may be using Portuguese in order to avoid having to give instructions in English – a straightforward notion in theory but more difficult in practice (Moreira, 1991), and one that may be driven by anxiety avoidance behaviour. A further possibility is related to Renata's response about getting the pupils' attention. Just like Daly (1991) suggests that a feature of communication apprehension is the sense that all eyes are on us (see section 2.5 in Chapter 2), perhaps the converse may apply in the case of teachers, that is, not having the attention of pupils may cause a degree of anxiety because not being acknowledged may undermine our sense of self-esteem, especially when one is being observed and evaluated (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope, 1986).

However, when discussing one of the SRP episodes (see 1C in episodes selected for SRP in Appendix 5) she mentions that when stress is a factor or when they want to say something quickly, Portuguese is the language that comes out first or is used (Horwitz, 1996).

She also refers to the notion that she never thought it would be so difficult to not speak Portuguese, and idea she had also referred to when predicting what difficulties she would face on the practicum (see Table 14). Below is an example of Renata using Portuguese after a pupil has also explained in Portuguese:

209	R	[shakes her head] no (..) you have to pay attention ok (..) ok Raquel
210	R	[explains in Portuguese]
211	R	exactamente o presente simples é o tempo verbal que nós utilizamos MAIS utilizamos para falar do que costumamos fazer e na terceira pessoa acrescenta-se um s (.) Marisa podes ler o seguinte se faz favor?
212	M	[reads in English] <IND>
213	R	very good did everybody understand?

There is a sense, therefore, that Renata was exemplifying her own predictions, and using Portuguese for a combination of reasons – ensuring understanding, avoiding using English, and perhaps making sure that the lesson progressed.

In contrast with Renata's regular use of Portuguese, an isolated 'incident' in this class that I thought might be worth exploring was when Renata asks the pupils whether they have had a nice Christmas. When one pupil replies no, Renata responds with a surprised 'no?' This looked an ideal opportunity to speak further with the pupils but Renata looked reluctant to do this. In the SRP (see Episode 1A in episodes selected for SRP in Appendix 5), I ask Renata why she had not engaged with this pupil a little further. Her reply suggests that, unsurprisingly, the sense of being evaluated on the practicum is a pervasive one, and that taking time to interact with pupils may affect the degree to which the lesson plan is adhered to and completed successfully. Such an 'insignificant' feature at the beginning of the class being a possible manifestation of anxiety, and to a certain degree being substantiated only serves to show that LA may be subtly embedded in features of classroom interaction that appear mundane and routine. However, this may be especially evident on the practicum.

At this point it should be noted that the ST did not attend any of Renata's POCs that were recorded for this project. If Renata's lesson was striking for its lack of emotionality, then the POC was striking for its density in terms of what and how it was said. A brief glance at the talk proportion gives some idea of how the meeting was structured. There were only 18 turns. Both Renata and the CT look to have near parity in terms of turns. However, the CT speaks ten times more than Renata. Finally, Sandra has one turn and eight lines of talk and

Odete one turn and ten lines. The length of the POC was 13 minutes which, in all probability, was an influence on the way the POC was organised.

Trainee teacher	POC date	Length of POC (Mins)	CT Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Odete Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Renata Nº turns/ *nº lines*	Sandra Nº turns/ *nº lines*	TT Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Other turns Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Total Nºturns/ *nº lines*
Renata	09-01-06	13	9	1	7	1	-	-	18
			201	*10*	*22*	*8*	-	-	*241*

Table 25 Talk proportion in POC – Renata 9/01/06

After being asked by the CT at the beginning of the POC what she thought about her lesson, there was a clear sense that Renata was not satisfied and had already identified what she thought needed to be introduced to improve the lessons:

2	R	eu achei a minha aula um pouco parada na segunda-feira muito centrada em mim (..) poderia ter posto os alunos a participar mais a descobrir por eles próprios (.) serem eles a ir ao quadro (..) a::hm tenho que me mexer mais pela sala em vez de estar sempre no quadro (.) circular mais pela sala falar pela parte de trás da sala exemplificando junto dos alunos (.) pôr os alunos a falarem mais a explicar a fazer as actividades tudo que não ser sempre só eu (-)

One of the features of Renata's four lessons (see Table 20) was that her movement around the classroom gradually increased, which in the last lesson on the 25th was particularly noticeable. Renata's first two written reflections (discussed at the beginning of this chapter) had reflected her initial disappointment and then a greater sense of satisfaction as the first two performances of her practicum made a transition from less dynamic to more dynamic performances. Although she does not explicitly mention movement in these reflections, it is possible that the image of being more dynamic already involved these considerations of teacher movement in the classrooms.

Sandra's intervention refers specifically to how the lesson could have been more dynamic by using a different tone of voice and moving away from teacher-centred to student-centred lessons.

3	S	= eu partilho da mesma opinião (.) *acho que::* a aula podia ter sido mais dinâmica utilizando um timbre de voz diferente a::hm mas para isso se calhar as actividades como depois foram feitas na aula seguinte ahm resultaram (.) focar a aula nos alunos e não na professora (.) tornar a aula mais dinâmica (.) circular mais pela sala (.) de resto acho que correu bem

Sandra's previous intervention and the stretch of talk below (interventions 4-7) is typical of the way the three trainees reflected on each other's teaching, that is to say within 'safe' parameters, trying to ensure they did not give the mentors reasons to 'find fault' with their performances, a feature of the POCs which, as will be seen in 4.5, is only explicitly discussed in the final meeting of the practicum. In actual fact, these 'safe' reflections, together with the trainee asides in the class could be interpreted not only as a supportive strategy but also an anxiety avoidance strategy in that they allow a degree of control to be exerted by the trainees over uncertain features of the practicum.

After the CT's questions (see turn 4 below), which clearly orient to Renata's 'problems' and ways to deal with these, Renata specifies the areas of her teaching which need to be improved: to implement dynamic activities, to disguise her tone of voice, a feature of her personality, and aim to make the classes more dynamic by getting the pupils involved:

4	CT	então como é que poderia ter tornado a aula mais dinâmica ? o que é que acha que falhou ? ahm foram as activida::dês? o que é que acha que poderia ter melhorado ahm ou onde é que acha que está no fundo o problema (.) onde é que reside os principais problemas da ahm a sua aula ?
5	R	no tipo de actividades tenho que arranjar actividades lúdicas dinâmicas que po- sejam os alunos a fazer que sejam os alunos a construir entre aspas para disfarçar o meu tom de voz
		que vem da minha personalidade e tentar tornar a aula mais mexida por parte dos alunos (-) ° penso que é aí que falha mais ° (-)
6	CT	e a O o que é que::?
7	O	é assim eu partilho da mesma opinião que a R também não é ? considero que a aula podia ter sido um pouquinho mais dinâmica (-) e ela ter circulado mais pela sala (-) ↑a::hm penso que a aula foi um pouco estanque e mais direcciona::da para:: ahm para ela em vez de ser para os alunos (.) não houve muita inter-acção (-) (.) ↑porém considero que a aula até correu bem dentro de:: ° podia era ter diversificado um bocadinho mais as actividades °

The CT begins by using a series of 'stroking asides' (Wajnyrb, 1994:278). For example, she starts (see intervention 8 in Appendix 5) by saying the materials Renata uses are good but that they are not suitable for the pupils, then she praises Renata's fluency and accuracy in English but then says she does not always resort to Portuguese in appropriate ways. She also uses a 'conceding aside' (ibid.:282) to acknowledge Renata's efforts to create a favourable working environment in the classroom but says that her endeavour is not successful because the activities and materials are not related to the pupils' needs or interests. At this point the

CT uses several 'nonsupportive negative strategies' (Arndt and Janney, 1985) in her talk. Two examples of these strategies (see part of intervention 8 below) are used to point out that the activities of Renata are monotonous and repetitive:

		ahm as actividades apresentadas são mu::ito monótonas e:: como viu permitem a desconcentração dos alunos (-)
		sempre ao longo da aula nunca houve alteração das actividades muito ↓monótonas repetitivas e pouco diversificadas (-)

In fact, one of the reasons this POC is especially notable in this project is that this was the only POC in which this emotive strategy was used. Taking into account the duration of this POC and the length of the CTs turns, it is possible that this POC had a particularly negative influence on the trainees' perceptions of the CT during this period of the practicum because the criticism was concentrated, focused and direct – and carried out in a short amount of time.

Although it is not possible to judge the perlocutionary effect on the trainees in this POC due to the very few and minimal turns of the trainees, perhaps this POC – and possibly others that were not recorded for this project – can help to account for the trainees' interpretations of the mentors' roles and their style of talking which are expressed in the semi-structured interview, and which will be explored further in the following section of this chapter.

It is likely, in fact, that the CT's use of these strategies – and others – in her supervisory talk influenced how the trainees' saw themselves and therefore contributed to their experience of anxiety. It is also likely that the CT's comments in this POC help to account for Renata's behaviour in the next two of her lessons that were recorded for this project, the first of which will be discussed shortly.

The key focus, then, of the CT's comments (see Table 26 below for the topics oriented to in this POC) centred on Renata's personality and self-expression – both vocal and in terms of body language.

Phase or type of post observation conference	Topic (s) oriented to in interaction	Interlocutor	The way the topic is introduced
2nd phase	Pace of lesson	Renata	*
	Teacher-centred lesson	Renata	C
	Pupil participation	Renata	C
	Teacher movement in classroom (proxemic)	Renata	C
	Pupil participation	Renata	C
3rd phase	Degree to which lesson was dynamic	Sandra	IT
	Teacher self-expression (voice)	Sandra	C
	Teacher-centred lesson	Sandra	C
	Teacher movement in classroom (proxemic)	Sandra	C
	Classroom activities	Renata	C
	Teacher self-expression(voice)/ personality	Renata	C
	Teacher attitude	Odete	C
	Teacher movement in classroom (proxemic)	Odete	C
	Teacher-centred lesson	Odete	C
	Classroom interaction	Odete	C
	Classroom activities	Odete	C
4th phase	Lesson planning and knowledge of TEFL concepts	CT	IT
	Classroom activities	CT	IT
	Pupil attention and participation	CT	C
	Classroom activities	CT	C
	Classroom materials	CT	C
	Fluency and accuracy in English	CT	IT
	Use of Portuguese	CT	C
	Steps and phases of lesson	CT	IT
	Time management	CT	C
	Pupil attention	CT	C
	Pupil interests	CT	C
	Classroom climate	CT	C
	Routine classroom language	CT	IT
	Communication strategies (body language)	CT	C
	Teacher self-expression (voice)	CT	C
	Monitoring pupil understanding	CT	IT
	Pupil participation	CT	C
	Teacher-pupil interaction	CT	C
	Group work	CT	C
	Pupil motivation	CT	C
	Time management	CT	IT
	Management of classroom space	CT	C
	Teacher personality and attitude	CT	C
	Classroom activities	CT	C

Table 26 Topic management in POC – Renata 9/01/2006

In the CT's turn (part of intervention 12) below, we can see her use one of the nonsupportive negative emotive strategies to refer to Renata's nature or way of being:

		que eu quero dizer ?< a R por feitio é uma pessoa pouco expressiva expressa-se num tom num tom de voz muito baixo de forma inibida e ↓monótona .hh portanto ao procurar estratégias mais dinâmicas e inovadoras imprime naturalmente um ritmo maior ritmo às aulas e mais entusiasmo também porque a sua expressão não não não denota grande
13	R	entusiasmo enquanto está a dar a aula (-) .hh portanto na minha opinião pode melhorara a comunicação com os alunos se se esforçar por ser mais ↑expressiva recorrer à linguagem //corporal// // gestos //

What is important to note is how the CT thinks Renata should be more expressive in order to improve her communication with the pupils and maintain discipline by imposing herself more. In fact, in her next turn, shortly after the above intervention (see part of intervention 14 below) the CT is very likely about to say that Renata's nature is her 'principal problem' but stops short of this, and uses another 'stroking aside' to emphasise her attentiveness to the pupils, a quality she praises further.

However, similar to Odete, the CT stresses the necessity ('tudo dependerá' see part of intervention 14 below) for Renata to implement dynamic strategies in order to overcome her 'handicap'. In an important way, then, Renata was being positioned as a monotonous person/teacher who needed to invest significantly in dynamic activities:

		R eu penso que aqui é que reside o principal pr- a R é por feitio uma pessoa inibida pouco expressiva tímida ahm contudo eu acho que manifesta grande disponibilidade para os alunos ↑está atenta às suas necessidades revela também capacidade de diálogo um estado de espírito positivo perante os alunos (.) ahm eu penso que poderá (..) tudo dependerá das estratégias e das actividades que escolher (-) ↑se arranjar estratégias e actividades que sejam por si dinâmicas .) poderá um pouco colmatar o esse seu handicap em termos de feitio percebe

The CT's penultimate turn (see intervention 16 below) involves a series of directives ('tem que reflectir', 'deve reflectir', 'deverá esforçar-se') and a further use of a 'nonsupportive negative strategy'. Renata's last, but minimal turn, is a quietly spoken acknowledgment. In some respects, given the length and content of her turns and the manner in which they were delivered, the CT's final turn in this POC has an unintended irony about it:

16	CT	eu penso que tem que reflectir mais nisso (-) ahm (.) concluindo eu acho que os alunos adquiriram de um forma geral as aprendizagens propostas .hh contudo a aula decorreu sem grande entusiasmo e dinamismo que acho que é um aspecto a corrigir e que deve ser alvo de maior reflexão (-) deve reflectir mais uma vez sobre as actividades e:: utilizar (..) ahm dar mais ritmo e dinamismo às suas aulas º é isso º eu acho que:: deverá esforçar-se por pensar mais nesta questão porque a partir daqui penso que poderá enfim evoluir no seu na sua actuação
17	R	ºestá bemº
18	CT	e:: penso que é só

The lesson and the POC for the 9th January may have been a key moment for Renata in her practicum. Although after this lesson there were two intervening lessons and POCs before the next lesson and POC which were part of this project, the changes Renata incorporated into her teaching were, I think, visible in the lesson on the 9th February. It is this lesson which I will now discuss.

Renata 9-02-06

In Table 20 there are several differences which are notable between this lesson and the previous one. First of all, manifestations of trainee anxiety in several categories had decreased. The '(Over)use of comprehension checks' had halved, 'Resorting to Portuguese' had decreased significantly, and the 'Persistent nominating of certain pupils' had more than halved, as had examples of 'Overlong grammar explanations'. What had increased was the 'Noticeably animated kinesic/verbal behaviour', the 'Trainees' reactions to pupil behaviour', and there was a slight increase in the 'Noticeably animated movements around the classroom'.

In the Researcher's observation notes for this class (see Appendix 5), I make a note at 10.52 (the class had started at 10.30am) that Renata is saying 'quickly, quickly', and at 11.01 she said that the class was going to play 'another game'. I added in these notes that all of the trainees, Renata was the most difficult to judge in terms of her emotional reactions given her calm appearance and manner. However, during this lesson, there was a real sense that Renata was making an effort to be dynamic, and I thought that this might be interpreted as a manifestation of anxiety because this could be seen as part of her attempt to move away from a less desirable image towards a more desirable one, or, in other words, this was an effort to cast off her monotonous, timid and traditional image in order to construct a more dynamic and interesting teaching persona. To a certain extent, this is what appeared to have happened

in her first two lessons judging by her written reflections. However, I had no data from these two classes to substantiate this claim. In this lesson, then, there did appear to be signs that Renata was trying to change. Given the difficulties in identifying manifestations of anxiety in Renata's lessons, this was one of the reasons that I chose more of these examples of animated behaviour to explore in the SRPs for Renata than the other trainees. The first stretch of talk below (42-44) sees Renata explaining to the pupils that they are going to play hangman but also shows her moving around the classroom as she sets the activity up:

42	R	so now we are going to play hangman [moves to the right-hand side of the classroom at the front near the door] so now we are going to play hangman but with the jobs (.) ok?
43	P	<IND>
44	R	[nods and moves to the front of the blackboard, standing in front of the middle row of desks] this row [indicating pupils seated in the middle row] is going be one group this group [indicating the pupils seated on the left-hand side of the classroom] is going to be another group and these four [indicating the four pupils seated on the right-hand side of the classroom] will be another group (.) but Bruno and Carlotta can bring their chairs and sit here [referring to the four pupils] please

The exchanges below (127-136) show Renata using the word 'quickly' to impose, in all likelihood, a dynamic rhythm on the class. Furthermore, in order to get the pupils to make less noise she threatens to take a point away:

127	R	[points to middle row] quickly
128	P	'd'
129	R	[indicates to pupil where she should write the letter 'd']
130	P	[writes 'd' in the word]
131	R	[points to left-hand side row] quickly
132	P	'r'
133	R	[indicates to pupil where she should write the letter 'r']
134	P	[writes 'r' in the word]
135	R	[standing behind the teacher's desk] the group that makes too much noise (..) I'll take a point (.) you're making too much noise
136	PP	[quieten down]

As will be seen in the discussion on the POC of this lesson, Renata was aware that the CT did not like noise in the classroom (see Episode 1D in episodes selected for SRP in Appendix 5)

whereas Renata said that this did not trouble her. In this type of animated behaviour, then, I suggest that it is possible to not only see Renata shaping her behaviour to create a more dynamic image, but that this behaviour also involves living up to the expectations created by the mentors.

In comparison with the previous POC, the one that took place on the 9-02-06 was longer in duration. The CT dominated the interaction whilst Renata's number of turns and lines was slightly ahead of Sandra. Odete had the fewest number of lines and turns.

Trainee teacher	POC date	Length of POC (Mins)	CT Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Odete Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Renata Nº turns/ *nº lines*	Sandra Nº turns/ *nº lines*	TT Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Other turns Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Total Nºturns/ *nº lines*
Renata	09-02-06	35	109	18	57	53	-	-	237
			511	*42*	*98*	*90*	-	-	*741*

Table27 Talk proportion in POC – Renata 9/02/06

The first topic that Renata tried to introduce was the game of Hangman but, as can be seen in the interventions below (1-6), she was quickly interrupted and asked by the CT to make a global analysis of the lesson:

1	CT	então R o que é que faça lá a observação da sua aula o que é que achou:: ?
2	R	ahm no jogo da forca
3	CT	<INT> ↑só! ? vai começar pelo jogo da forca ? comece lá assim? ahm faça uma análise global da da aula
4	R	ahm gostei (-) estavam particularmente muito barulhentos hoje (.) especialmente o Jorge (.) que:: estava contrariado de estar onde estava sentado e:: por isso não tomou atenção nenhuma à aula mas
5	CT	<INT> estava contrariado porquê? ele não queria ficar naqueles grupos era ?
6	R	não queria ficar ao pé da Mónica

Although it does seem a specific place to start her reflection, the CT does not allow Renata to start the reflection on her own terms. Whilst it will always be open to question as to what Renata was going to say, I think she may have been orientating to the Hangman game because it involved important considerations for her.

Firstly, the pupils were motivated and enjoyed playing the game; secondly, it was a game, a dynamic activity that the CT (and probably the ST, too)[8] had asked Renata to implement more often in order to offset her lack of dynamism. Thirdly, during the game, Renata had to warn the pupils about making too much noise, a course of action probably influenced by the fact that she was being observed by the CT. That is probably why Renata resumed her interrupted turn by saying that she enjoyed the class but then added that the pupils had been especially noisy. Indeed, the question of pupil discipline was quickly oriented to and, as can be seen in Table 28 below, was a topic that was regularly referred to in this POC.

Phase or type of post observation conference	Topic (s) oriented to in interaction	Interlocutor	The way the topic is introduced
2nd phase	Pupil behaviour (discipline)	Renata	*
	Teacher attitude to pupil discipline	CT	C
	Classroom management strategies	CT	C
	Activities and classroom management	CT	C
	Classroom activities (games)	Sandra	C
	Games and pupil learning	CT	C
	Organisation of pupils for activities	Renata	C
	Anticipated problems	CT	C
	Pupil interest and understanding	Renata	IT
	Use of worksheet	Renata	C
	Pupil interest (games)	Renata	C
	Classroom discipline	Renata	IT
	Teacher self-expression (voice and kinesic)	CT	C
3rd phase	Classroom materials and activities	Sandra	IT
	Classroom discipline	Sandra	C
	Classroom management strategies	CT	C
	Role of interaction in learning	CT	C
	Teacher movement in classroom (proxemic)	Odete	IT
	Teacher emotions	CT	C
	Teacher self-expression and classroom activities	CT	C
	Teacher self-expression and classroom management	CT	C
	Strategies for classroom control	CT	C
	Teaching strategies (exemplification)	Odete	IT
	Use of Portuguese	Sandra	IT
	Fluency and accuracy in English	CT	C
	Focus on form	CT	C
	Teaching strategies (exemplification)	CT	C
	Language errors (written)	CT	IT
	Socio-cultural references in lesson plans	CT	C
	Pupil participation and interest	Odete	IT
4th phase	Pupil interests (socio-cultural aspects)	CT	IT
	Implementation of activities	CT	C

[8] At this point it is worth recalling that none of Renata's POCs recorded for this project involved the partcipation of the supervising teacher.

	Classroom materials	CT	C
	Focus on form	CT	C
	Monitoring pupil understanding	CT	C
	Classroom activities (game)	CT	IT
	Pupil interest (game)	CT	C
	Pupil skills (writing)	CT	C
	Lesson summary	CT	IT
	Assessment strategies	CT	IT

Table 28 Topic management in POC – Renata 9/02/2006

The question of discipline raised important issues. Firstly, the CT again refers to Renata's facial expressions (see part of intervention 13 below), saying that the lesson had not gone so well because Renata is not firm enough when controlling pupil behaviour and that she should think about other strategies for classroom management and pupil discipline:

		acho que a sua aula hoje ahm (..) não correu tão bem porque penso que a R não é muito firme na no controle da turma das regras e penso que também tem a ver um pouco ahm com a sua expressão quer dizer devia ser mais
		firme e expressiva dar mesmo a ideia que está > zangada está aborrecida e que assim a aula não pode continuar < e portanto arranjar estratégias e alternativas para controlo da turma

In the exchange below (59-62), however, Renata says that she is not troubled by noise but is more worried about pupils being rude. At this point the CT uses a 'deflecting aside' (Wajnyrb, 1994:282), a feature of supervisory talk that orientates to shared experiences and temporarily reduces assyemtry in a relationship, in this case the CT draws on her own experience to emphasise the difference between her facial expressions and Renata's. Renata accepts the CT's interpretation and it seems to be taken in good humour as there is laughter in her voice when she responds to the CT. Sandra also appears to take the positon that this is an area to be worked on.

59	R	estavam um bocadinho mais agitados mas > é o que eu estava a dizer à S < o barulho a mim não me incomoda incomoda mais quando eles passam o limite de já serem mal educados como o Vasco que disse a asneira duas vezes chamei a atenção a primeira vez porque saiu-lhe mas quando disse a segunda vez (-)
60	CT	a sua expressão ahm é engraçada é engraçada a sua expressão não se altera muito eu quando me aborreço eu transformo-me completamente eu fi:co (.) a R não a R tem a ver provavelmente com a > sua forma de estar e o seu feitio < mas a R ahm quando se aborrece ahm repreende os alunos no me::smo ahm (.) no mesmo tom quer dizer não se altera o sua fácies não se ↑altera fica ahm e isso também me parece a mim que:: isso transmite-se aos alunos e eles acham até que a R não está assim tão aborrecida quanto isso então podem continuar (-)
61	R	*pois tenho que trabalhar mais isso*
62	S	acho que é assim mesmo

In one of her interventions (101) in this POC, the CT says that Renata has quite a lot of difficulties expressing her emotions, and that whether she is happy or whether she is sad, the way she express herself is always the same. The CT also adds that Renata does blush a little but that this manifestation of emotion may be used against her in the classroom:

	——	não acham isso da R? ela não se altera muito em termos de ahm eu acho isso às vezes ela cora um bocadinho eu acho cora um bocadinho
102	CT	porque vê-se que está aborrecida
103	O	está a ser expressiva [laughing]
104	CT	que está aborrecida mas isso até pode parecer outra coisa é que quando ela cora pode dar um pouco a ideia da incapacidade que está a demonstrar para controlar a turma

When talking about strategies for classroom management, the CT mentions one of the trainees from the previous year who used to turn the light off when she was annoyed with the pupils and wanted to get their attention. Sandra, whose lessons and POCs I will discuss shortly, introduced this strategy into her classes, so whilst it is clear that the CT's talk did have an influence upon the thinking and practice of the three trainees of this study, more importantly this involved them trying to live up to the images that both the CT and the trainees were jointly constructing for themselves.

The control of the class and issue of discipline are also related to games, and the CT says that games encourage pupils to be noisy. This emphasis on the control of the class

probably led Sandra to think that the CT was suggesting they do not implement games in the classroom. However, this is not the case, and it becomes apparent that games are seen as key in the learning of pupils of this age:

14	S	= mas continuarmos assim com jogos ?
15	CT	sim sim sem ↑dúvida os jogos eles gostam e é do interesse dos alunos eles gostam //imenso//
16	S	// e aprendem//
17	CT	e aprendem eu acho que eles aprendem é uma forma lúdica de aprender e aprendem efectivamente (-) e ↑há alunos estou convencida que há alunos ahm que aprendem melhor desta forma (-) =
18	O	= e é aprendem sem saber que estão a aprender
19	CT	exactamente sem saber que estão a aprender ma::s ahm ° é importante estas regras muito importante ° eu penso que isto hoje foi assi::m aquele início da aula que havia muita agitação os alunos viravam-se //para trás//

In a certain way, then, implementing the very activities that the trainees, especially Odete and Renata, needed to be more dynamic and to get the pupils interested, also involved risks as they knew the CT (and, likely, the ST – see, for example, ST's comments in the POC/23-03/46-56) would be expecting to see dynamic activities, but ones that were controlled and orderly. As the CT says in this POC:

91	CT	a ordem a ordem é fundamental na aprendizagem

In relation to Renata's first two classes and the POCs, I think it possible to see key factors emerging that are likely to have influenced both her teaching and the emotional experience that this constitutes (Day and Leitch, 2001; Day, Hargreaves, 1998, 2000). Whilst signs and experience of LA do not seem to be emerging as clearly as they do in the case of Odete, there are indications that Renata is attempting to 'adapt' her personality and practice inside the classroom in accordance with the way she has been positioned as 'monotonous', a trainee whose presence and activities in the classroom need to be dynamic if she is to engage the pupils' interests. In this respect, she is likely to have experienced tension as she not only endeavoured to make her classes more dynamic, but also construct a more dynamic and emotional teaching 'identity'.

At this point, then, I will move on to discuss the lessons of Sandra, the trainee who, unlike Renata, quickly established herself as a dynamic presence in the classroom, and who provided both the mentors and her colleagues with a point of reference.

Sandra 30-01-06

For this lesson there was no data gathered from the POC due to a technical problem with the recorder. However, I will briefly discuss the lesson as this was the first of Sandra's classes I saw, and certain parts of the class were selected for SRP episodes.

In the Researcher's observation notes for this class (see Appendix 6), I noted that before the lesson Sandra told me that both the trainees and the mentors were nervous about me audio recording their POCs. I tried to reassure Sandra that nothing was going to affect their evaluation and that it was part of my project. I had already recorded Renata's lesson on the 9th January and Odete's on the 16th January so this comment somewhat surprised me. However, it was a reminder that my 'presence' as a researcher was something that had been discussed between the mentors and the trainees. Whilst it was possible that Sandra was nervous about the recording, her comments may also have been influenced by one or both of the mentors, who may have remarked upon the resrach procedure.

Looking at Table 20, in comparison with the first lessons of her colleagues, Sandra uses less 'comprehension checks' and the 'resorting to Portuguese' is less evident. However, this was Sandra's fifth class and she had had time to adapt her teaching in accordance, in all probability, with the recommendations of the mentors. Taking into account the 'undesirable images of the teacher and teaching' (see Table 19) that were emerging from the trainees' first reflections based on their first two lessons, plus the other two lessons that Sandra had given, the few examples of the above manifestations of trainee anxiety may be partly explained with reference to this 'experience'. In her written reflection on her first lesson (17th October see Appendix 6), Sandra refers to the areas of her teaching below that need to be reflected on:

Em relação à opinião das professoras Supervisora e Cooperante, devo recorrer menos à língua materna; ter em atenção os alunos com mais e menos dificuldades, pois, não dei a devida atenção a alguns alunos, e devo ter também em atenção a mistura da língua inglesa com a língua portuguesa.

In the first lesson, the habit of nominating certain pupils is as evident in Sandra's interaction as it is in her colleagues'. Another factor that arises from Sandra's comments above, then, is the possibility that pupils with difficulties may not be nominated as often as

'good' pupils because this may hold up class proceedings, a factor in all likelihood that trainees will consider because of the sense of evaluation that is difficult to escape on the practicum.

Although in the Researcher's observation notes (see Appendix 6), I remark that, generally speaking, she seems relaxed, I did note that Sandra used phrases like 'Are you looking at me?' or 'One, two, three, are you looking at me?'. If she had been nervous about being audio recorded in the POCs, then perhaps a video recording made her more conscious of her 'perfomance'. When studying the transcripts of her lessons more closely, I began to consider the idea that Sandra enjoyed the attention and that there was possibly some kind of performance anxiety underlying Sandra's teaching. This notion became clearer in the semi-structured interview. Also Sandra had a certain reluctance to accept criticism which gradually became evident from the POCs. These factors seemed to indicate someone who was particularly keen to hear her performances praised.

In relation to her first lesson, perhaps the clearest indication that anxiety may be a factor underlying her performances was the dynamic and varied way she used her voice and gestures. This was one of the reasons I chose to explore some of her animated movements and vocal habits in the SRPs (see 1A in 4.6 and 2D in episodes selected for SRP in Appendix 6). As the research project progressed, I also thought that other factors that Sandra may have interpreted as detracting from her performances and the image she was trying to live up to might also be related to anxiety, such as the increasing number of times she reacts to pupils' disruptive behavior as well as her reactions to pupils' laughter. These aspects will be explored further on.

Below (see interventions 209-221) we can see Sandra using her voice in a dynamic way as she points to the action words on the blackboard which had been placed underneath flashcards with images representing the actions in order to teach the present continuous:

209	C	↑danc↓ing
210	S	↑read↓ing [smiling and moving her head to one side]
211	C	↑read↓ing
212	S	↑play↓ing
213	C	↑play↓ing
214	S	↑walk↓ing
215	C	↑walk↓ing
216	S	↑skipp↓ing
217	C	↑skipp↓ing
218	S	↑cook↓ing
219	C	↑cook↓ing
220	S	[claps her hands once] what is this?
221	P	the present continuous

As a final activity in this lesson, Sandra also played a song which contained lyrics with examples of the present continuous. It is interesting to note her behaviour (interventions 474-476) while the song is playing and after the song has finished:

474	S	[stands at the front of the class and makes conductor-like movements with her arms; turns down the music at times so pupils are singing the lyrics without the music]
475	S	ok we are going to listen to it again did you like it?
476	PP	yes

In some respects, then, this behaviour might be interpreted as Sandra's efforts at making her classes both enjoyable and creative for the pupils, aspects that she referred to when responding to the questionnaires at the beginning of the research period (see Tables 12 and 13). In fact, when referring to the difficulties she might face on the TP (see Table 13), she mentions her fear that the pupils might not like her classes. It is possible, then, that any experience of LA that Sandra may have experienced could be related to her desire to make her classes as enjoyable as possible.

Another factor that is worth mentioning in relation to the first lesson is that I had noted that Renata wrote sentences on the board for Sandra while she was talking to the pupils. This was, of course, a legitimate part of team-teaching that was allowed for in the Prática Pedagógica programme (see Appendix 9), but at one point (interventions 317-318 in Appendix 6) Sandra hands Renata a piece of paper, and the latter then begins writing on the board. This led me to speculate that Sandra may have been more comfortable with interacting with the pupils as opposed to focusing on board work. Indeed the examples of

'Trainee asides' and Sandra 'Consulting notes' were clustered around an explanation (377-387) that Sandra attempted on the blackboard. This arose because when Sandra asked the class whether the spelling of 'writing' was ok, a pupil responded that there was a 't' missing. This quickly led Sandra to consult Renata as can be seen below. This also prompted Sandra to consult her notes and to come up with a 'temporary' solution by explaining in Portuguese that this was an exception:

377	S	[looks at the blackboard and goes to Renata and speaks quietly with her] is it right? [picking up the worksheet] let's see here
378	PP	não falta um t <IND> [considerable noise]
379	S	[briefly consulting with Renata again] ok why? (..) WRITING (.) ok::: we have a problem [waving her arms in the air] let's look (.) can you all look here please (.) writing one t or two ts?
380	PP	two
381	S	ok why I don't know why (-) [waves worksheet in the air] let's look here [consulting worksheet] ahm where let me see:: ahm can I explain writing [draws a box around the word writing on the blackboard] [speaking in Portuguese] º <IND> º vocês sabem isso (.) writing têm uma consoante e têm uma?
382	PP	//vogal// =
383	S	= mas este caso é uma ex-
384	PP	excepção
385	S	ahm é como o caso de swimming [writes 'swim' on the blackboard] swim (.) we have the word swim it has a consoante e uma vogal (.) what do we do with the word swim? (.) we take the consoante and acrescentarmos um m and the ing mas o caso do writing isto não acontece porque é um excepção (.) há palavras em Português que são uma excepção
386	PP	<IND>
387	S	[facing the class and holding up one finger] é só um t (.) it's just one t (.) ok?

However, a little further on in the lesson (423-451 see Appendix 6), Sandra again explains why writing only has one 't', and is also simultaneously communicating with the CT and her colleagues at the back of the class whilst doing this.

As I mentioned in my notes on the class, this probably contributed to my thinking that Sandra may have been less comfortable with explaining aspects of language usage and writing, and was probably more at ease interacting with the pupils. This is why I included the trainee asides above and the explanation of writing that Sandra gave in this lesson as episodes (see 1 C in Appendix 6 and 1 D in 4.6) for her SRP.

Sandra 2-02-06

This lesson and the subsequent POC created an interesting contrast because there were signs that a certain amount of tension was emerging between the trainees – especially Sandra – and the mentors.

The lesson itself had appeared to go very well for Sandra. She had begun by singing 'Happy birthday' in English to a pupil and then moved on to revising vocabulary in the present continuous in order to prepare pupils for the miming game and subsequent activities that would follow. In the Researcher's observation notes, I wrote that Sandra appeared relaxed and was smiling with the pupils and that the latter were interested and participative.

The objective of the lesson was for the pupils to learn question tags, and as will be seen shortly in the discussion of the POC, both mentors praised Sandra for achieving this objective.

In terms of manifestations of trainee anxiety, there were some contrasts with the previous lesson but they seem less significant than those discernible in Odete and Renata's classes. Firstly, there were no instances of 'Trainee asides' or 'Consulting notes', maybe indicating that moments of uncertainty were not so evident. The 'Nominating of certain pupils' had decreased whereas the '(Over) use of comprehension checks' had increased, both maybe having been the result of Sandra attempts to get pupils with difficulties to participate in the class (see POC/2-02/19 and Sandra's written reflection in Appendix 6). In addition, the dynamic vocal and kinesic qualities were not as evident in this lesson as the previous one but were still clearly part of her overall performance.

From my own observations of the class I remarked that perhaps Sandra nominated pupils to avoid explaining about language usage in English. After further study of the transcriptions, I also considered the possibility that Sandra, like her colleagues, allowed pupils to respond in Portuguese to avoid having to give instructions themselves in English but also, taking into account the context of evaluation, to move the class along, a strategy that had quickly become a difficult habit to break.

The interventions below (209-214) are part of an exchange in which Sandra has asked pupils what the words on the board are and a pupil responds in English, 'a question'. After asking what type of question and waiting, albeit very briefly, for an answer in English, she is met with silence, perhaps something that Sandra did not want to entertain in her classes (cf Tsui, 1996) given her desire to give dynamic classes. She then uses what could be called a 'disguised' direct nomination, that is, she seems to be asking for any pupil to volunteer the explanation but there is no pause to allow pupils to answer, and in reality this is

asking Bruno to respond so as to ensure the class gets the right answer. Again, possibly the sense of evaluation is shaping her interaction in such instances.

209	S	what type of question?
210	P	in Portuguese?
211	S	in English (.) no?
212	C	<SIL>
213	S	this is called a question tag a question tag (.) to see if this [pointing to the part of the sentence before the question tag] is correct or not who wants to be my translator Bruno?
214	B	[explains in Portuguese]

In the exchanges in the class below (368-373), Sandra asks in English who can help to explain, but the pupil responds in Portuguese. Whilst in my notes, I ponder the idea that Sandra might be avoiding giving instructions in English, there also appears to be a reluctance to exemplify.

368	S	I'm going to explain if you let me (.) let me explain ok one //two three//
369	PP	//two three//
370	S	ok (..) if I stay on this [pointing to a square on the board] place here (.) on this square I have to say this in the negative and the affirmative (.) ok who can help out?
371	P	<IND> [pupil explains in Portuguese]
372	S	ok you can come and do this one
373	P	[moves to see what is written on the square] he is

However, whilst exploring and identifying LA in all the trainees' classes is a difficult and complex task, each trainee had their own particularities.

From the perspective of the trainees' four lessons pertaining to this project, the differences between Odete's first and second lessons, and Renata's first and second and, as we shall see, Renata's third and fourth lessons, and how these differences could be related to language anxiety, were more distinct than the differences between Sandra's lessons. In other words, the efforts made by both Odete and Renata to overcome what they saw as their difficulties and to move towards a more dynamic image were more visible. Sandra, on the other hand, established a dynamic image for herself from the beginning so whilst there are indications that Sandra also shared certain characteristics of interaction in her classes with

both Renata and Odete that might have been indicative of LA, there is a consistency in Sandra's classes that make identifying LA in her classes more difficult.

According to the supervising teacher (see Researcher's observation notes in Appendix 6) the only time when Sandra had not given a good lesson was when she was ill. This is also Sandra's interpretation, in her written reflection, for the uncharacteristic lesson given on the 28th November:

…apesar de me encontrar calma e a turma até estar sossegada, senti que não era eu que estava ali. Isto deve-se maioritariamente ao meu estado de saúde, uma vez que estava doente e por esse motivo, pouco dinâmica.

However, given the complexity of researching anxiety, this is why it was also important to explore other manifestations or sources of LA in data from other contexts. In the case of Sandra, the POCs were particularly interesting as they revealed possible influences on Sandra's own experience of this emotion.

In this POC the ST predominates in terms of lines while Sandra has the highest number of turns. In addition, Sandra only has approximately 50 lines less than the CT. Renata and Odete are third and fourth respectively in terms of turns and lines.

Trainee teacher	POC date	Length of POC (Mins)	CT Nº turns/ *nº lines*	ST Nº turns/ *nº lines*	Odete Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Renata Nº turns/ *nº lines*	Sandra Nº turns/ *nº lines*	TT Nº turns / *nº lines*	Other turns Nº turns/ *nº lines*	Total Nºturns/ *nº lines*
Sandra	02-02-06	43	89	122	7	27	126	4	-	375
			304	*390*	*25*	*48*	*253*	*4*	-	*1024*

Table 29 Talk proportion in POC – Sandra 2/02/06

This was the first POC of Sandra's that I had access to. What was particularly striking about this POC was the amount of praise that Sandra received from the mentors. In fact, Sandra received more praise in the form of 'supportive positive strategies' (Arndt and Janney, 1985) than in any other POC and, in general terms, more than any other trainee in terms of the data collected. However, on the other hand there were emerging signs that Sandra was reluctant to accept criticism.

Everything pointed to a lesson that had gone extremely well. It was in the 2nd phase of the meeting in relation to the topics (see Table 30 below) 'Pupil use of Portuguese' and 'Use

of Portuguese', however, that the first signs of what might be referred to as Sandra's 'resistance' began to emerge.

Phase or type of post observation conference	Topic (s) oriented to in interaction	Interlocutor	The way the topic is introduced
2nd phase	Classroom activities	S	*
	Pupil learning	S	IT
	Pupils with special needs	CT	C
	Pupil participation	S	IT
	Pupil use of Portuguese	ST	IT
	Use of Portuguese	CT	C
	Teacher empathy with pupils	S	C
3rd phase	Pupil participation and learning	O	C
	Teacher attitude	O	C
4th phase	Teacher attitude	CT	IT
	Teacher instructions	CT	IT
	Grading language (exemplification)	ST	C
	Pupil understanding	CT	C
	Classroom activities (revision of verbs)	CT	C
	Use of Portuguese	CT	IT
	Pupil learning	CT	IT
	Classroom materials	CT	IT
	Teacher attitude and classroom management	CT	IT
	Pupil-teacher relationship	CT	C
	Pupil learning	ST	IT
	Classroom materials	ST	C
	Pupil participation	ST	C
	Teacher explanations (grammar)	ST	C
	Pupil participation	R	C
	Classroom activities (rules of game)	ST	IT
	Use of English	ST	C
	Language errors (oral)	ST	IT
	Teacher receptivity to criticism	ST	IT

Table 30 Topic management in POC – Sandra 2/02/2006

As Sandra was finishing talking about a particularly difficult pupil who had participated in the class, the ST interrupts and asks Sandra whether the strategy of asking pupils to translate for each other is being used too much. In the interventions below (50-57), we can see how these exchanges develop:

50	ST	<INT> oh S posso só interromper porque falaste há um bocadinho de eles explicarem uns aos outros (-) (.) eu acho que a estratégia de pedirem aos alunos para traduzirem é boa em certas alturas (-) mas vocês não acham isto para todas que estão a fazer isso em exagero ?
51	S	mas é que nós temos lá miúdos tão problemáticos que se não for assim (-)
52	ST	mas o que é que vai acontecer a::hm o que é que poderá acontecer de os alunos estarem constantemente a traduzir ? O que é que vocês acham ?
53	S	não sei (.) //eu traduzo//
54	ST	//e o que// é que o resto da turma ahm que implicações é que isto poderá ter a nível do inglês ?
55	R	= não tomarem atenção àquilo que o professor está a dizer em inglês porque sabem que a ↑seguir
56	ST	<INT>nunca tomarem
57	S	<INT> mas não são os mesmos (-)

Sandra defends this strategy by saying that the class has some problematic pupils. The ST continues using questions as a form of mitigation that transforms potential criticism into a format of discussion (Wajnyrb, 1994:246), but it is Renata who eventually responds to the ST's attempts to elicit this information, yet Sandra interrupts the ST to suggest that it is not the same pupils who do the translating. Within a few turns Sandra has accepted that the drawbacks of constant translation may eventually take its toll on attention and, eventually, language learning.

The topic then moves from the trainees asking pupils to translate into Portuguese for their colleagues to the trainees' use of Portuguese. Both the mentors thought that Sandra's activities had gone very well and that the pupils had understood her explanations of question tags. In the stretch of talk below (70-81), we can see how the exchanges develop:

70	CT	todos perceberam e portanto julgo que nesta circunstância não era necessário
71	S	ma::s <IND>
72	CT	não era necessário não era necessário a::hm eu concordo que
73	ST	<INT> mesmo para explicar uma fichinha ou para explicar o jogo explica-se sempre em inglês ahm ahm a S tem o cuidado de utilizar as frases curtas de recorrer imenso à mímica tentar exemplificar e:: parece tão claro as crianças dizem que sim que de facto estão a perceber (.) mas depois quem é que vai traduzir isto ? acho que temos que evitar um bocadinho porque eles vã::o
74	S	é que eu tenho o receio de eles não perceberem
75	ST	eu não estou a dizer (.) atenção .hh=
76	S	= é só isso
77	ST	é uma estratégia que se pode utilizar
78	S	eu sei eu percebi ma:: <IND>
79	ST	no caso que ahm quando é ↑necessário
80	CT	até porque a S teve o cuidado de perguntar you're sure? e eles dizerem si::m nós percebe:::mos SURE? e acabou por insistir (.) percebemos (.) então agora vamos traduzir
81	S	eu vejo por mim porque eu lembro-me na escola havia coisas que eu não percebia quando eu vim para cá o português (.) falava muito rápido e havia coisas que eu não percebia .hh e:: a professora está a perceber? > eu dizia sempre que ↑sim < só para não ter que ir ao quadro eu dizia sempre que sim (.) e ela (.) tem a certeza? sim sim (.) e:: acab- eu ponho-me na pele deles (-

Although the audio recorded POCs do not allow the exploration of the facial expressions and other aspects of non-verbal communication, there is a sense that the ST feels that it is necessary to tread more carefully with Sandra, and at intervention 75, it seems that she begins her attempt to explain to Sandra that she is not saying that she cannot use this strategy but that it should be used sparingly.

However, it is interesting to note that Sandra says that she is afraid that the pupils will not understand if she simply uses English and draws on her own experience when she came back to Portugal from Canada and had difficulties in understanding Portuguese. Of particular interest is that she would always say that she had understood in order to avoid going to the board. However, given Sandra's emerging pattern of resistance, it also possible that this explanation is another form of resisting.

Similarly to Odete, then, Sandra appears to be concerned with the pupils understanding. It is possible, therefore, that the use of comprehension checks, nominating pupils and using Portuguese may be partly related to her concern for the pupils'

understanding. However, as has already been pointed out, there are likely to be other factors involved in this choice, not least the anxiety of being observed and evaluated.

Another example (interventions137-142) of Sandra's reluctance to accept criticism came in the 4th phase of the POC when the CT suggested that Sandra could have revised the verbs that would be used to describe the flashcards put on the board. The CT acknowledges Sandra's response that a lot of pupils knew the verbs but suggests there were some pupils who did not:

137	CT	mas independentemente disso muitos deles sabiam de facto mas houve um grupo que //ficou//
138	S	//mas// eles eram obrigados a saber
139	CT	tanto é que se viraram para trás e perguntaram oh professora como é que se diz? viraram foi o:: Jorge
140	S	<INT> mas isto era vocabulário era vocabulário que estava no PowerPoint na segunda-feira=
141	ST	= eu como não vi na segunda-feira ahm também concordo com a M que //pode não ter sido neste caso//
142	S	// eles são obrigados a saber//

However, Sandra once again resists the CT's comments, saying that the pupils were obliged to know these verbs as they had been presented in the previous lesson. In intervention 141, the ST's turn effectively supports the CT's interpretation but Sandra again voices her belief that the pupils should already know these. This then leads the CT to become somewhat defensive and to explain that she is not criticising but suggesting that revising the verbs before the activity will help achieve the objective of the lesson:

143	CT	não eu não estou a criticar eu estou a dizer para ter tente ter sempre em conta que o objectivo era que eles adivinhassem a acção (.) se eles sabiam bem os verbos (.) ou até antes da mímica fazer uma actividade com esses mesmos verbos
144	S	mas foi no início da aula (.) > pelo menos notou estou só a tentar justificar < porque é assim eu essa aula perguntei (.) quais foram os verbos que nós demos? (.) eles disseram writing eles falaram em muitos deles (-) estes dois ↓não (.) e:: por este motivo é que eu utilizei exactamente estes dois//

It is likely that as a result of Sandra's reluctance to accept criticism, the mentors would precede some of their suggestions with such comments as 'it went well' or 'it's only a suggestion', in order to preempt Sandra's tendency to be defensive about their comments in

the POCs. The example below is when the ST suggests incorporating changes into the game of snakes and ladders to learn question tags:

328	ST	↑não mas não correu ↑mal (.) isto são só //sugestões//
329	S	// sim porque as sugestões são úteis

However, at one point in this POC (intervention 173 in Appendix 6), the CT mentions that Sandra had said that as the CT was saying 'bad' things about her, this would mean that CT would take points ('tirar pontos') off Sandra.

Here, then is an important point as this indicates that Sandra was particularly concerned with her evaluation. This concern is only to be expected when trainees do their practicum, but as will be seen in the final meeting, such a concern with her own evaluation had a significant impact on how the mentors perceived Sandra's behaviour in the POCs. In the exchange from the POC (186-191), this is again alluded to by Sandra and the CT. Although this particular exchange sees Sandra make a 'tongue in cheek' reference to a negative mark, this is clearly an issue that influences Sandra's thinking:

186	CT	// mas a actividade // correu bem
187	ST	ah correu muito bem
188	CT	como lhe digo é só uma ideia isto que eu lhe estou a dizer não tem que estar a pensar
189	S	<INT> eu sei mas é uma maneira que eu
190	CT	que eu tiro pontos porque eu não tiro pontos
191	S	[laughing] > se tem de tirar pontos < *já tenho negativa*

As we shall see in the next section, the POCs were interpreted in an ambiguous light by the trainees during this period of the practicum. It is also interesting to note how Odete starts her turn when asked to make her comments on Sandra's class. Before going on to praise Sandra as 'spontaneous' and 'dynamic', Odete says:

91	O	é assim eu não tenho nada de mal a dizer (-) muito pelo contrário (.) eu acho que as crianças gostaram muito da aula (.) desde o começo da aula até ao final (.) foram muito participativas

Here, then, there may have been an indication that the trainees considered the POCs as contexts in which negative things were said. As will be seen in the discussion of the semi-structured interview, this interpretation, to a certain extent, was borne out.

However, praise was clearly evident in the mentors' discourse in this POC. The CT's following words (219 and 221) are representative of how Sandra was positioned as a 'natural', a 'dynamic' teacher with all the qualities valued by the mentors:

219	CT	exactamente correu bem não tenho assim mais nada a dizer penso que correu bem (.) a S por natureza é uma pessoa
220	S	<INT> já é a minha terceira lição, já vou mais de meia por isso estou preocupada
221	CT	dinâmica revela à vontade controla a turma e tem sempre isso em consideração chamando à atenção quando as coisas não estão a correr tão bem como desejava .hh portanto penso que tem um controle da turm- ↑consegue criar muita empatia com os alunos ahm penso que os alunos gostam das suas aulas ahm e:: eu penso que isso é meio caminho andado para que uma aula também possa correr bem quer dizer (.) eu noto

The praise of the ST is also worth noting because again Sandra refers to her evaluation:

372	ST	aquela em que esteve doente também não também não vi portanto a que eu vi foi a primeira semana que eu acho que correu muitíssimo bem e esta (.) acho que ainda correu melhor (.) acho que também ouves as nossas reflexões e também tiras partido do qu::e é dito nas reflexões acho fiquei mesmo muito contente
373	S	ok chumbar eu não vou chumbar pois não ?
374	ST	não sair da sala a sentir que as crianças que aprenderam e que gostaram e mesmo vocês não notaram ? que eles estavam todos a querer participar (.) aquela fichinha que eles fizeram como houve uma primeira actividade muito lúdica que deu para participarem e depois houve outra actividade mais mais relax e eles nem se preocuparam (.) depois logo a seguir veio outra eu acho que também deu um certo pace à aula e acho que eles gostaram imenso ok

In her written reflection, Sandra writes the following:

Relativamente à minha actuação de Quinta-feira, esta correu bem do princípio ao fim….Relativamente à Professora Supervisora, esta referiu que eu consigo controlar facilmente a turma e que sou dinâmica e espontânea. Gostou especialmente da explicação rápida e eficaz das Question-tags que fez com que os alunos não se apercebessem que estavam de facto a aprender o conteúdo gramatical.

Despite her reluctance to accept criticism, Sandra's comments in her written reflections give the impression of someone taking pride in her teaching and the image that she is forging for herself.

However, as I said at the beginning of the considerations on Sandra's lessons, there was a sense that Sandra was eager to have her performances praised. On the practicum, the significant others are usually the mentors. It was evident that her colleagues did praise her on a regular basis, but I think her reactions to the mentors' comments revealed that she was fully expecting to have her teaching consistently praised by them, too. In this sense, I think Sandra's expectations were a significant source of anxiety and that these were maybe linked to certain perfectionist traits referred to by Horwitz and Gregersen (2002) (see section 2.6.3 in Chapter 2). In fact, this concern for doing everything just right may well have been part of her thinking when considering that her POCs and her lessons would be audio and video recorded respectively.

Furthermore, it is likely that Sandra was trying to live up to the images she had not only established for herself at the beginning of the practicum, but was also endeavouring to live up to those images that were jointly constructed with the mentors and her colleagues. It is likely that these attempts to create and sustain this image were a source of LA for Sandra.

It was in the first half of the TP, then, that the trainees' expectations, their experiences, their emotional reactions and their hopes for the second part were largely created. Of course, this is not to deny the influence of their distinct personalities and paths leading up to the practicum but simply to acknowledge that it was in and through the interaction in both the lessons and the POCs where their nascent teacher identities were largely being constructed. Day (2004, citing Dadds, 1993:287) points to the importance of such self-images in teachers' lives and the impact they may have on our emotions:

> As we study our teaching, we are studying the images we hold of ourselves as teachers. Where these established self-images are challenged, questioned and perhaps threatened in the learning process, we may experience feelings of instability, anxiety, negativity, even depression. This is especially so if the 'self' we come to see in self-study is not the 'self' we think we are, or the 'self' we would like to be. (Day, 2004:117)

In relation to the trainees of this study, the first half of the TP's lessons and POCs reveal distinct experiences. It seemed likely that Odete was experiencing LA to a certain degree as she attempted to overcome a somewhat 'negative' start. Renata, although clearly difficult to say whether she was experiencing LA, was making significant efforts to overcome a monotonous image, an experience that probably involved emotional investment and tension. Sandra, on the other hand, was praised for being dynamic in terms of her personality and her

lessons. However, there were indications that she was striving to constantly live up to this image, and that this might have constituted a source of LA for her.

It is with these considerations in mind, that in the next section I discuss the data collected from what effectively was the half-way point of the practicum in order to explore three trainees' reflections on the first part, their expectations for the second, and their thoughts on their futures as English teachers.

4.3 Mid-term blues or half-way to paradise?

> Transitions are often difficult, especially when there are multiple ones to be made all at once. As a result, it is well recognized that for some individuals the beginning weeks, months, and even years of teaching can be very stressful.
> (Knowles, Cole with Presswood, 1994)

After the Easter break – on the 9th March 2006 – I carried out the semi-structured interview (SSI) with the three trainees before they had begun to give lessons again. The overarching objectives of the SSI were to explore significant issues for the trainees in relation to their TP and to also try to substantiate or further explore the possible sources of anxiety that had emerged and were emerging from a combination of the classes and the post-observation conferences (POCs) of this first period of the research period. The SSI was therefore an important opportunity to investigate further issues related to the questions of the study.

Another moment before this interview from which I had collected data was the mid-term meeting which had taken place on the 15th February 2006. As I was unable to attend the meeting I asked the mentors if they would provide me with a copy of the mid-term report. The first thing to say is that in many respects the reports generally confirmed the emerging images of the three trainees and what areas had been identified for them to improve in the classroom performances.

However, one of the surprising comments in the report was that the mentors thought Renata sometimes looked anxious:

Por vezes a Renata revela alguma ansiedade e pouco à vontade na forma de estar na sala de aula. Manifesta, por vezes, pouca segurança e pouco à vontade na organização e gestão pedagógica das aulas. (Renata's Mid-term written report)

Although the report did not specify how she looked anxious or why, apart from the fact that she looked a little uneasy, this was an interesting perspective because in my own notes on Renata (see Researcher's observation notes in Appendix 5), I was especially unsure as to whether she was anxious or not. Although I did not rule out the possibility that Renata was anxious, recognising anxiety is a very difficult undertaking. I had begun to see her animated movements around the class as a possible manifestation, but I did feel more confident that anxiety was influencing the behaviour of both Odete and Sandra. However, for her last lesson recorded for this project, I would identify an episode to explore in her SRP (see Episode 4A in 4.6) because she seemed to be wringing her hands at the front of the class, a possible sign, I thought, of anxiety. Nevertheless, the report was a timely reminder of the subjective nature of attempting to identify emotional reactions.

As for the mid-term report itself, the aspects of the trainees' performances that had been jointly identified in the POCs were evident. There was Renata's need to continue making an effort to give her classes a dynamic rhythm and to focus on improving her non-verbal behaviour:

Deverá continuar a esforçar-se no sentido de imprimir mais ritmo e dinamismo às aulas, não deixando arrastar as actividades e marcando melhor os inícios e transições das actividades. Seria igualmente útil que variasse mais os estímulos não verbais, recorrendo à expressividade facial e gestual, incutindo assim maior vivacidade às aulas. (Renata's Mid-term written report)

Then there was Odete's need to be more secure throughout the lesson, to 'seize' and control better the unfolding of classroom events, and make her presence felt with her capacity for dynamism:

...deverá estar mais segura do que se propõe fazer ao longo da aula e "agarrar" melhor o desenrolar dos acontecimentos, marcando mais a sua presença e capacidade dinâmica. O ritmo da aula também poderá melhorar se as instruções forem mais claras e completas. (Odete's Mid-term written report)

There was also advice to Odete to vary her non-verbal features of communication.

Sandra, on the other hand was described as giving off a secure image of herself in her work. Given some of the underlying insecurities that had begun to emerge in the first half of the TP, this was an interesting but understandable interpretation from my perspective of researching anxiety because most people do not associate anxiety with dynamic, more vibrant, that is to say, apparently confident behaviour. This also suggested that anxiety may

be manifested in different ways in different contexts. In this case, it might be that Sandra's experience of anxiety may be more visible in the POCs than her lessons, and that her interaction in both contexts should not, perhaps, be seen as separate behaviour but as complementary, part of a continuum of influences that are informed by the constant reassessment of her own image. Again, the key images of Sandra were clearly spelt out:

A Sandra tem uma presença dinâmica e consegue imprimir ritmo às aulas, marcando bem os inícios e transições das actividades. Circula bastante pela sala de aula estabelecendo deste modo um contacto físico e afectivo mais próximo com os alunos, controlando os seus registos escritos. Tem conseguido motivar bem os alunos devido à dinâmica que imprime à aula. Consegue transmitir uma imagem de segurança no seu trabalho.
(Sandra's Mid-term written report)

In sum, after their mid-term report and leading up to the second half of the TP, the trainees had a good idea of where they stood in terms of what they needed to focus on in the second half of the TP. In addition, all trainees had been attributed the qualitative mark 'bom' in relation to their overall assessment for the time leading up to the mid-term meeting.

In terms of thinking about the possible sources of anxiety underlying the trainees' performances as they headed in to their second block of lessons, maybe these can be interpreted in the need to close the gap between their past and present experiences and images of themselves on the practicum and the need to move closer to the images that had been established as desirable.

The interview therefore felt like an important moment in the research process for me. This would be the first time I would have the chance to question the trainees, and begin to explore the influences on their thinking, feelings and behaviour as they discussed their experiences.

The interview began when I asked the trainees what it felt like to be a teacher. I deliberately chose Sandra because I felt she would respond in a way that would get everyone involved quickly. Sandra opined that it was 'strange' because they were still in the same position as the pupils. Renata said she preferred being called by her name and not 'stora', while Odete said that she thought of a teacher as being 'qualified'. My response to Odete's answer brought out a fairly typical reaction from Sandra who looked into the camera – the first of several occasions that she did this – therefore confirming my growing suspicions that Sandra had a desire to 'perform' and be the centre of attention:

19	I	do you mean when you are already qualified?
20	O	yes
21	S	<and you get paid> [looking deliberately into the camera in an exaggerated manner]
22	TT	yes [laughing]

The interview began, then, with a question about teacher identity, the transition so to speak from student to student teacher, a type of limbo land where future professionals often feel that they are still students and cannot fully assume the role of the teacher in a comfortable way. All the trainees said that they did not really feel part of the school staff, mentioning their rudimentary exchanges with other teachers and the fact that all the teachers knew they were 'estagiárias'. These reactions, however, are fairly common experiences for pre-service teachers doing their teaching placements.

A key concern of the trainees, however, quickly emerged when I asked them if they could tell me about one or two 'significant moments', positive or negative, that had happened to them. Renata mentioned that she had failed her teaching practice in Portuguese the previous year but was now being praised by the same mentors who had failed her. I asked if she had been praised by the English mentors and she also said that this had been the case:

69	R	ahm on the Monday I gave what they called a traditional lesson and they said I had to change my strategies to be more dynamic and I changed them and they said it was a good effort and that it showed (.) [moving her hand around] a minha postura na aula [smiling]

As has already been noted, a key concern established for Renata by both herself and the mentors was her need to be more dynamic and improve the use of her non-verbal language.

Sandra also mentioned praise as a 'good' moment but the praise in her case came from a pupil:

96	S	ok a good moment is coming into the room and then a student comes and says [smiling and spreading her arms and clenching her fists] oh it's YOU YOU are giving the class [breathes in sharply and then smiles] (.) that's REALLY good [laughing and patting herself on the chest] ok I'm very good
97	TT	[nodding and smiling]

Odete oriented to a negative moment. Again it was the grammar explanation and the frustration she felt at how difficult it was to teach the pupils, and how their 'strange faces' led her to repeat the explanations and how this strategy had bored them:

108	O	and at that moment I thought it's [puts her hands on either side of her face] so difficult to teach them [takes her hands away from her face and puts them together prayer-like in front of her chest] how am I going to teach them this I knew it already what I'm going to do but when you look to their faces at their faces [puts her hands up to her face again and shakes her head slightly] that's what (.) [turns her hands inwards and touches her chest with her hands] that's what well (.)
109	S	<INT> bothers you// the most//
110	O	//bothers me more//
111	S	<INT> why does that bother you then?
112	O	because when you look at their faces and you say do you understand do you understand Mark? ahm and they make such strange faces [making a face to show she looks puzzled) and they make such strange faces so ok you don't understand you try to explain again and I'm not used to for example now I learn but a::hm at the beginning I repeat it and repeat it [moving her hands over each other in a circular motion] and of course they get bored a::nd

In looking at the trainees' experiences up until mid-term break, these references to 'significant moments' seem to encapsulate their overall progress, a snapshot of their perceived concerns: Renata making progress where, perhaps, it most mattered to her and the mentors; Sandra having her self-esteem and image confirmed; Odete concerned with a particular event in which her explanations had confused and bored the pupils.

Again, it is possible to discern in their comments likely sources of anxiety. In fact, although these concerns are, on the surface, distinct, what is becoming clearer is that these, and other particular events and experiences involving the reactions of others, reflect on their images they have of themselves as teachers.

In this respect, this is why the pupils' and the mentors' reactions were of special significance to the trainees because it is through their reactions – positive or negative – that they come to see the degree to which their own self-image is confirmed.

Before going onto to look at how the pupils and issues related to teaching the pupils were an important influence on the thinking of these trainees, it is worth noting here how they had become a very close group. After the trainees had spoken about some of the 'significant moments', Sandra, referring to Odete's frustration at her grammar explanation, suggests that these are all learning opportunities for them:

128	S	we are always learning from each other
127	R	but we don't have the background to see they are not understanding they way we are explaining and to change the strategies at that moment ahm I personally I don't have that background
128	O	<INT> me neither
129	R	I think it's with the years of giving lessons and
130	S	<INT> I think it's with experience to not just in teaching but
131	R	<INT> but life too
132	S	yes and I think having kids around I think that helps a lot
133	R	very very much

The lack of experience was something that was referred to by both Odete and Renata in their written reflections as way of explaining, understandably so, some of the difficulties they had faced in their lessons. However, the patterns of interruptions and the high level of agreement in the interaction give some idea of how close they had become. From a methodological point of view, this was also an important consideration as their remarks and commentaries on each other's turns would often reveal interesting information, such as the examples in the above stretch of talk. Furthermore, Sandra goes on to mention (see interventions 135-141 in SSI in Appendix 7) of being able to test out ideas on her cousin's children, and how eleven year old 'kids' today are different from children of previous generations.

When I asked Odete to give me an example of a positive moment that she could remember from her classes, she gave the following example:

160	O	ok a good moment yes the domino class when we do the guided visit [looking across at her colleagues, smiling] did the guided visit
161	I	which I also saw well I saw the class but I didn't see the visit
162	O	yes a::nd
163	I	why were you pleased with that then Odete?
164	O	because they understood all what I taught them (.) yes they understand all the things it was much more dynamic and they didn't have problems understanding this or that they liked it was dynamic and they played and [smiling and putting her hand up to her mouth]

At this point, then, three key considerations in Odete's thinking on successful lessons can be seen: dynamism, games and learning. This was also evident earlier when Odete had said that her prolonged explanation was a bad moment and that she had started using games more:

145	O	yes it was a bad moment at that moment because I I I didn't have the experience and I still don't have the experience I nee::d to (.) get over but ahm but now I understand and I know that things are (.) need to be different because sometimes they don't need to:: ahm get a [uses her hands to illustrate something big] big explanation for example for the verbs NO we do a little GAME and through the games [moves her hands towards herself] they learn
146	S	<INT> yes they learn much better with games

After Odete's turn, Sandra also quickly takes the opportunity to confirm the importance of games in facilitating pupil learning.

These considerations had already emerged to notable extent in the data considered in the previous sections so the consistent relevance to the trainees of being dynamic, including games or dynamic activities in their lessons and making sure pupils both enjoy and learn were again confirmed. Furthermore, the trainees planned and organised their classes according to their 'personalities'. In this scheme, Sandra was the most dynamic, and therefore did not need as many dynamic activities as Odete and Renata to make her classes dynamic. In the following interventions (341-345), Sandra explains this to me:

341	S	it's like this if I have things that I have to give traditional I'll do the traditional things because I don't need [holds her hands palms up and puts fingers together] dynamic things //to be dynamic//
342	R	//to be dynamic//
343	I	ok I see you'll be dynamic whatever the activities so if you have some activities that are more dynamic you can give them to Renata or Odete
344	TT	yes [smiling]
345	S	that's what I do that's what we do we do because in her [pointing to Renata] classes she has even more games than mine ahm ok I usually have one game in my class ok? well for her [pointing to Renata] we try to have one game at the beginning and one at the end ok she opens her class with a normal activity and then she has a game and then a normal activity and then a game so kids ahm

Later in the interview when I ask the trainees if they think the pupils learn English, Odete refers to learning and playing being 'better' for pupils whereas Renata points to how they are motivated to participate:

446	O	yes, I think so because English is ahm is not only they go to classes and they don't need to speak English the whole class or have traditional classes to learn English they can also play and learn English at the same time (.) and I think it's better play and learn English
447	I	ok ok Renata
448	R	we can see by them that they always want to participate in a class always want to speak always want to do things always want to help they are [holding her hand out as if holding a ball] always involved they are not just sitting there looking at us they always want to do something (.) I think by that we can see that they like it because when I don't like something I don't want to involve with that thing or I don't want to participate or anything so (-)

I then ask Renata to explain what sort of activities she is doing in class when she sees these levels of motivation. She replies that they just need to be doing something different from what they normally do, which, she explains, involves exercises from an English course book adopted by the school. In response to my question about how they knew other teachers were using books, Renata explains that they went to the CT's class on one occasion[9]:

460	R	and we went to CT's class and some of the students said we are going to have the estagiárias we are going to have the estagiárias [moving her fists up and down enthusiastically] they thought we were going to give the lesson
461	I	so they were thinking yahoo
462	TT	[laughing]
463	S	yeh and it's like be quiet page whatever
464	I	you seem to think it's quite evident ?
465	S	it's BORING
466	I	and you think most teachers are doing that?
467	S	yes they do it's easier for a teacher why do a <IND> if I have a book turn to page da da da
468	R	and with that school and the resources that they have

At this point the trainees mention a series of factors that seem to be unsatisfactory to them: the school where they are doing the practicum is well resourced but does not use its potential (468); teachers only want to get the money at the end of the month (474 in SSI in Appendix 7); teachers should be evaluated (476-481 in SSI in Appendix 7); and teachers are not pleasant with pupils (483-496 in SSI in Appendix 7).

[9] According to the programme – Prática Pedagógica do Inglês, attending the co-operating teacher's class was not compulsory.

My interpretation is that Renata may have referred to the CT's class because it not only provided a moment to show how the pupils enjoyed the trainees' classes (and, possibly, preferred their to the CT's lessons) but that it probably reveals the tension that existed between the trainees and the CT at that time. It is also possible that their series of complaints constituted an extended form of complaint against the CT. From this perspective, it is useful to think of Block's (2000) distinction between the 'veridical' and 'symptomatic' in interview data that I cited earlier (3.4.2.3), that is, participants' responses are more about their relationship to what is being discussed and the circumstances of the interview as opposed to being taken as accurate replies to given questions. However, the implied and explicit (as will be briefly seen) criticisms of the CT, together with the data of the POCs, do point to a potential source of anxiety that might have influenced the trainees both in and outside the classroom.

This consideration between the 'veridical' and 'symptomatic' is especially useful one when the data appear to be presented in a one-sided manner. This happened after the aforementioned series of complaints when I asked the trainees whether they had been successful in getting the pupils to interact in English. The question was relevant because it had seemed the trainees at certain times during their classes might have been avoiding using English in their classes by speaking Portuguese or nominating other pupils to explain/answer in English or Portuguese. This might have been the influence of anxiety on their interaction. However, in response to my question, the trainees all (498 in SSI in Appendix 7) shook their heads. The reasons included: the pupils had not learnt the basics from the previous year (498-503 in SSI in Appendix 7); only pupils who had been to private language schools or who had come from Canada could speak English; pupils did not have the vocabulary (508-509 in SSI in Appendix 7); and pupils can only say things when they have the structures on the board (511 in SSI in Appendix 7).

When I asked the trainees whether speaking less Portuguese would make the pupils more attentive, Renata answered that it was possible but that speaking English might make the pupils less interested (513 in SSI in Appendix 7). It seems, therefore, that a consideration of not speaking English was maintaining greater pupil interest. From this perspective, this might have reduced the trainees' concern or anxiety about the pupils not being interested and participating in classes, as we have seen, a key consideration for the trainees. Below are the trainees' replies to when they would use Portuguese:

524	O	well now I try to speak always in English and when they don't understand there is always ONE [holding up one finger] that understands and this student is always going to explain to Portuguese to the others or then I try to exemplify I try to exemplify or (.) I don't know the game or the activity [moving hands in circular motion over each other] and the::y they understand it
525	I	right
526	S	that's the same for us
527	I	Renata?
528	R	well I feel I have to use Portuguese when I see that they haven't done that exercise before and it's a bit complicated or in a game I have to explain the rules or how they are going to play and I see that if I explain in English nobody's going to understand me and to not lose time I explain in Portuguese but ° normally it's in English °

There do seem to be indications that 'complicated' instructions in English (Moreira, 1991) may lead the trainees to speak Portuguese or to choose another pupil to explain. In addition, the importance of time and the necessity of moving the class along seem to be important influences on their decisions. As was seen in the previous section, considerations of time and the sense of being evaluated were two factors that were thought to affect their interaction. These factors were especially influenced by the sense of urgency they felt to complete the lesson plan within the given time limits, contsraints that, at times, saw their behaviour become particularly animated. The convergence of these two factors, then, is likely to provide propitious conditions for anxiety to affect trainees' interaction in the classroom.

Indeed, the question of time proved to be an important issue for the trainees in several ways. This was evident when I asked them (see the exchanges 199-204 on the following page) whether they could show their true potential on the practicum. Renata refers to having to adhere to the lesson plan and Sandra says they will have more control over class content and time to give this:

199	R	that that (..) plan that we did we have we always feel in our minds we are always saying I have to do this all because if I don't do it it's bad for me because I programmed those activities and if we don't do them it shows we don't pay attention for the time we planned for those activities
200	I	right but isn't that the same for all teachers whether they are trainees or not?
201	R	no because when we are teacher teachers we don't have to take a plan with time for every activity
202	S	<INT> we can organise the things according to the class that we have well if I think they didn't learn this well in this class well I'll [clapping her hands once] do it in the next class I'm not going to be here I'm not going to pass to another thing before they have
203	O	<INT> before they have learned the first one
204	S	yes we can't do that (.) here we don't do that ok here you have two classes to do that and that's it [moving her hand away from her body] pass on

Tellingly, Sandra also adds that the nature of the TP does not allow them time to show their potential:

207	S	it's different I think it's different and we don't have that much time to SHOW [pointing hands inwards towards herself] what we are capable of

In considering the inhibitions that might be restricting them during the TP, evaluation is the idea the trainees immediately orient to:

226	I	do you find that some things restrict you at the moment? =
227	R	= //yes//
228	S	= //yes// a lot of course being evaluated is something ahm that is difficult =
229	O	= gets you under pressure [smiles]
230	S	it's completely different

Evaluation and time were also mentioned when the trainees talked about the differences between being a trainee teacher and a qualified teacher, the others were experience (575-577 in SSI in Appendix 7), greater control over time and content (584-586 in SSI in Appendix 7), and for Sandra, the knowledge that the class was hers and that she would know each pupil (578-579 in SSI in Appendix 7).

Interestingly, time was also oriented to by the trainees when they respond to the question of whether there are times when they feel frustrated in the classroom (555-570 in

SSI in Appendix 7). In the turns below (561-563), the trainees say that they do not have time to think:

561	I	ok so in some respects you think that with the time that you have and that you're constantly moving and thinking that you don't really have time to get frustrated ?
562	S	no if things are well organised [hitting her hand using the side of her other hand in a chopping motion and smiling] you don't have time to BREATHE
563	R	we're thinking on one thing but we're also thinking in what we are going to do next [stretching her arm and hand out in front of her] and then what we're going to do next so (-)

However, Odete's response (569 in Appendix 7) shows that she may have been influenced by the preceding answers of her colleagues, because she does admit to getting frustrated about her grammar explanation but then says that in her subsequent classes she did not have time to think. Furthermore, her consistent consulting of notes and asides with her colleagues would appear to undermine this interpretation. This is also true of Renata and Sandra, who would also consult each other during classes, showing in fact that they were thinking about classroom proceedings. Indeed, their regular reactions to the pupils' behaviour also pointed to times of frustration throughout the TP.

The questions of time and evaluation appear to be a pervasive influence not only on their considerations and decisions in classroom interaction but also on how they envisage what kind of qualitative differences will exist between the practicum and their future practices as teachers.

In sum, these twin factors appear to an inhibiting influence on their potential although there is the sense that they may also act as a spur to their own sense of dynamism. Whatever the perspective taken, this sense of inhibition and desire to do much better are closely related to the two sides of anxiety, 'facilitating' (Bailey, 1983; Scovel, 1978, 2001) and 'debilitating' (Horwitz, 1986; MacIntyre, 1999).

However, one of the most likely sources of anxiety for the trainees came in their discussion of the post-observation conferences (POC). After initially saying that that there was no difference (348-363 in SSI in Appendix 7) between the CT and ST's feedback, Odete eventually indicated that there might be differences in relation to the fairness of what was said. After the trainees were assured that the video recording of the interview would be for research purposes and would not be seen by the mentors, Renata continued:

366	R	sometimes good things are not said (.) and only the bad things are said
367	S	and ST has that good thing she always always always [puts hands together and moves them up and down] //starts with the good things//
368	O	//analyses the good things//
369	I	starts with the positive
370	S	yes she FINDS something positive even if we say //oh my God this was a disaster [putting hand to forehead] //
371	O	//no but there are still some points that were good//
372	R	and sometimes CT doesn't do that it's always negative negative negative [moving hand in circular motion]
373	S	//and that's really bad for us//
374	O	//and you feel really [moves hands in quick motions across her face]//
375	S	and sometimes (.) now [looking at Renata] I don't think she did it in the last one but like if we did something wrong she would pass the whole hour saying what we did wrong the same thing [tapping one her fingers on one hand on the palm of the other hand] ok stop killing me

It seems clear, then, that the trainees were particularly discontented with the CT at this time. As was indicated in the discussion of Renata's POC on the 9th January in the previous section, perhaps this POC's (and maybe other POCs that were not recorded for this project) duration and the length and, at times, negative content of the CT's turns had had an unfavourable impact on the way the trainees perceived the CT. Below (379-384), Sandra begins by explaining how the ST gives her feedback:

379	S	so nobody gets hurt so (.) [looking at her colleagues] //we are people not just objects we have feelings//
380	TT	//[nodding in agreement]//
381	S	so she says exactly the same thing as our cooperante but she says it in a different way and that makes us feel mo::re [looking across to her colleagues]
382	O	more comfortable
383	S	comfortable ok now we're going to do it differently but sometimes when our cooperante is not in a good mood she can be really rude with us (.) like saying the same thing about ten times [using clenched fist to hit the palm of her other hand] and I'm like > ok you've said the same thing about twenty times < [moving her hands out to the side of her head] stop it! because it feels really bad it feels like ok let's ↓forget it let's get out of here (.) it's different (-)
384	R	the way CT I mean ST says things motivates us to do better and continue our good work and CT (-)

Crucially, then, the issue does not seem to be the content of the CT's feedback but the manner in which she delivers it and how, in contrast, the ST's feedback motivates them. Nevertheless, given that I was researching anxiety, I thought the CT's comments might motivate the trainees. However, my own question perhaps led them to put that possibility aside:

392	I	how do you feel do you feel that it gets you down more than it motivates you?
393	TT	[nodding] yes
394	S	yes like what am I supposed to do when I we are alone with her and we don't have the reflection with ST ahm well I talk about me [looking across to her colleagues] we've never talked about this [smiling] and in the car I didn't t*alk the rest of the way home* and I'm like there were good things [holding her hands up] what am I supposed to do for her to be happy with things [putting her hands down on her knees]

Whilst it would be difficult to deny the way the trainees felt about the CT, it is also worth noting that later on in the interview Sandra relates two episodes (SSI/684 and 716-727 Appendix 7) that not only reveal her sensitivity and emotional nature but also a tendency to resist criticism, something that was seen as emerging in the POC in the first part of the practicum. In the first episode, Sandra tells how she became really angry with her Portuguese

ST because she had criticised her for the first Portuguese lesson she gave on the practicum, which Sandra had really liked but which the Portuguese teacher had considered to be too playful and ludic for a Portuguese class. The second involved her getting upset and crying in the car home because she was told not to be too friendly with the pupils. I do not relate this episode to question Sandra's disappointment but to underline her emotional nature. The fact that she was a forceful character may also have influenced the thinking of her colleagues and the way they perceived the CT. Although I recognise the CT's feedbacks to be potentially problematic, it is also worth noting that at the end of the TP, Renata had somewhat altered her opinion of the CT (see SRP/12 in Appendix 5).

The mentors would have also played a part in the expectations that the trainees had in relation to how each of their lessons would go. Complementing these would have been the trainees' own hopes. As related in 2.9.1, the proposed cycle of trainee anxiety is one of anticipation, performance and assessment. As the practicum progresses, it is likely, in most assumptions underlying anxiety, that the trainee becomes more familiar with this cycle and most predictions in relation to anxiety would posit a decrease in its effects as time passes (MacIntyre, 1999; 2003).

However, this study does not see anxiety as developing in a neat linear progression. I therefore asked the trainees whether they were now looking forward to their lessons beforehand or were still thinking about how the lesson was going to go.

Renata and Odete between them give a response (622-626) that sums up this notion that anxiety will decrease as the individual becomes more familiar with the novel situation:

622	R	I feel more comfortable ahm I still feel nervous obviously but it's different
623	O	° yes it's not like the beginning °
624	I	you can deal with it more now
625	R	we know the kids //we know the school// we know how they work
626	O	//it's not the first time//

However, Sandra puts forward another perspective:

627	S	[putting her finger in the air] I'm not normal [smiling] I don't feel like that I'm more nervous at the end than I was at the beginning
628	I	why? Because you're getting to know the school better you're getting to know the pupils better
629	S	it's different because at the beginning we're at the beginning you can do things not so good but they're ↑good (.) now if you do things
630	R	<INT> they expect more of us
631	S	they expect more and more and more so now every time I go in the class I'm so nervous > like this time I gave Portuguese I said oh my God it went so bad so bad < and when I got in there she said I loved it and I'm like *how can you love it if I didn't like it* [putting her arms and hands close together and then clenching her fists] I was too nervous

She also goes on to say that the TP is a very important thing in their lives that counts for seventy percent of their course, and they need to get a very good mark. Here again was Sandra's keen concern with her evaluation, her desire to do increasingly better and how her concerns with the practicum were affecting her lifestyle:

642	S	my mother says we shouldn't be like that we should be greedy but <u>too</u> greedy I always want more and more and more and that's really bad for me [looking at her colleagues] I'm not talking about the others but it's really bad for me and I can't sleep at night because I'm always thinking about it

This cluster of factors, I think, points towards an experience of 'facilitating' anxiety. Taking into account Sandra's animated lessons, her emotional reactions and resistance in the POCs, it is clear that Sandra is motivated. However, this seems to be more than motivation and her constant concern with trying to impress and the degree to which she says this is affecting her life appears to be closer to anxiety with issues of self-esteem of particular relevance.

I finish the discussion of the interview with the trainees' responses to two questions which looked to the future. The first enquired about what areas they would like to improve during the second part of the TP, the objective being to explore areas of concern, and therefore possible sources of anxiety, for the trainees. Their responses can be seen below:

597	O	ahm [looking upwards] to be even more dynamic well I think I already speak in English but to try and speak more and try to try to take the kids to speak more in English too even if they are short sentences but try to to::

603	R	ahm personally I'd like to improve my [moving a hand across her face] facial expressions [smiling]
614	S	go:: at the school for the limit to do something different so they can say ↑WOW [clenching her fists together] > or something like that < and I have four lessons to do that (-)
615	I	so you want to go out with a bang?
616	S	yes
617	I	you want to leave a big impression on them?
618	R	that will rock them [smiling]
619	I	what would do that then?
620	S	I DON'T KNOW [leaning forward with hands held together] but if you have any ideas just call my mobile phone [laughing] well I'm asking everybody tell me something that I can do

The concerns oriented to by the trainees are consistent with the data discussed in the previous section. Odete's aim is to be dynamic, Renata's is to be more expressive with her face, whilst Sandra's is to make a big impression, with the mentors, very likely, being those she wanted to impress the most. As has been noted, these concerns may also be considered possible sources of anxiety, and whether these have been referred to by the trainees, by the mentors or whether in fact the trainees have tried to incorporate these qualities into their classroom performances, these areas of preoccupation remained consistent. It therefore lends greater credence to the idea that these may also be sources of anxiety.

The second question aimed to explore their emotional attachments to Portuguese and English and whether their answers would reveal any connections to anxiety. I therefore asked the trainees whether they would prefer to be a Portuguese teacher or an English teacher.

Firstly, Odete's response illustrated her difficulty in choosing:

655	O	I like both I REALLY like both but if I choose I would choose Portuguese because I love Portuguese it's not that I don't love English but (-) [putting her hand against her chest]

Renata's reply was direct but undecided:

668	R	I like them both I don't know

Finally, Sandra's response was interesting in terms of what English allowed her to do:

672	S	I like them both a lot but it's like you can play more you can give more of yourself in English

For Sandra, Portuguese was too organised. It seemed she did not have the opportunity to express herself, and she remarked that she did not 'feel herself' when she went to school. This prompted the following exchange:

688	I	do you feel like you're in a different skin?
689	S	yes I am I don't laugh not laugh I don't smile
690	I	really
691	S	[shaking her head firmly] no I don't you should see my class
692	I	that's interesting
693	S	yes it's completely different

As she could not express herself as she wanted while teaching Portuguese classes, she said that her two colleagues had the 'great' classes and that she had the 'horrible' classes. I suggested to Sandra that maybe she did not feel good about these Portuguese classes to which Sandra emphatically replied that they were not good. This led me to ask her colleagues what Sandra's lessons were like:

714	O	her lessons are great ok? they are great they are great for them for the cooperating teacher and the supervisor and they are good lessons but it's no- Sandra is not Sandra because she's like a robot

It seems clear, then, that there was a gap between what Sandra thought about her own lessons and what other people thought about them, that is to say that there appeared to be a significant degree of doubt in relation to her own performances, even whilst other people were telling her that these were very good. As for the choice between being an English and Portuguese teacher, her opting for English does seem to be motivated by the fact that English language teaching, as opposed to the more 'traditional' Portuguese lessons, provides greater possibilities for her to perform, and therefore to allay some of the uncertainties she has concerning her own self-image.

The interview was the first time I was able to interact with the trainees. I considered it to be a kind of two-way window, an interactive lens with which to explore their experience on the first part of the practicum but which would also allow me to think about how they

were approaching the second part. Furthermore, this also involved them projecting their ideas into the not too distant future in relation to their own careers as English teachers.

It would be a gross simplification to characterise the three trainees as being entirely happy with their own experiences, yet it would not do any one of them justice by describing them as down, blue or depressed. In fact, the practicum up until this point had constituted for them a complex experience with emotional highs and lows being a part of this process, and each had their own particular concerns, motivations and agendas in mind in relation to developing their teaching skills.

The interview provided data that mirrored this complexity as well as pointing up the emotional nature of interacting with others. Importantly, it also appeared to confirm that anxiety was a likely influence on the trainees' behaviour. Whilst some of the possible sources and manifestations of anxiety in the trainees' behaviour have been indicated and discussed in the previous sections, the interaction in the interview helped to push the understanding of this complex emotion, in this particular context, further along.

The issues of time and evaluation were important. In relation to time, the constraints of the lesson plan and making sure what they had planned was completed in the time available was a particular concern. This was reflected in their notions of what factors would be absent when they had qualified. Of course, the issues of time were also governed by their constant concerns of being evaluated. These two factors, as we have seen in the previous section, are likely to have affected the patterns of interaction in the classroom.

Another source appeared to be the tensions arising between the trainees and the CT, especially evident in the resistance of Sandra to criticism. Indeed, this tension was likely related to Sandra's self-esteem and her need to live up to an image of herself that was being jointly constructed with her colleagues and the mentors.

In fact, the question of their self-image – often manifested in their desire and attempts to be dynamic and spontaneous – was intimately related to those of time and evaluation. It is with these considerations in mind that the next section discusses their experience in the second part of the practicum.

4.4 Teacher anxiety part 2: on trying to change one's spots

> Even though committed to empathy and multiple realities, it is the researcher who decides what is the case's own story, or at least what of the case's own story he or she will report. More will be pursued than was volunteered. Less will be reported than was learned…what is necessary for an understanding of the case will be decided by the researcher. It may be the case's own story, but it is the researcher's dressing of the case's own story.
> (Stake, 1994:240)

> I want to be even more dynamic …well I think I already speak in English but to try to take the kids to speak more English too, even if they are short sentences.
> (Odete, in the semi-structured interview, March, 2006)

> I have to improve my facial expressions…I have to improve my voice…to speak more, not like Sandra but speak more with my body and not just speak with my mouth.
> (Renata, in the semi-structured interview, March, 2006)

> To go to the school for the limit to do something different so they can say WOW…or something like that…and I have four lessons to do that.
> (Sandra, in the semi-structured interview, March, 2006)

This section charts the experience of Odete, Renata and Sandra over the second half of the TP. As in section 4.2 of this chapter, the focus is on the lessons and the Post-observation conferences (POCs) that were part of this project. It moves away from the mid-way point of the practicum and their mid-term evaluation towards the final part of their practice and the final meeting, the latter being the moment on the practicum in which all the trainees and both mentors participated, and in which the former received their final evaluation. This meeting is explored in the following section. To look back briefly, the semi-structured interview (SSI) was a significant event in the research process as the voices of the trainees were heard in a different context. It not only helped to further the understanding of the trainees' thoughts, emotional reactions and their teaching in the first half of the practicum, but it also provided a shaping influence on how they might approach the second half, and how this might be related to their experience of anxiety and the research questions of this study.

This group of trainees, as was clear from the SSI, had quickly formed a strong group identity and their thinking and close collaboration was a strong influence on how they each prepared and implemented their classes. There were, therefore, strong similarities between them. There were differences, too. However, there were significant indications emerging from the data that it was their attempts to create certain images of themselves as teachers that was, perhaps, the most important influence on the their emotional experiences, including that of language anxiety (LA).

It is from this perspective that I again discuss the lessons and the POCs of each trainee. As indicated in 4.2, I have placed the same table with the manifestations of trainee anxiety at the beginning of this chapter in order to see how certain features of interaction changed over the period of the practicum. Although, it is the trainees who are the focus of this study, the mentors' influence on the trainees, as has already been indicated in 4.2, is of particular importance in how the aforementioned images are jointly constructed.

With regard to the emotive strategies used in supervisory talk, I have already referred to some of these used by the mentors in a number of the POCs in order to give some prior indication of what strategies they use. After the discussion of the trainees, I look in more detail at these strategies and other features of their talk in order to give an overview of the strategies used and to consider the supervisory styles of the mentors.

I will begin the discussion of the trainees with Renata, then Sandra and then finish with Odete. I begin with Renata as I think she was the trainee whose behaviour was most notable for its changes. However, from the point of view of this project, any experience of LA that she may have had is the most difficult to identify. I then move to Sandra, who, I think, experienced a type of anxiety that was characteristic of a facilitating anxiety (Bailey, 1983; Scovel, 1978, 2001). I finish with Odete, who seemed to experience a more debilitating kind of anxiety, the type of anxiety that is more characteristic of the anxiety discussed in the literature (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope, 1986; MacIntyre, 1999, 2002).

Possible manifestations of anxiety	ODETE				RENATA				SANDRA			
	16th Jan. 06	13th Feb. 06	24th Apr. 06	8th May 06	9th Jan. 06	9th Feb. 06	13th Mar. 06	22nd May 06	30th Jan. 06	2nd Feb. 06	20th Mar. 06	23rd Mar. 06
(Over) use of comprehension checks	X (20)	X (12)	X (11)	X (8)	X (8)	X (4)	X (5)	X (4)	X (5)	X (9)	X (3)	X (6)
Overlong grammar explanations/noticeable focus on form	X (1) 87-295				X (8)	X (4) 167-169 171 356		X (3) 3-19 93-178 252-277	X (2) 399-417 423-451			
Trainee uncertainty related to unforeseen events (interaction or written)	X (1) 87-295				X (1) 3							X (1) 104-127
Resorting to Portuguese in questions, explanations and instructions	X (7)	X (3) 125, 141, 165	X (1) 358	X (3) 164, 243, 259	X (11)	X (3) 169,171, 394	X (16)	X (15)	X (2) 268, 381	X (3) 328,348 199	X (2) 473, 475	
Persistent patterns of nominating certain pupils to answer questions or explain[10]	X (7), B, M, Ma, V	X (5) B, M, Ma	X (7) B, C, M, Ma, V	X (6) B, M, V	X (12) B,M, V	X (5) B, M, Ma	X (6) B, C, M, V	X (3) M	X (7) B, M, V	X (3) B,M	X (5) B,C, M	X (4) B, M,

Table 31 Possible manifestations of trainee anxiety in classroom interaction[11]

[10] The letters indicate the initial of the first name of the pupils who were nominated on a regular basis: B – Bruno; C – Carlota; M - Mark; M – Mónica; V – Vasco.

[11] An X indicates that this possible manifestation of anxiety was evident in the lesson of that date. The number in brackets after the X indicates how many times it was identified. The examples of the data applied to each category can be found in the transcripts of each trainee's lessons. In the case of one or very few examples of each manifestation being found in the transcripts, the number of the intervention will be provided in the grid above. On the other hand, the numbers of the interventions of manifestations that stretch over a period of the lesson and which may overlap with manifestations of other categories will be provided in the grid. A description of the colour code used to identify manifestations of each category is provided at the beginning of each lesson transcript.

Possible manifestations of anxiety	ODETE				RENATA				SANDRA			
	16th Jan. 06	13th Feb. 06	24th Apr. 06	8th May 06	9th Jan. 06	9th Feb. 06	13th Mar. 06	22nd May 06	30th Jan. 06	2nd Feb. 06	20th Mar. 06	23rd Mar. 06
Trainee uncertainty related to board work or written explanations on Blackboard	X 87-295 87-116	X 204, 206						X 234	X 379-387 423-451			
Prolonged proximity to blackboard and teacher's desk	X 87-295											
Trainee distracted or not focused on classroom interaction		X (2) 11, 336	X (1) 251									
Trainee asides	X (7)	X (5)		X (4)	X (1) 80			X (1) 230	X (6)			X (4) 129,181 201, 277
Consulting notes	X (4)	X (8)	X (1) 249	X (2) 192, 230					X (4)			X (1) 245

Table 31 Possible manifestations of trainee anxiety in classroom interaction

Possible manifestations of anxiety	ODETE				RENATA				SANDRA			
	16th Jan. 06	13th Feb. 06	24th Apr. 06	8th May 06	9th Jan. 06	9th Feb. 06	13th Mar. 06	22nd May 06	30th Jan. 06	2nd Feb. 06	20th Mar. 06	23rd Mar. 06
Language difficulties	X (4) 126, 137, 245, 297	X (3) 262, 72, 9	X (1) 268		X (1) 294				X (3) 349,352, 401		X (1) 365	X (2) 80, 305
Noticeably animated or varied movements around classroom		X (8)			X (5)	X (6)	X (9)	X (13)	X (3) 94, 110, 403	X (4)	X (3) 90, 321, 325	X (6)
Noticeably animated kinesic and/or verbal behaviour		X (13)	X (1) 169	X (9)		X (12)	X (16)		X (18)	X (8)	X (8)	X (9)
Trainee's reactions to pupil laughter			X (2) 125, 347	X (3) 119, 218, 238			X (2) 208, 320		X (1) 54		X (3) 222, 242, 244	X (2) 24, 78
Trainee's reactions to pupil behaviour and classroom management issues	X (6)	X (8)	X (5)	X (5)	X (2) 245, 259	X (5)	X (13)	X (1) 312	X (3) 187,189 465	X (1) 316	X (11)	X (7)

Table 31 Possible manifestations of trainee anxiety in classroom interaction

Renata 13-03-03

In the previous discussion of Renata's two lessons, the significant difference was the move from a more static, monotonous and traditional teacher-centred class to one where the movements and vocal and kinesic aspects of Renata's behaviour were notably more animated. As we have seen from the talk in the POCs, her written reflections, the mid-term reports and her comments in the SSI, the central focus on Renata's teaching was trying to get her to be a more animated and dynamic teacher, a goal that was jointly established. An inverted pattern seemed to evident for the next two lessons (13th March and 22nd May), that is to say for the lessons which are part of the research project, there was evidence that Renata alternated between giving a less and a more dynamic performance. This also seemed to correspond to the way her first two lessons had gone on the TP (not recorded for this project). In her written reflections (see 24th and 27th October in Appendix 5) she noted the first lesson had been a disappointment whereas the second had seen a marked improvement, and Renata expressed her satisfaction that she had been more dynamic.

On the 13th March, the indications of another more dynamic performance were clearly noticeable. In my notes taken while observing the lesson (see Appendix 5), I remark that Renata says 'quickly' several times which I interpreted as Renata trying to avoid the lesson falling into a more monotonous rhythm. Furthermore, at the beginning she quickly establishes the theme of the lesson – food and drink – before stating that the pupils were going to play a game. As we saw in the SSI, the trainees stressed the importance of the games as appropriate and dynamic activities which helped pupils learn. Furthermore, such ludic activities especially helped Renata and Odete to make their classes more dynamic. I also remark in my notes that she seems to be keeping the pupils on their toes by being more firm with discipline and setting up each activity at particular moments of the class. It is important to recall that this was also her first lesson after the mid-term meeting so there may have been the added motivation and anxiety to impress the co-operating teacher. In the exchanges from the class below we can see Renata explaining to the pupils that they are going to choose groups. There is a sense that her words and movements around the class are in unison and that she is keen to maintain a dynamic rhythm:

23	R	you are going to choose your groups you have to choose a person and you have to choose another person (.) rá:pido quickly it has to be quickly
24	K/M	[choose the members of their groups one person at a time] [Renata regularly asking Mark and Kelly to choose quickly]
25	R	who's Kelly's group comes here and Mark's there [she goes to the back corners of the class with pupils]
26	C	[pupils organise themselves and are talking animatedly]
27	R	shu::sh pay attention please [claps her hands several times] Jorge Mark pay attention please (.) may I ? [she goes to the front of the class and counts the number of pupils in each group]

Such dynamic behaviour was evident throughout the class. There also appeared to be a greater willingness to put on a 'performance'. In Renata's following turn, she takes the word cheese and not only relates it to taking photographs but also mimes while getting the pupils to repeat the word:

158	R	we say cheese when we need to take a? [shaking her left hand and miming taking a picture] (..) picture the photographer says chee::se(..) [moving back to the front of the class] everybody repeats chee:::se (..) now say it to the camera [miming the photographer with the camera in front of the class]

Accompanying this animated behaviour was Renata's attention to ensuring that pupil behaviour was not disruptive. The significant rise (see Table 21) in the times when she spoke to pupils about issue related to their behaviour was evident. However, the CT said to Renata in her previous POC that her lesson on the same date had not gone so well because of this disruptive influence. It is likely, therefore, that Renata was bearing in mind these words in this class. It was also clear that much of the noise came from the pupils' enthusiasm in carrying out the activities, for example, in the following turn, Renata is trying to explain the next activity:

357	R	[clapping her hands several times] pay attention please ONE TWO THREE may I explain the next activity? (..) you're going to play another game (.) it's called (..) [stops speaking and with her hands in her back waits in front of the class for pupils to be quiet] (..) may I explain the next activity? may I?

Another feature that appeared in the trainees' classroom discourse, especially in the second half of the practicum was that pupils' laughter appeared to make the trainees a little

uncomfortable. In many respects, this is closely related to disciplinary behaviour, but at times it seemed as though the trainees were made uncomfortable by laughter, perhaps interpreting it as a comment on their image:

319	PP	[laughing]
320	R	why are you laughing? who was laughing? (..) João Lemos [standing at OHP staring at pupils] <IND>

This is one of the reasons that I thought it was worth exploring some of these episodes in the SRPs with the trainees.

Another feature of classroom interaction that changed significantly in this lesson was that Renata resorted to using Portuguese more. This could be interpreted, as we noted before, as insecurity or avoiding the use of English, but in the context of this lesson, it seems more likely that Renata resorted to Portuguese in order to translate vocabulary that was not known to pupils when she was talking about the food pyramid:

225	R	salada (.) salada não alface (..) then milk yogurt cheese (.) does anybody know what it means?
226	PP	queijo iogurte e leite
227	R	then we have fat and sweets (.) what is fat?
228	PP	<IND>
229	R	fat é os óleos as manteigas as gorduras e sweets é os doces (-) doces açúcar(..) then we have

In fact the majority of these switches to Portuguese came between a phase of the lesson when Renata was explaining (191-264 in Appendix 5) the food pyramid, the vocabulary of which the pupils would need to use for a later exercise. It therefore seems more likely that these changes were driven by a question of convenience rather than insecurity, although I would not rule the latter out in this context where evaluation is such a pervasive factor.

However, an indication of possible insecurity, as referred to in 4.2, may underlie the habit of nominating certain pupils to explain the instructions of the game or the next activity. This pattern remained a feature of this class as can be seen in Renata's direct solicit to Bruno:

13	R	[stands in front of the blackboard waiting for pupils to copy lesson topic into their books] have you all copied the lesson? [pointing to the board] may I? Pedro (-) so now we're going to play a game (.) but I don't want anybody (.) to speak loud (.) to run (.) and to make a lot of noise (..) the first person that runs (.) the game finishes ok ? who can explain Kelly the game? Bruno (-)

As Renata said in the SSI (see 558 in Appendix 7), she used Portuguese not to 'lose time', so although it is difficult to say whether it is their linguistic skills that might be the source of

their insecurity, there is a possibility that insecurity or anxiety about time also remains an influence. Indeed, a combination of these two factors may well be exercising an influence on their interaction.

This class, then, was essentially about the 'dynamic' Renata as she moved around the classroom, using her voice and body to greater effect. The following words of the mentors, taken from mid-term report on Renata, seem to be particularly resonant here:

[Renata] deverá estar mais segura do que se propõe fazer ao longo da aula e "agarrar" melhor o desenrolar dos acontecimentos, marcando mais a sua presença e capacidade dinâmica. O ritmo da aula também poderá melhorar se as instruções forem mais claras e completas.

Whilst I would not suggest that Renata's communicative behaviour is a direct result of these words, the consistent references to the need for Renata to make her classes more dynamic seems to be manifested in her animated behaviour in this lesson.

The POC after the lesson had some similarities with that of the POC on the 9th January. First of all, the talk was dominated by the CT and the duration was very short. However, there was only one phase of this meeting, meaning the CT started to give her feedback without Renata or the trainees giving theirs.

	POC date	Length of POC (Mins)	CT Turn/ *nº of lines* s	Odete turns/ *nº of lines*	Renata turns/ *nº of lines*	Sandra turns/ *nº of lines*	TT Turns	Other turns	Total turns/ *nº of lines*
Renata	13-03-06	9	18	-	16	2	1	-	37
			150	-	*17*	*2*	*1*	-	*170*

Table 32 Talk proportion in POC – Renata 13/03/06

The CT's turns, then, were of considerable length. However, in contrast to the POC on the 9th January, the feedback was very positive, with the CT using ten supportive positive strategies to praise various aspects of Renata's lesson, including pupil participation, lesson sequence, the materials and how Renata dealt with pupil disruptiveness in the class. Not surprisingly, the CT starts with Renata's being at ease and more spontaneous.

1	CT	portanto o objectivo da aula era exactamente só o vocabulário (.) penso que a R em termos gerais está:: está a melhorar ? está mais solta nas aulas não está tão pre::sa a si própria está > movimenta-se mais < está mais espontânea

Indeed, the mitigation strategies used were only related to the noise and disruption in the classroom, with the all the other topics in Table 33 being praised or spoken about in terms of progress.

Phase or type of post observation conference	Topic (s) oriented to in interaction	Interlocutor	How the topic is introduced
4th phase	Objective of lesson (vocabulary)	CT	CT
	Teacher emotions	CT	IT
	Teacher movement in classroom (proxemic)	CT	C
	Teacher attitude	CT	C
	Management of classroom space	CT	IT
	Group work	CT	C
	Pupil interest	CT	C
	Pupil participation	CT	C
	Sequence of classroom activities	CT	C
	Interdisciplinary nature of lesson	CT	C
	Presentation of key vocabulary	CT	C
	Pupils previous knowledge	CT	C
	Implementation of activity	CT	C
	Monitoring pupil learning	CT	IT
	Steps of lessons	CT	IT
	Presentation of language	CT	C
	Explanation of activity	CT	IT
	Pupil interest	CT	C
	Pupil attention	CT	C
	Pupil behaviour (discipline)	CT	C
	Classroom management strategies	CT	C
	Strategies for introducing vocabulary	CT	IT
	Lesson objectives achieved	CT	IT
	Classroom materials	CT	C
	Trainee progress	CT	C

Table 33 Topic management in POC – Renata 13/03/2006

In contrast to her quiet, resigned 'Está bem' at the end of the POC in January, Renata's response this time was a smiling appreciation of the final words of the CT below (36-37):

36	CT	e a::hm também penso e verifiquei que os alunos portanto fizeram as suas aprendizagens daquilo que era proposto no seu plano ahm quanto aos materiais acho que a R prima bastante pela pela pela imagem (.) os materiais estão bem concebidos ahm com um aspecto visual muito muito muito interessante e penso que pode sempre continuar e continuar a fazer esforço no sentido de alguns problemas que faziam parte da sua actuação estão a ser ao::s poucos solucionados (-) ahm a:.hm ° eu penso que tudo indica que vai:: está no bom caminho °
37	R	*obrigada*

As for Renata's lesson on the 22nd May, there seemed to be a 'regression' (I use this word in the Researcher's observation notes) to the more static, traditional classes that she had given previously. It was a lesson that focused on the revision of the simple past and there were noticeable explanations of grammatical content because the pupils were going to have a test in the following class.

However, there were several 'incidents' in the class that I think might be related to the research questions of the study. First of all, although the activities were not so favourable to Renata being dynamic, she still continued to move around the room in a noticeable way. This seemed to be a type of compensation strategy, that is to say Renata was being animated in terms of her own movements in order to make up for the lack of dynamic activities that that maybe she felt reflected on her own image and performance (see 4B in episodes selected for SRP in Appendix 5) in this class.

Another detail that seemed to reveal Renata's own attitude and possible discomfort with the type of activities she was doing in the class came after she had asked the pupils to repeat, in chorus, the verb 'to be' in the past. When she stopped to show her annoyance with some pupils talking, she said the following:

312	R	[teacher gets the class to repeat in chorus verb to be in the past, then explains in Portuguese, making clear the difference between the simple past of the verb to be and the adverb] does anybody have any doubt? more doubts? dúvidas? [stops to look at some pupils who are talking] é uma aula aborrecida mas é para vossa bem sabe (.) agora dúvidas doubts?

It is possible, then, that Renata was not at ease in this lesson (see 4D in episodes selected for SRP in Appendix 5) because it did not correspond to the classes that she had come to identify, and be identified, with.

In studying the transcription of the lesson, I also noticed at the beginning of the class while the pupils were writing down the summary of the lesson that Renata was moving

around, wringing her hands and looking a little nervous. For this reason, I also decided to explore this in her SRP (see Episode 4A in 4.6).

The POC for this lesson did not take place because the CT was feeling ill. However, I did overhear the CT say, when asked for her impressions at the end of the class by the trainees, that she thought the class was 'monotonous' and could have been done differently (see Researcher's observation notes in Appendix 5).

In relation to Renata's lessons for this part of the practicum, then, there seemed to be evidence that she was continuing to make the efforts to change and to adapt her teaching in order to move towards a more positive self-image in which she did use her body and not just her voice. However, there were also some indications that when Renata moved back to implementing activities that she associated with her initial, less dynamic, 'monotonous' lessons, and that did not involve activities that would give her lessons this more vibrant image, this probably meant her having to face a less flattering image of herself. It is possible that in these circumstances she did feel some tension or anxiety.

Sandra 20-03-06

In my discussion of Sandra in 4.2, there were features of her interaction that she shared with her colleagues which can be considered as possible manifestations of language anxiety. For example, nominating certain pupils to answer questions or explain in Portuguese and the use of comprehension checks (see Table 31) were instances of these commonalities. There were also moments of uncertainty that were visible when she consulted notes or when she consulted with Renata. These moments of uncertainty were related to her explanations of language usage on the board. However, the standout features of Sandra's communicative behaviour were her animated performances in the classroom. It was also evident how Sandra was reluctant to accept criticism. These last two factors, I suggested, were connected because given Sandra's conviction that she had chosen the right profession and that her dynamic performances validated this decision, it seems likely that Sandra resisted criticism that did not corroborate these.

To a certain extent, Sandra's comments in the semi-structured interview lend further support to this notion. The fact that she says she cannot sleep at night, that she continually wants to do better (SSI/642 in Appendix 7), and that she was more nervous at the time of the interview than she was at the beginning of the practicum (SSI/627 in Appendix 7) suggests that Sandra was closer to experiencing 'facilitating anxiety' (Bailey, 1983; Scovel, 1978, 2001) as opposed to a form of 'debilitating anxiety'. Indeed, unlike Odete, whose comments in the

POCs revealed significant degrees of uncertainty and disappointment, Sandra wanted to impress and continue to perform well, although I do not suggest that Sandra did not have any uncertainties and doubts.

Given Sandra's desire to do something 'wow', that is to do something really special in her lessons (SSI/614 in Appendix 7), I think it is possible that the increase in her reactions to the pupils' disruptions, or her increased sensitivity to these, may have some significance in this and the next lesson. In other words, she was keen to impress but the pupil disruptions may have inhibited her lessons from progressing as she wanted them to, and might have been an influence on her anxiety.

In the lesson on the 20th March, Sandra showed a film with herself and her colleagues in a video eating the meals of the day in various places. The theme of the lesson was healthy food. After the activity has been explained, a pupil repeats what they are going to do but another pupil misunderstands this and thinks they really will be choosing food:

235	P	vamos escolher a nossa própria comida
236	P	HOJE
237	C	[loud and prolonged laughter]
238	S	[puts the worksheets in her hand up to the level of her chin] why are you all laughing? [turns away from facing class and goes to stand in front of the teacher's desk and faces the class again] º look if you're not in silence I'm not going to continue and if you continue laughing we can't continue the class ok? stop it (-) [looking down]
239	PP	[laughing]
240	S	I'm not laughing
241	PP	[laughing]
242	S	[turns away from the class and moves towards the television, and then turns back towards the class] ok you can continue laughing [stands and waits for the class to settle down]
243	C	<SIL>
244	S	it's not funny [moving down the aisle between the desks on her right-hand side] you can turn round you can turn round shu::sh in silence

Another example of this sensitivity to laughter is when most of the pupils have misheard the word 'meal' and think it to be 'milk' (see the interventions 218-226). Therefore when Sandra asks what 'happy meal' means, one pupil replies 'feliz leite'. It is possible that Sandra is simply trying to get the class to focus on the activity in hand. However, there did seem to be an unwillingness to see the funny side of pupils' humour. Incidents related to laughter were

included in Sandra's SRP (see Episodes 3A and 3C in Appendix 6), and did reveal that Sandra was also concerned about being evaluated.

218	P	<IND> happy meal
219	S	ok so what does happy meal mean?
220	P	milk feliz leite
221	PP	[laughter]
222	S	Vasco (-) (..) [folds her arm across her chest] so everyone knows (-) I can put it on the test and you'll all have it right (.) is that true?
223	C	<SIL>
224	S	Jorge what does meal mean?
225	J	não sei
226	S	ah that was why you were laughing because you don't know (-) (..) João meal? [moves to the blackboard and points to each word as she says them] milk leite meal

However, I would also add the possibility that pupil disruption also affected the overall dynamics of the class and impeded the flow of a 'dynamic' lesson, and therefore this was a source of tension for Sandra because such incidents would have undermined the image she wanted to project and sustain in this context of evaluation.

The POC of this class (20th March) took place on the 23rd March before the POC of the same date. The CT and Sandra were the only participants although the ST, Odete and Renata were all in the same room (probably waiting for the POC of the 20th March to finish). Similar to the short POCs the CT had carried out with Renata, it was the CT who delivered her feedback and dominated the amount of talk.

Trainee teacher	POC date	Length of POC (Mins)	CT Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Odete Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Renata Nº turns/ *nº lines*	Sandra Nº turns/ *nº lines*	TT Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Other turns Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Total Nºturns/ *nº lines*
Sandra	20-03-06	8	19	-	-	18	-	-	37
			131	-	-	*36*	-	-	*167*

Table 34 Talk proportion in POC – Sandra 20/03/06

The POC is notable for the CT's praise of Sandra, but also for Sandra's continuing reluctance to accept the CT's suggestions – albeit they are not as evident in this POC as in the previous one. However, there is an emerging pattern that Sandra's comments are leaving the mentors decidedly uncomfortable and defensive when they are reflecting on her lessons, and that this may not only have influenced the degree of tension between Sandra and the mentors, but also

the group's relationship with the latter, especially the CT. Below (1-4) is an attempt by the CT to make a suggestion at the beginning of the meeting about including socio-cultural aspects in the lessons activities:

		aqui portanto poderia ter apresentado uns textinhos sobre ahm o typical ahm English breakfast
2	S	ah falamos eles já sabiam
3	CT	falar eles já sabiam
4	S	mas falámos eles já //sabiam eles// é que me disseram

Nevertheless, the CT praises Sandra, positioning her as having the natural qualities to encourage the pupils to speak in English, and also highlighting her firm attitude with pupil disruption, the latter point which Sandra responds to by stressing the recent difficulties of maintaining discipline in the classroom:

		.hh incentivou os alunos a expressarem-se em inglês >o que é bom< também tem a ver com o seu feitio a S é uma pessoa bastante aberta expansiva ahm espontânea não é ? (..) portanto as suas atitudes pessoais o seu muito à vontade penso que apesar da turma estar muito barulhenta na segunda-feira .hh ahm teve sempre uma postura a S teve sempre uma postura bastante firme e impôs-se quando necessário e
12	S	adoptou estratégias para melhorar o comportamento //da turma// //mas é //muito complicado eles nunc- estiveram assim (.) este mês para cá tem sido desde aqui há um mês ou dois não há um mês para cá eles têm andado (.) mas pelos vistos é do sexto ano para cima

Phase or type of post observation conference	Topic (s) oriented to in interaction	Interlocutor	How the topic is introduced
4th phase	Classroom activity	CT	CT
	Lesson theme	CT	IT
	Pupil learning	CT	C
	Classroom activity (including socio-cultural aspects)	CT	IT
	Classroom activity	CT	IT
	Sequence of classroom activities	CT	IT
	Pupil participation	CT	C
	Teacher attitude	CT	C
	Classroom management strategies	CT	C
	Fluency in English	CT	IT
	Classroom activities	CT	IT
	Pupil ownership (work displayed)	CT	C
	Pupil behaviour (discipline)	CT	IT
	Sequence of lesson	CT	IT
	Pupil participation	CT	IT

Table 35 Topic management in POC – Sandra 20/03/2006

There is a possibility, then, that one of the concerns of Sandra is the behaviour of the pupils, and how this is impacting on her lessons. However, the more convincing perspective, and one that is more evident in the data, is that Sandra is highly concerned with her own performances and the image that she projects of herself. From the perspective of this study, the interest is that Sandra's sustained concern with her image is likely to be related to her experience of language anxiety.

Sandra 23-03-06

Sandra's written reflections for the 20th and 23rd March start with the quote from Paulo Coelho below which is then followed by her own comments on the relevance of this to her experience on the practicum:

Basta apenas acreditar, aceitar e não ter medo de cometer erros. *Paulo Coelho*

Esta frase de Paulo Coelho elucida na perfeição o meu percurso ao longo da prática pedagógica, pois quando acreditamos, aceitamos e não temos medo de errar tornamo-nos professores mais confiantes e autónomos ao longo da vida.

For the last lesson that was observed for Sandra, I would like to briefly discuss two incidents in the class, and how this relates to Sandra's above comments in her written reflection. As can be seen in Table 31 there is one incident of 'Trainee uncertainty related to unforeseen events' and also a 'Trainee aside' at intervention 181 in the lesson which is the result of the mentors intervening in Sandra's class.

The first incident mentioned above begins when the pupils are sitting at the back of the classroom playing a card game about sports, the theme of the class. Unbeknown to Sandra, Odete has accidentally mixed the cards up which means the game is not going as planned. Eventually, Sandra asks the pupils to get up and go back to their places, and Sandra proceeds to the next activity. However, this event only adds to tensions between Sandra and the mentors in the POC, especially the CT. In fact, Sandra only reveals to the mentors what had happened in the final meeting in June.

The second incident begins when the mentors, who are sitting at the back of the classroom, signal to Sandra that they want to speak with her. Sandra then goes to speak to them. This incident is related to the word 'bicycle' written on the board. The 'problem' is that pupils will have to use the words to ask each other questions with 'Do you like' plus one of the nouns on the board. However, unlike 'basketball' and 'swimming', for example, it is not

correct to ask 'Do you like bicycle?' Therefore the mentors alerted Sandra to this, who then writes 'cycling' on the board.

The effects of these two events were most visible in the POC. As with all the POCs which she attended, the ST predominated in the number of lines. The CT was next in the number of lines, then Sandra, and then Renata and Odete. Sandra had the highest number of turns, with this possibly reflecting her reistance in this POC.

Trainee teacher	POC date	Length of POC (Mins)	CT Nº turns/ *nº lines*	ST Nº turns/ *nº lines*	Odete Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Renata Nº turns/ *nº lines*	Sandra Nº turns/ *nº lines*	TT Nº turns / *nº lines*	Other turns Nº turns/ *nº lines*	Total Nºturns/ *nº lines*
									R/S	
Sandra	23-03-06	23	55	57	5	22	58	2	1	200
			164	*202*	*31*	*47*	*138*	*2*	*1*	*585*

Table 36 Talk proportion in POC – Sandra 23/03/06

At the beginning of the meeting, Sandra immediately orients to her doubts about the 'bicycle' incident by loudly emphasising each word that represented her confusion:

1	CT	relativamente à aula de hoje não sei quer começar por falar? (.) não? mas tem tem que tem tem que que dizer o que é que achou da sua aula
2	S	= o BIKE e o BICYCLE e o CYCLING *e isso como é que isso está ?*
3	CT	isso não é gra::ve
4	S	é:: //porque//
5	CT	//não é grave//
6	S	nós fomos ver aos livros e estava uma coisa e- nós mostramos no plano e a professora- ninguém nos disse que estava mal (-) depois chega-se à aula com correu mal é mau
7	CT	eu confesso que não vi (.) estava no plano eu não vi eu olhei para os desportos achei que estava tudo bem >vi assim< percebe? portanto eu não vi

The CT tries to reassure Sandra that this is not as serious as Sandra is assuming it to be. The exchanges between the mentors and Sandra continue until the ST says teachers can always apologise to the pupils for any mistakes made to which Sandra replies:

41	S	mas eu disse desculpa porque eu não tinha certeza > eu gosto de ter a certeza absoluta e eu não tinha a certeza absoluta < se era bicycling ou se era bike porque nós vimos de uma maneira (.) é uma confusão

However, it does seem that Sandra is bordering on the confrontational and venting her frustration at the CT for not having identified this aspect of the class in the lesson plan. Furthermore, the perfectionist traits that were suggested might be part of Sandra's behaviour come close to being made explicit when she expresses her need for certainties. In other words, the need to have these certainties may well constrain the way she interacts, for example, asking certain pupils to answer, resorting to Portuguese, helping each other in classes, and even the sensitivity to pupil laughter and issues of discipline may be manifestations of wanting to have an unrealistic degree of control and certainty over events, and help to sustain the image which is in keeping with these traits. In the semi-structured interview, when responding to my question whether the trainees are honest with each other, they all answer yes. When I suggest that it doesn't make sense not be honest, Odete adds 'Nobody's perfect', to which Sandra replies 'Yes but sometimes we try to be' (SSI/305 in Appendix 7).

The card game was a topic (organisation of activity – game) oriented to three times in the POC as can be seen in Table 37 below.

Phase or type of post observation conference	Topic (s) oriented to in interaction	Interlocutor	How the topic is introduced
2nd phase	Language doubts	S	*
	Pupil behaviour (discipline)	S	IT
3rd phase	Sequence of lesson	R	IT
	Pupil participation	R	IT
	Classroom activities	CT	C
	Classroom activities	R	C
	Pupil interest	O	IT
	Classroom activities	O	IT
	Teacher explanations	O	C
	Pupil participation	O	IT
	Teaching strategies (exemplification)	O	IT
4th phase	Anticipated problems	CT	IT
	Teaching strategies (vocabulary)	CT	IT
	Teacher's perception of pupils' understanding	ST	C
	Classroom activities	CT	IT
	Pupil learning	CT	C
	Organisation of activity (game)	ST	IT
	Organisation of activity (game)	S	C
	Teaching strategies (exemplification)	ST	C
	Time management	ST	C
	Classroom activities	ST	IT
	Explained in stages	R	C
	Pupil attention	O	C
	Organisation of activity (game)	S	C
	Teacher attitude	CT	C

Table 37 Topic management in POC – Sandra 23/03/2006

The second aspect of the class mentioned above was the card game which had not gone well. The POC started with Sandra voicing her concern about the 'bicycle problem', and there was evidence of tension at regular intervals. There were also indications that this tension was more noticeable with the CT, confirming the interpretation that Sandra put forward in the semi-structured interview, that is to say she did not like the way the CT delivered her feedback, which she thought was done in a negative manner. A likely indication of this tension is when the CT asks Sandra where she got the music from that accompanied the song that she had played in class:

78	CT	<INT> de onde é que tirou a música ?
79	S	naquele CD que eu ° tinha-lhe pedido e que não me arranjou
80	CT	no yes
81	S	não
82	R	english yes
83	S	english yes
84	CT	uhm
85	O	e:: então as crianças
86	CT	<INT> não arranjei mas depois disse-lhe que o arranjei ↑mais tarde (.) mas diga diga (-)

The other indication was that it appeared the mentors, as in the previous POC, were wary about constructing critical reflections with Sandra because of her attitude to criticism and her emotional state. Such wariness was often seen in the POC when the mentors would precede their comments with 'correu bem':

138	CT	= correu bem =
139	ST	= correu bem mas no entanto se calhar ↑metade da turma está com dificuldades mas não temos às vezes essa percepção mas isso todos isso acontece com todos nós (.) eu fiquei com aquela dúvida será que todos os alunos ahm ficaram a perceber o vocabulário ? e perceberam ou não ? não sei (-)

As in her other POCs, Sandra was praised significantly by the mentors. It was beginning to emerge, however, that while they did praise her for her teaching performances, they might also have been praising her to avoid further tension.

The incident with the game, therefore, is discussed amid this atmosphere of tension. I refer to it here because given that the activity had clearly not gone well, I wondered how this might have affected Sandra's feelings in the classroom after she had to abandon the game. I

therefore included a question about this incident in Sandra's SRP (see 4A in episodes selected for SRP in Appendix 6). However, it was in the final meeting (which took place before the SRP) in which the mentors expressed and described how Sandra's facial expressions and reactions in that POC on 23rd March – and in others - meant that they were reluctant to engage in more open reflections with her. The POC ends with the almost characteristic 'correu bem' before Sandra is praised for her qualities as a teacher:

198	CT	= mas olhe eu acho sinceramente que (.) que a aula correu ↓bem tem uma forma de:: iniciar as coisas (.) que deixa os alunos à vontade e com vontade de aprender
199	ST	tem a ver com a dinâmica com a dinâmica as actividades também que motivam bastante
200	CT	já acabou?

In her written reflection on the lesson on the 23rd Sandra made the following comments on the card game:

Esta actividade foi algo controversa, uma vez que após a distribuição se ter realizado, alguns alunos já tinham o nome correspondente à imagem. Esta situação deveu-se fundamentalmente ao facto de antes da aula começar os cartões terem sido revistos, acabando por ficar todos baralhados, o que contribuiu para uma actividade um pouco confusa, deixando-me a mim própria pouco à vontade.

When considering Sandra's emotional experiences on the practicum, more specifically, her probable experience of a facilitating language anxiety, it seems likely that this combination of a desire to be recognised and the difficulty in accepting criticism are significant influences on this anxiousness to achieve in the eyes of others. It is ironic, then, Sandra uses a quotation at the beginning of her reflection that highlights qualities that do not appear to be readily associated with her. Indeed, this reluctance to accept and the fear of making mistakes are likely to have been influences on her anxiety.

Odete 24-04-06

In the previous discussion of Odete, there were indications that she was particularly concerned with the somewhat 'monotonous' image she was projecting in the classroom. The long grammar explanation had been emblematic of this monotony, an explanation which was characterised by the significant number of comprehension checks she used which appeared to point to an overriding concern for pupil understanding. The degree of uncertainty in Odete

in this performance was likely manifested in the amount of times she consulted her colleagues throughout the class as well as her own notes. In the following lesson, however, Odete's markedly animated movements looked like efforts to make herself and her lessons more dynamic.

In the following discussion of Odete, although I do make reference to certain features of interaction in the classroom, I shall draw more on the contributions of the POCs as it was in these last two POCs that important information was revealed that would be directly related to the research questions of this study.

The lesson on the 24th was based around an image of a city that was projected on to the wall and the pupils had to 'build' the city. In the Researcher's observation notes on this lesson (see Appendix 5), I noted that at the beginning of the lesson Odete seemed quite calm and relaxed, but that she also had a sense of urgency and was trying to be more purposeful. However, as the lesson continued and Odete was eliciting the vocabulary for the city it seemed that she became increasingly concerned with getting and holding the pupils' attention. The turns below shows Odete becoming more frustrated with the pupils' behaviour:

213	O	[stamps her foot on the floor] let me speak (..) >I
218	O	[stamping her foot on the floor] look here pay ate:::ntion to me:::: (.) do you pay attention to me please (..) so I'm going to be- [waits for pupils to settle down] I'm going to be for example Peh Peh and (.) teacher Sandra is going to be Wing (.) ok?
219	PP	ok

The comprehension checks were still evident but not as numerous as her first lesson, and the continued nomination of the favoured pupils to explain to the class remained fairly constant. I also noted that at times Odete did not seem to be focused on the interaction. This seemed to be evident when at one point in the lesson she went close to the desk and appeared to be more concerned with looking for, consulting or organizing her materials:

249	O	in between very good (.) more more place prepositions [goes to teacher's desk and begins to move materials around] more place prepositions [not looking up from the desk]
250	P	opposed to
251	O	[looking up and now carrying worksheets] opposed to what is opposed to? [looking at worksheets]

In sum, there were signs that as this class progressed Odete seemed to be experiencing a certain degree of anxiety. However, it was in the POC where the issues and the emotional factors that were influencing Odete's teaching became particularly noticeable.

In the POC after the lesson, the ST had the most number of lines, followed by the CT and then Odete. However, Odete had the most number of turns.

Trainee teacher	POC date	Length of POC (Mins)	CT Nº turns/ *nº lines*	ST Nº turns/ *nº lines*	Odete Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Renata Nº turns/ *nº lines*	Sandra Nº turns/ *nº lines*	TT Nº turns/ *nº lines*	Other turns Nº turns/ *nº lines*	Total Nºturns/ *nº lines*
Odete	24-04-06	44	90	118	132	23	81	5	-	449
			264	*336*	*224*	*45*	*158*	*5*	-	*1032*

Table 38 Talk proportion in POC – Odete 24/04/06

After a series of topics had been discussed in the 2nd and 3rd phases of the POC, the emotional insecurity that Odete was experiencing begins to emerge in the 4th phase when the CT says that Odete's presence ('postura') in the classroom is somewhat monotonous. As can be seen in Table 39, this then leads to the orientation of topics associated with the emotions and personalities of each trainee.

Phase or type of post observation conference	Topic (s) oriented to in interaction	Interlocutor	How the topic is introduced
2nd phase	Pupil understanding	O	*
	Pupils only did one side of worksheet	S	C
	Pupil behaviour (discipline)	O	IT
3rd phase	Pupil behaviour related to pupil understanding	S	C
	Teaching strategy (revision)	ST	C
	Teacher perceptions of pupil understanding	S	C
	Content of 2nd cycle English programme	ST	C
	Pupil participation	S	IT
	Pupil learning	O	C
	Time management	CT	C
	Classroom materials	R	C
	Pupil emotions	R	IT
4th phase	Pupil participation	CT	IT
	Time management/use of Portuguese	CT	IT
	Language errors (written)	CT	C
	Noticed monotony	CT	IT
	Personalities of trainees	ST	C
	Classroom activities and teacher personality	CT	C
	Teacher emotions	ST	C
	Teacher preparation	S	C
	Teacher emotions	O	C
	Anticipated problems	ST	C
	Time management	CT	C
	Teacher personality	CT	C
	Pupils' needs	ST	C

Table 39 Topic management in POC – Odete 24/04/2006

After the CT's comments, Sandra says she liked the lesson plan and it would have worked if Odete had, but at this point Sandra is perhaps reluctant to 'criticise' her colleague, and the ST takes advantage of Sandra's falling intonation and completes Sandra's turn:

314	S	= eu gostei da aula o plano da aula eu acho que resultava bem (.) a mesma aula se ↑ela- tivesse (.) dado mais (-)
315	CT	uhm
316	ST	dado um bocadinho mais de vida (.) mas oh O o que é que achas é que depois ficas ahm sentes-te um bocadinho mai::s inibida ficas nervosa ?
317	O	sei lá não é só a inglês que me acontece (-) (.) acontece-me a português também também depois sinto-me um bocado mais inibida
318	ST	<IND> não não
319	O	não não acontece-me também elas vêm (-) ahm a português *mesmo que eu tente ser dinâmica* mas chego lá [laughing] depois sinto-me mai::s

It appears, then, that Odete feels a degree of inhibition despite her efforts to be dynamic. Furthermore, it also appears that she has similar feelings in her Portuguese classes, too. However, as was referred to in Part 1, it is not always easy for people to discuss their emotions in public, especially when teachers are often expected to be confident figures. In fact, it appears to be a difficult subject for the mentors and Sandra to approach and comprehend:

320	ST	mas é por causa dos nervos é quê ?
321	CT	até que você é bastante ↑expressiva é mesmo expressiva na forma como está mas na aula <IND> uma postura muito estática
	TT	[laughing]
322	S	agora é que está mesmo expressiva [laughing]
323	ST	mas eu acho que é um bocado estranho depois chega à aula e não se consegue

Sandra then offers her opinion that it is Odete's need to adhere to the lesson plan that is possibly the source of her difficulties:

324	S	posso dar a minha opinião? (.) a minha opinião e:: eu já lhe disse a ela pessoalmente (.) é que eu acho que as coisas estão tão decoradas as coisas da aula os passos da aula estão tão decorados
325	CT	mas altere a ordem se for preciso
326	S	mas o problema é ↑esse ela agarra-se muito àquilo e diz as frases todas quase que estão no papel (.) eu já lhe disse rasga tira isso de lá (.) que ajuda?

This is probably why the ST says (see intervention 357 of this POC in Appendix 4) that what Odete is lacking is the "feeling" in what to do in situations of unforeseen difficulties of the classroom.

The CT opines initially that she normally advises trainees to write down what they are going to say in order to train the language and avoid making mistakes in the language classroom, but then states that in Odete's case that this is not necessary because of her level of English:

331	CT	<IND> o concreto não é necessário porque em termos linguísticos de linguagem nem dá erros gra::ves (.) que que possamos dizer assim ↓não tem que escrever tudo para não correr o risco de dar erros
332	O	<INT> não eu quando faço isso nem é muito pelos erros (.) eu sei que tenho medo (.) é mais pela sequência da aula para *não esquecer-se* da sequência da aula
333	S	isto tudo porque ela esqueceu-se da sequência da aula de uma aula
334	O	eu fiquei traumatizada [laughing]

As noted earlier in this study, whilst making mistakes or errors in the language classroom is often considered one of the principal sources of LA (Daubney, 2004; Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope, 1991; Price, 1991; Young, 1990), it is over simplistic to consider this as the underlying source, especially in the case of more advanced learners who have different investments at stake. In the above exchanges, it is Sandra who reveals that Odete had a negative experience and that this past event is now one that conditions her present practice, thinking and feelings (Eysenck, 1991).

It is important to say that both the mentors praised Odete's teaching. However, the praise in this POC was for the sequence of the activities and the materials. In fact, one of the recurrent and most resonant themes for the trainees during this practicum, but especially for Odete and Renata, was the need to escape the images of monotony and slow moving classes that were liable to be inappropriate for the interests of the pupils. In Odete's case her desire

to be dynamic was particularly acute. The ST suggests that it might be something more innate, yet whilst Odete does not disagree with the ST, her overall feeling is clear:

441	ST	<IND> é uma coisa mesmo da personalidade se calhar
442	O	e também preciso daquele feeling de ahm às vezes não é só o feeling ahm DINAMISMO

At the end of the POC, both the mentors suggest that Odete should abandon the lesson plan if she sees that it is not in the interests of the pupils and both end up urging her to move away from the certainties of the plan:

443	ST	é arriscar um bocadinho O eu vejo que as crianças precisam disto e eu sei que é isto que precisam eu não tenho nada preparado mas vou arriscar ↑olha
444	CT	arrisque O arrisque
445	ST	pode correr bem e pode correr mal mas há esse o arriscar e já a O já te aperceberes que não posso ir para o passo quarto ou quinto

It is not surprising, then, that Odete writes of a particular interest in fear at the beginning of her weekly written reflection:

No nosso dia a dia o medo afigura-se-nos a algo que nos intimida e pode prejudicar o nosso desempenho. Contudo, o medo pode igualmente ser um sinal de coragem.

Odete 8-05-06

Given the mentors' advice at the end of the POC of the previous lesson, it is understandable that one of the most notable features of Odete's class was her animated kinesic and verbal behaviour. A cluster of this type of behaviour comes at the beginning of the class, a likely attempt by Odete to begin the class in a dynamic and more spontaneous manner, thereby not only trying to get the pupils' attention but also making sure the CT was observing her efforts to be a more animated presence. The theme of the lesson is giving and understanding directions, and the pupils have listened to a recording of a dialogue, and are being asked to stick the parts of the dialogue they have on pieces of paper on the board. Here Odete is trying to maintain the rhythm:

81	O	ok thank you next ↑group >next group who comes next? [moving animatedly in front of the blackboard] quickly<

However, shortly after this dynamic start, what looked to be an insignificant moment happened. This took place after the pupils had listened to a dialogue and Odete asked the pupils whether they had understood this listening exercise:

126	O	yes? ok (.) so [moving away from the blackboard and putting the worksheet in her hand on the teacher's desk] do you understand the text?
127	PP	ye:::s (-)
128	O	yes? YE:::S (-) [mimicking pupils' falling intonation]
129	PP	ye::s?

The significance of this exchange will be seen shortly when the POC is discussed, but at the present moment what is important to underline is that it can be in these fleeting moments of talk between people in which emotions rise and fall, influencing the perceptions and behaviour of people as they construct their talk together.

As certain common practices had been established early on in the practicum, it was not surprising to see Odete nominate the usual pupils. However, in this lesson it appeared Odete was especially keen to keep the class moving along. For this reason, Bruno was nominated on several occasions. As the lesson involved going outside to do an activity in the school playground, it appeared Odete wanted to make sure the class knew what they had to do, especially in terms of behaviour. At this point, then, she nominates Bruno after first having explained in English. Furthermore, there even seemed to be an explicit acknowledgement of this strategy as Odete endeavoured to ensure the class understood by adding 'only' to the solicit, thereby excluding other possible candidates:

298	O	[moves to the front of the class in a central position] ok shu::sh (.) so now pay attention (.) now we are going outside and we are going to play a GAME ok so pay attention (.) I want you to be SILENTLY [moving a finger from side to side in front of her face] we can't make ° any noise ° we can't make any noise ok? (.) João [moving towards João and staring at him] (.) the ones who are noisy will come to the classroom ok? do you understand? what did I say?
299	PP	<IND>
300	O	[raises her hand and clicks her fingers] Bruno only Bruno

Despite the mentors' entreaties to Odete to risk more, her use of the notes on her desk and the 'asides' with her colleagues were still evident. However, a sign that Odete had been particularly anxious, and one that I had not noticed, was mentioned to me by the CT when Odete and the pupils left the classroom to go to the playground. Apparently, Odete had forgotten to hand out the worksheet to the pupils on which the questions she asked them were based.

There were indications, then, that Odete was experiencing significant anxiety as she attempted to move through the sequences of the class in a dynamic way. At the end of the lesson, just after Odete and the pupils had returned to the classroom, Odete looked agitated

and was moving papers around on her desk (see Researcher's observation notes in Appendix 4). She then proceeded to tell the class that she was disappointed with their behaviour as some pupils had not taken the activity seriously. Again, there were indications that she felt particularly emotional during this lesson, perhaps because of her hopes that the lesson would go well, but also because these hopes were often frustrated. As I waited for the CT to finish talking with a pupil, I stood with Odete near the door of the classroom and she remarked to me that she felt the class had been boring for the pupils. I suggested that she waited to see what they said in the POC.

The CT dominates interaction in the POC while Odete and Sandra have the second and third number of turns and lines respectively. An unusual feature of this POC is that although Renata was present she did not make any contributions, the reasons for which are not known to me.

Trainee teacher	POC date	Length of POC (Mins)	CT Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Odete Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Renata Nº turns/ *nº lines*	Sandra Nº turns/ *nº lines*	TT Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Other turns Nºturns/ *nº lines*	Total Nºturns/ *nº lines*
Odete	08-05-06	23	63	51	-	16	3	-	133
			340	*88*	-	*36*	*3*	-	*467*

Table 40 Talk proportion in POC – Odete 8/05/06

Phase or type of post observation conference	Topic (s) oriented to in interaction	Interlocutor	How the topic is introduced
2nd phase	Pupil interest	O	*
	Level of text and pupil interest	CT	C
	Teacher emotions	O	C
	Pupil participation	O	C
	Classroom activities	O	IT
	Teacher personality in classroom	O	IT
3rd phase	Classroom activities	S	IT
	Pupil behaviour (discipline)	S	IT
4th phase	Teacher emotions	CT	C
	Pupil understanding	CT	IT
	Pupil attention	CT	IT
	Activities based on real life situations	CT	C
	Teacher explanations (text not given to pupils)	CT	C
	Organisation of classroom activities –teacher centred	CT	C
	Learning objective (outside class)	CT	IT

Table 41 Topic management in POC – Odete 8/05/2006

In Table 41 we can see the first topic Odete oriented to is the pupils' interest in the lesson. Given Odete's comments to me outside the classroom, this is not surprising as this seemed to be a topic that was prominent in her thinking.

At this point, I would now like to refer back to interventions 126-129 in the class mentioned above. These seemed to be significant because Odete interpreted he pupils' falling intonation and sound stretching on the 'yes' in intervention 127 as indicating their boredom:

1	CT	ok O diga-me lá o que é que achou ?
2	O	achei que ahm a primeira parte da aula foi um bocadinho monótona (.) achei quer dizer a parte do texto a parte do texto achei que ou eles não estavam devidamente ou não estava entusiasmados <IND> achei que foi um bocadinho monótono (..) porque quando eu lhes perguntava estão a perceber? ye:::s ye:::s sei lá talvez por esse tipo de atitudes por esse tipo de atitude eu tivesse achado que::

Given the effort that Odete was making to be dynamic and to create an interesting lesson for the pupils, not to mention constructing a more positive, dynamic image of herself, such reactions may well have been disappointing to her, and lends support to the notion that one of the influences of anxiety is to make people particularly sensitive to what others think about them (MacIntyre, 1999; 2002).

After hearing Odete's comments, the CT suggests that the level of language may have demotivated the pupils to a certain degree but then seems to suggest that the activity was fine, thereby implying that the level of motivation was more to do with Odete:

5	CT	é uma exploração de texto acaba por ser o texto não era à primeira assim um texto muito acessível tendo em conta que estava a introduzir um conteúdo não é ? havia lá determinadas expressões que eles que não era do conhecimento dos alunos não é ? e isso poderá tê-los desmotivado um pouco para para o texto (-) mas a actividade não estava?
6	O	não não a actividade não não estava mal eu é que achei que talvez não (-)
7	CT	sentiu-se cansada nessa actividade foi ?
8	O	cansada (.) é assim eu tentava entusiasmá-los mas não sabia se era eles que depois vi que havia partes que eles não estavam a perceber

After the CT asks Odete whether she felt tired, Odete responds that she tried to motivate them but was unsure whether this was because they didn't understand certain parts of the activities.

Although she thought some pupils were distracted, the CT praises the activity outside, and then asks Odete for further comments on her lesson:

11	CT	= e mais o que é que achou mais? diga
12	O	>gostava de ter sido mais dinâmica mas eu já não sei< olhe eu eu não ↑sei porque eu >parece que quando entro lá dentro::< (..) não sou eu
13	CT	tinha actividades muito interessantes
14	O	sim e as actividades eram bastante interessantes não eu:: eu:: não sei é:: >quando entro lá dentro< *isto parece matemático*
15	CT	não se sente pressionada são os alunos acha que não consegue criar ass::im muita empatia com os alunos ? consegue não consegue ?
16	O	não não é ↓empatia eu acho que não é isso não sei é a minha maneira de ser não sei cá fora sou uma coisa e depois chego lá dentro não sei o que é que se passa que:: (..) ° acabo por sentir: não sei não sei (-) °
17	CT	o que é que achou a S ?

It is in these exchanges, then, that we can begin to see the extent of Odete's feelings and discomfort. Although there were indications that Odete was anxious and concerned about her image as a teacher in a range of data, it is only now – at least in the POCs – that she is beginning to explicitly reveal and articulate the sense of disorientation she experiences – the core of this experience being her sense that her identity, her image of herself, her way of being are one thing inside the classroom whilst outside they are another. The CT positions Odete as effectively being responsible as she opines that Odete had interesting activities, perhaps encouraging Odete to also comment that the activities were interesting and that the 'problem' lies with her. Her quiet end to her turn (16) appears to reflect a certain resignation and her disappointment, an indication that she was ready to hear what other people were going to say.

Odete's lesson on the 8th May was her final class that was recorded for this project and the penultimate overall. Perhaps it was Odete's memorable phrase - *Lá dentro não so eu* – both Spartan and direct that bought the complex issues of identity, image and anxiety to the fore. For a considerable period, Odete had been positioned as dynamic outside the classroom but static and monotonous inside it. It somehow sees a fitting albeit harsh self-description given her experience on the teaching practice.

All the trainees during the period of the practicum had experienced tension to a greater or lesson extent as they experienced their first prolonged period in the language

classroom. In terms of language anxiety, it does not appear an unreasonable assumption to suggest that all three may have experienced some of its symptoms. However, it seems Sandra could be characterised as experiencing an anxiety that was closer to a 'facilitating' form (Bailey, 1983; Scovel, 1978, 2001), that is, an anxiety that is motivated by a competitive edge, a nervous energy that helps the learner to move towards a successful self-image which is confirmed through the eyes of others. On the other hand, there were strong indications that Odete experienced a 'debilitating' type (Horwitz, 1986; MacIntyre, 1999, 2002), an anxiety in which the learner's self-image is largely unsuccessful, resulting in worry, avoidance behaviour and a downward spiral of negative experiences. Whilst, I would not say that Odete's experience was wholly representative of this type of anxiety, there were significant indications of regular disappointments and instances of her self-image being associated with representations of teachers and teaching that were not desirable in the context of this group's practicum. Renata, given her calm and reserved demeanour, is a more complex case to comment on.

What can be said with a greater degree of confidence, though, is that all three trainees made considerable efforts to escape, live up to and even surpass certain images that they desired or hoped to leave behind, and it is perhaps in these efforts that the experience of language anxiety stirs and exerts its influence.

Emotive strategies and supervisor styles

The focus up to the present point of the study has been that of the trainees and how their eventual experiences of language anxiety has been shaped in the dynamics between the POCs and the lessons. Although I have referred to some of the emotive strategies in the discussion of the POCs, at this point I would like to consider some of the more notable features of supervisory talk in order to trace the characteristics of the principal supervisor styles of the mentors as well as to consider an overview of the emotive strategies they use. The following discussion, however, is not meant to be a detailed examination of supervisor styles, as this is not the objective of this study, but to identify the main types of speech acts and emotive strategies used by the mentors and how these might be related to the trainees' experience of anxiety, the principal focus of this study.

Before looking at these features of the mentors' talk, it should be noted that the ST had been the teacher of these students in some of their English language disciplines at ESEL before the practicum. Whilst not necessarily a handicap for the CT not to have previously

known the trainees, it is pertinent to acknowledge that this degree of familiarity between the ST and the trainees may have been a factor influencing their relationship.

Furthermore, it is important to note that the CT attended the following POCs recorded for this project : all of Odete's ; all of Renata's and all of Sandra's. The ST did not attend any of Renata's POCs for this project but attended 2 of Odete's and 2 of Sandra's.

The principal speech acts identified in both mentors' discourse will be discussed before I consider some of the differences in their use of emotive strategies and how these may influence their relationship with the trainees and their experience of anxiety.

Praising

POC/ Odete/08-05-06

105	CT	e a forma de exploração do texto estava muito interessante na minha perspectiva (.) estava sim senhor que era tipo um jogo da glória quase para passar não é ? era os obstáculos que

POC/ Odete/16-01-06

54	ST	mas oh O ao contrário do caos que a O pensou que esta aula foi (.) revelou uma boa fluência na utilização da língua- (.) aliás as três meninas acho que são muito boas ao nível do inglês (.)

The use of praise is considered important as it is likely to have an impact on the trainees' level of self-esteem, an important influence on anxiety (Horwitz, 1996; Ortega, 2007; Price, 1991). In terms of one's partner's face needs (Arndt and Janney, 1985), it acknowledges both the personal (need for autonomy) and the interpersonal (need for acceptance). In terms of supervision this is likely to stimulate and encourage positive emotions in the trainees and praise was a strategy used in all POCs by both mentors. In the semi-structured interview (SSI), Renata responded to my question about what had been one of the significant moments for her during the practicum by saying praise from her mentors:

68	I	you say ST praised you can you remember some of the times when she praised you when you felt good about those moments?
69	R	ahm on the Monday I gave what they called a traditional lesson and they said I had to change my strategies to be more dynamic and I changed them and they said it was a good effort and that it showed (.) [moving her hand around] a minha postura na aula [smiling]
70	I	right I read that in one of your reflections one of your written reflections on a lesson
71	R	yes it feels good

Indeed, as we have seen throughout discussion of the POCs and the lessons, being or desiring to be praised as 'dynamic' and 'spontaneous' was an important part of interaction that probably shaped their experience of language anxiety.

Encouraging to reflect

POC/ Odete/24-04-06

406	CT	se calhar tem que se pensar assim ora bem eu vou pôr esta actividade e se os alunos não ↑conseguirem o que é que eu poderei fazer ? é reflectir mesmo

POC/Odete/16-01-06

25	ST	º agora somos nós º .hh oh O eu penso que (..) também concordo que de facto houve alguma confusão nesta aula (.) mas ahm eu > penso que esta semana temos que pensar muito bem nesta aula porquê que correu da forma como correu <

In more collaborative models of supervision, encouraging trainees to reflect is seen as shifting from a direct role that sees the supervisor's agenda largely imposed on the supervisee to one that encourage the trainees' own reflective thinking and autonomy, and therefore encourages a sharing of power between supervisor and trainee (Chamberlain, 2000; Glickman, Gordon and Ross-Gordon, 1985; Wallace, 1991).

However, reflection was conditioned by how the POCs were organised which were carried out according to the availability of the mentors and trainees. The latter's availability was also influenced by the fact that they were also doing the Portuguese practicum and attending classes in ESEL. For example, the duration of the POCs appeared to have a significant influence on the style adopted by the CT, that is, the time available significantly influenced whether a more direct style was adopted. Furthermore, it was emerging from the data that Sandra seemed to have her own agenda in the POCs, in other words it looked likely that reflections were made by Sandra in a defensive and reluctant manner. As will be seen in the final meeting, this was a strategy that was probably adopted to avoid 'exposure' to evaluation. Although, there was evidence of the mentors encouraging the trainees to reflect, such attempts at stimulating reflection may have been affected by the possible tensions previously referred to.

Suggesting

POC/ Sandra/23-03-06

170	ST	= se calhar não seria má ideia dizer (.) let's go and sit down in two circles (.) dar a word card e dar a flashcard a TODOS (..) ou o que tiver que ser dado

POC/Odete/08-05-06

51	CT	↑poderia aproveitar eventualmente para fazer uma leitura dialogada com ou fazer uma simulação de um de um diálogo de alguém que esta perdido na cidade para que eles pudessem em contexto (.) entende ?

Making suggestions, Vieira (1993) opines, does not involve the supervisor imposing their views as to what the supervisee should do. This may sometimes be the case. However, this will depend on the interpretation of the supervisee. Bailey (2006) says that directives are often dressed up in suggestions, in effect softening the impact of the FTA. These directives are often made using conditionals or modal verbs, the latter being used in the examples above. As we have seen, Sandra was particularly sensitive to suggestions or what she took to be 'implied criticism' of her lessons. Nevertheless, in one of her POCs (2-02-06) the ST has reassured her that her lesson went well, and adds that she is only making suggestions, which brings a positive response from Sandra:

328	ST	↑não mas não correu ↑mal (.) isto são só //sugestões//
329	S	// sim porque as sugestões são úteis

Renata and Sandra also commented in the semi-structured interview (384-386) that ideas put forward by the ST were welcomed. Sandra also says that the CT did not give them ideas. However, the CT did make suggestions. What appears to have significantly influenced Sandra's perspective, as was seen in the semi-structured interview, is her negative opinion of the CT, a factor – combined with her defensiveness – that may have been an influence on her own as well as the other trainees' experience of anxiety.

Understanding

POC/ Odete/13-02-06

194	CT	pronto claro que não podiam elaborar a pergunta *what are they doing* nesta perspectiva

POC/ Odete/24-04-06

365	ST	lá houve uma pequenita que foi buscar o dicionário (-) mas também não havia dicionários para todos não é ?

Demonstrating understanding has been influenced by the ideas of Carl Rogers and is of particular relevance in establishing a relationship of mutual trust (Gebhard, 1990) an important factor as far as affective factors are concerned. If the trainee feels able to confide in and trust the supervisor, then a more open relationship is likely to develop in which the trainees are able to develop their reflective thinking in a context of mutual trust and dialogue (Grácio, 2002; Oliveira, 1992).

Questioning without criticising

POC/ Odete/13-02-06

50	CT	= dessa actividade por exemplo o que é que acha que poderia ter feito ?
51	O	<IND> talvez mesmo sem o acetato talvez em PowerPoint talvez se fosse ahm (.) até podia ser eles mesmos talvez a chegar lá e carregar no PowerPoint e descobrirem a resposta (.) não sei (-) ° talvez fosse um bocadinho diferente °
52	CT	mais interactivo mais que eles participassem mais
53	O	pois mas isso uma pessoa também só se lembra agora não é ? mas pronto (-)

POC/ Sandra/2-02-06

52	ST	mas o que é que vai acontecer a::hm o que é que poderá acontecer de os alunos estarem constantemente a traduzir ? O que é que vocês acham ?
53	S	não sei (.) //eu traduzo//
54	ST	//e o que// é que o resto da turma ahm que implicações é que isto poderá ter a nível do inglês ?
55	R	= não tomarem atenção àquilo que o professor está a dizer em inglês porque sabem que a ↑seguir

Not only do the use of questions stimulate the reflection on questions of theory and practice (Vieira, 1993; Alarcão, Leitão and Roldão, 2009), as can be seen from the examples above, but in terms of mitigation it often allows the supervisor to avoid direct criticism and encourage discussion (Wajnyrb, 1994), thereby helping to avoid conflict and creating tension.

Criticising

POC/Renata/9-01-06

10	CT	e eu atribuo isso ao facto de as actividades serem muito monótonas e não estão adequadas aos seus interesses apesar de ahm enfim eu acho que a R até se esforça por criar um trabalho favorável à aprendizagem .hh mas

POC/Renata/9-01-06

		que eu quero dizer ?< a R por feitio é uma pessoa pouco expressiva expressa-se num tom num tom de voz muito baixo de forma inibida e ↓monótona .

Criticising in supervision is associated with a directive style (Glickman, 1985) or prescriptive approach (Wallace, 1991), which involves making value judgements (Oliveira, 1992) on the supervisees, and is likely to lead to tensions in the supervisory relationship. In terms of Arndt and Janney's (1985) emotive strategies such a speech act threatens both the personal and interpersonal needs of the speaker. As can been mentioned, direct criticisms only occurred in Renata's POC on the 9th January, and may have resulted in the trainees forming negative perceptions of the CT (see interventions 372 and 384 in the SSI in Appendix 7). Again, like praise, these are important in that they position the trainee by shaping what is desired or not and are a likely source of motivation and anxiety.

Advising

POC/Odete/16-01-06

35	ST	mas falando aqui da R concretamente (.) uma das coisas que a R tem que melhorar porque a ajuda imenso e nós já sabemos disso porque já vimos isso (.) na última actuação (.) são as actividades (-)

POC /Renata/9-02-06

212	CT	há aspectos que não são comuns entende ? e portanto aquilo que é tipicamente inglês e que pode ser contemplado > isso tem que estar nos vossos planos < (.)

Advising in supervisory contexts is also considered to be closer to a directive style (Freeman, 1990; Gebhard, 1990; Wallace, 1991). Although advising may be considered an imposition, and therefore falls under the rubric of negative politeness (Arndt and Janney, 1985; Brown and Levinson, 1987), trainees may welcome the guidance and delimitation of choice in novel contexts or those of uncertainty (see Gebhard, 1990:158). Sandra, for

example, says in the semi-structured interview (see intervention 255 below), that she views the POCs and the mentors' feedback as guidance that they can incorporate into her teaching:

255	S	next time I write it down [simulating writing] > I can't do this this and this < and before class I'm looking at it right [wagging her index finger to indicate something is not permitted] I can't do this this and this [smiling] I get in class and it's ok can't do that

It is possible, then, that advising, from the trainees' point of view, gives them greater security.

Given the words of the trainees in the semi-structured interview as to the differences between the CT and ST, and as both mentors did use the speech acts described above, I will briefly look at an overview of the mitigation and emotive strategies in both semesters to try to better understand why the trainees at the time of the semi-structured interview held, and probably continued to hold, those attitudes. This is important as it is likely that this relationship was a source of anxiety. In particular, Sandra was especially defensive in the POCs, but it also appeared, not surprisingly given the close group identity that had taken shape over the practicum, that it was an attitude shared by all trainees at that time.

In Tables 42 and 44 there are, I think, indications that may have some explanatory potential in relation to the trainees' attitudes to the CT and the ST. It is evident that the ST uses more mitigation strategies in her talk that are likely to increase social solidarity (Arndt and Janney, 1985; Holmes, 1984) as well as using a high number of strategies that reduce the impact of the criticism. For example, the use of 'hedges – minimizers' ('um bocadinho', 'um errozito') and of 'hedges – modals' ('se calhar', 'talvez') are significantly higher in number in the ST's talk than in the CT's. The latter are likely to reduce the effect of criticism on the speaker, and the degree of imposition (Wajnyrb,1994:293) by reducing certainty or obligation, whilst the latter, in Wajnyrb's terms, minimise the "degree to which things are bad" "ibid.:292).

Another feature of the ST's talk that distinguishes it from the CT's is her use of 'person shifts', the change to the first person plural that signals solidarity because it is about 'us' the teachers as opposed to 'you are the teacher' and 'I am the supervisor' (ibid.:263).

Trainee	Supervising teacher							ST total	Co-operating teacher							CT total	ST+CT total
	Stroking	Excusing	Conceding	Deflecting	Style-shifted	Hedges - modals	Hedges -		Stroking	Excusing	Conceding	Deflecting	Style-shifting	Hedges - modals	Hedges -		
Odete 16 - 01	2	1	1	0	5	15	25	49	3	0	1	0	0	1	1	6	55
Odete 13 - 02	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	3	0	3	0	0	2	2	10	10
Renata 09 - 01	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	7	7
Renata 09 - 02	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	0	0	1	0	2	2	9	9
Sandra 02 - 02	1	0	0	0	1	14	15	31	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	33

Table 42 Quantitative overview of semantic categories of mitigation in first half of the Practicum

Trainee	Supervising teacher					ST total	Co-operating teacher					CT total	ST+CT total
	Questions	Tag questions	Subordination	Person shift	Conditionals / Modals		Questions	Tag questions	Subordination	Person shift	Conditionals / Modals		
Odete 16 - 01	1	9	6	9	1	26	0	1	6	4	2	13	39
Odete 13 - 02	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	3	13	2	16	47	47
Renata 09 - 01	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	0	0	0	1	6	6
Renata 09 - 02	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	10	9	4	11	37	37
Sandra 02 - 02	12	10	4	8	7	41	2	1	6	2	2	13	54

Table 43 Quantitative overview of syntactic categories of mitigation in first half of the practicum

Trainee	Supervising teacher							ST total	Co-operating teacher							CT total	ST+CT total
	Stroking	Excusing	Conceding	Deflecting	Style-shifted	Hedges - modals	Hedges -		Stroking	Excusing	Conceding	Deflecting	Style-shifted	Hedges - modals	Hedges -		
Odete 24 - 04	0	1	0	1	1	9	22	34	1	1	0	0	1	5	1	9	43
Odete 08 - 05	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	0	0	0	4	2	11	11
Renata 13 - 03	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	4	4
Sandra 20 - 03	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	4	4
Sandra 23 - 03	4	0	0	0	1	11	9	25	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	26

Table 44 Quantitative overview of semantic categories of mitigation in second half of the Practicum

Trainee	Supervising teacher					ST total	Co-operating teacher					CT total	ST+CT total
	Questions	Tag questions	Subordination	Person shift	Conditionals / Modals		Questions	Tag questions	Subordination	Person shift	Conditionals /Modals		
Odete 24 - 04	3	4	4	1	4	16	1	0	10	0	4	15	31
Odete 08 - 05	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	6	0	10	20	20
Renata 13 - 03	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0	2	0	0	3	3
Sandra 20 - 03	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	5	0	3	8	8
Sandra 23 - 03	7	-	1	4	3	15	0	0	2	0	4	6	21

Table 45 Quantitative overview of syntactic categories of mitigation in second half of the practicum

The ST also uses 'question tags' more frequently, a linguistic device "seeking cooperation" (Wajnyrb, ibid.: 248), and one that attenuates or softens (Fraser, 1980; Holmes, 1984), as

well as the use of shifts in lexemes ('a Odete é muito boa gente', 'olha', 'as três meninas') which increase solidarity and informality.

Whilst the CT uses a significant number of mitigation strategies it is possible that the trainees view her discourse as more formal, for example, the use of 'subordination' ('penso que'), conditionals and modals, and therefore qualitatively different in comparison with the ST, who is more informal. In sum, perhaps the CT is increasing the social distance between herself and the trainees.

As can be seen in Tables 46 and 47, over the two halves of the practicum, there is little difference in the total number of mitigation strategies used although the CT attends three more POCs in each semester than the ST (for the POCs recorded for this project). On the other hand, the ST's number of strategies is significantly boosted by the 'hedges'.

Trainee	Mitigation	
	ST	**CT**
Odete 16 - 01	75	19
Odete 13 - 02	-	57
Renata 09 - 01	-	13
Renata 09 - 02	-	46
Sandra 02 – 02	72	15
TOTAL ST /CT	**147**	**150**

Table 46 Total number of mitigation strategies used in first half of practicum

Trainee	Mitigation	
	ST	**CT**
Odete 24 – 04	50	24
Odete 08 - 05	-	31
Renata 13 - 03	-	7
Sandra 20 - 03	-	12
Sandra 23 - 03	40	7
TOTAL ST /CT	**90**	**81**

Table 47 Total number of mitigation strategies used in second half of practicum

However, as noted previously, a significant event in the first semester was Renata's POC on the 9th January. As pointed out it was in this POC that the only nonsupportive negative strategies identified in this project were used. Whether there were further POCs such as this is not known to me. It was, perhaps, this POC – as well as others – bordering on 'hypomitigation' (Wajnyrb, ibid.) that is, very little mitigation and almost blunt in its delivery, that influenced the trainees' negative attitudes towards the CT. The short duration of the POC, together with the negative comments may have magnified these remarks even further, likely influencing their anxiety levels in the classroom performances. This probably contributes to the way they distinguish between the ST and the CT in the semi-structured interview.

Contrary to the ST who always has positive things to say even when the lesson has not gone well, the CT, according to the trainees (SSI/372-375 in Appendix 7) does not:

372	R	and sometimes CT doesn't do that it's always negative negative negative [moving hand in circular motion]
373	S	//and that's really bad for us//
374	O	//and you feel really [moves hands in quick motions across her face]//
375	S	and sometimes (.) now [looking at Renata] I don't think she did it in the last one but like if we did something wrong she would pass the whole hour saying what we did wrong the same thing [tapping one her fingers on one hand on the palm of the other hand] ok stop killing me

Sandra (SSI/377 in Appendix 7) then states that it is the thought behind the ST's feedback and the manner in which it is delivered that makes the difference.

377	S	//[shaking her head]// well with me I think (.) when ST says things (.) she analyses what's she's going to say and (.) //how she says it [holding her hand in front of her face, palm up with fingers slightly

In terms of praise, the numbers which stand out in Tables 48 and 49 are those indicating the eulogies for Sandra. However, as was mentioned before it was probably the mentors' wariness of her and the related need to reassure her that encouraged the mentors to praise Sandra more.

Trainee	Supportive positive		Nonsuportive negative	
	ST	**CT**	**ST**	**CT**
Odete 16 - 01	5	2	0	0
Odete 13 - 02	-	7	-	0
Renata 09 - 01	-	2	-	7
Renata 09 - 02	-	5	-	0
Sandra 02 - 02	24	18	0	0
TOTAL ST /CT	**29**	**34**	**0**	**7**

Table 48 Total number of emotive strategies used in first half of practicum

Trainee	Supportive positive		Nonsupportive negative	
	ST	**CT**	**ST**	**CT**
Odete 24 - 04	7	3	0	0
Odete 08 - 05	-	7	-	0
Renata 13 - 03	-	10	-	0
Sandra 20 - 03	-	15	-	0
Sandra 23 - 03	7	11	0	0
TOTAL ST /CT	**14**	**46**	**0**	**0**

Table 49 Total number of emotive strategies used in second half of practicum

Yet, Sandra was also defensive about the ST's comments, meaning the ST, like the CT, would often resort to 'correu bem' before making suggestions or other comments on her lessons during the POCs. It seems fair to say, then, that the POCs were, at times, a focus of tension, and a likely source of anxiety.

In terms of supervisor style, I would argue, that although there are characteristics in the mentors' talk of both a more prescriptive or direct approach and features of talk that are more readily associated with a collaborative style, the ST is in fact closer to the collaborative style than the CT.

The POCs in which the CT, but not the ST, is present are of a short duration and dominated by her, with long turns sometimes lasting for minutes, displaying the dynamic of 'supervisor talks, trainee listens' (Wallace, 1991), whilst the organisation of the POCs does not encourage the active participation of the trainees (Oliveira, 1992) or reveal that the supervisor knows how to listen (Wallace, 1991) and encourage trainee reflection. Furthermore, the CT's direct 'criticisms' in the POC on the 9th January belong to a direct style that involves judging and setting out what the trainee 'should' and 'have to' do in order to teach a class right (Freeman, 1990).

On the other hand, the POCs of longer duration display signs of a more collaborative approach, such as more questions being asked, and greater trainee participation in terms of turns and lines of talk. It seems, then, that time is an important factor in helping to shape what type of style is adopted (Oliveira, 1992).

Another consideration according to Paiva, Barbosa and Fernandes (2010) is that supervisors adapt their style "ao grau de predisposição e capacidade dos estagiários para assumir responsabilidade" (2010:107). It is also a possibility, then, that the trainees of this study were seen by the mentors as 'needing' a more direct style. This may be one of the reasons that the ST does not ask Odete so many questions as Sandra because she may have considered Odete as needing more support. It may be the case that the ST asked Sandra more questions, but this may have been in order to avoid tensions that a directive might have evoked.

There also seems to be consideration on the part of the CT, evidenced in the number of mitigation strategies and supportive positive strategies used, of the trainees' feelings, although the comments of the trainees in the semi-structured interview would suggest that this was not their interpretation.

As for the four POCs the ST participated in for this research project, she had the most lines of talk in all of them, and the duration of these POCs were longer which made a difference to their organisation. More specifically, the requirement of doing a POC in 9

minutes was not a consideration the ST had to consider. Whilst the ST also resorted to a style that was at times more directive, the features of the ST's talk that made her style 'softer' and more 'co-operative' were the regular and systematic use of the 'hedges' (both minimisers and modals) 'tag questions', and 'person shifts', characteristic features of her speech that probably stimulated feelings of understanding and solidarity in the trainees' eyes.

Although there were other contexts to which this study did not have access to that might have helped to further understand the relationships between the three trainees and the mentors – such as their more 'informal' meetings inside and outside the school, and the other POCs that were not recorded for this project – it was clear in the semi-structured interview that there might have been a considerable degree of dissatisfaction and frustration between the trainees and the CT at this particular time of the practicum.

To a certain extent this was already 'visible' in the POCs of Sandra in the first part of the practicum, the most discernible sign being Sandra's defensive attitude, itself a possible sign of anxiety. However, Sandra was also reluctant to accept criticism from the ST so this seemed to indicate an underlying defensiveness, and not simply an attitude problem with the CT.

What had remained constant, however, was the struggle over the images that were constructed in the cycle of plans, the lessons and the POCs and that had been exerting their influence on the trainees since the beginning of the teaching practice. It was in the first half of the practicum that their expectations began to take shape whereas it was in the second that each trainee tried to exert their agency over the emotional flux and practical constraints of a period that would take them to the verge of the language teaching profession.

In the following section, we move to the final part of the practicum programme in which the trainees would meet up with their mentors in order to receive their final mark, a context where the sense of evaluation would be reduced, and where the mentors and trainees would share their final thoughts on their experiences throughout the year.

4.5 About to depart: thinking ahead by thinking back

…eu vou dizer que o estágio é um começo mas depois a vossa prática vai vós dizer tantas coisas vai vós ensinar tantas coisas quanto tiverem alguns anos de serviço coisas que vocês pensam é pá nunca pensei que isto podia funcionar desta forma…
(Co-operating teacher in the final meeting:382)

The final meeting was an important moment in the research project. This is the first of two moments of interaction that I refer to in the methodology of data collection as post-teaching practice data (see Figure 11 in 3.4). The SRP sessions would be the second moment, but these were researcher initiated and not part of the cycle of the Prática Pedagógica discipline. To reiterate, the 'post-teaching' label simply points to the fact that the trainees had finished teaching classes.

The fact that the trainees had finished giving classes is an important factor to take into account when considering this meeting. Odete, Renata and Sandra all knew before they went into the meeting that their final mark would have already been decided upon by the mentors. In some respects, then, one of the key differences between this meeting and the POCs was that there was no taught lesson to analyse and reflect on, and that this would be the last meeting that the trainees and the mentors would have together. In a certain way, it could be argued that the pressure on the trainees had been significantly reduced. Unlike the POCs that focused on reflection and what could be learnt and taken forward into the next lesson, the final meeting was characterised by a general assessment of their practicum with a focus on the lessons, and what could be taken forward into their careers as qualified teachers.

It is for these reasons, perhaps, that the final meeting was particularly rich in interpretations, positioning, and representations that had been jointly constructed by the participants throughout the academic year. Indeed, the meeting can, in many ways, be seen as a more condensed and magnified version of the previous POCs, almost a microcosm of the key concerns raised during the practicum, but more open and frank in tone, and indicative of the tensions that existed between the trainees and the mentors.

Many of the topics of the meeting reflect the key concerns of the participants, and were in line with many of the reflections and positions of the participants that had been evident throughout the practicum. The analysis of the meeting therefore follows the chronological unfolding of the discourse in order to highlight the key issues and how these may be related to the experience of language anxiety. For this reason Table 50 showing the

management of topics in the meeting is placed below to complement the analysis of the unfolding of events. I am aware that similar mitigation and politeness strategies that were used to analyse the POCs are also evident in the talk of this meeting but my central concern here is to place these key issues in a narrative-like format to better understand the trainees' overall experience. From this perspective, Janesick's caveat about unduly focusing on *methodolatry* to the detriment of the story is pertinent here:

> ...*methodolatry*, a combination of method and idolatry, to describe a preoccupation with selecting and defending methods to the exclusion of the actual substance of the story being told. (Janesick, 2000:390, emphasis in original)

Table 50 is in a similar format to the POC topic management tables. However, there are differences so underneath the table an explanation can be found on how it is organised and should be interpreted.

Subject of discussion and reflection	Topic (s) oriented to in interaction	Interlocutor	The way the topic is introduced
Odete	Trainee progress identified	Odete	Sandra
	Trainee emotions	O	C
	Use of Portuguese and English	O	IT
	Socio-cultural aspects and rhythm of class	CT	IT
	Trainee's personal qualities	O	C
	Trainee emotions on previous TPs	ST	C
	Lesson plan	ST	C
	Trainee's personal qualities	S	IT
	Trainee –pupil relationship	O	IT
	Classroom materials	CT	IT
	Trainee emotions	ST	IT
	Quality of lessons on TP	O	IT
	Mark to be attributed	ST	IT
	Trainee difficulties identified	CT	IT
	Teacher qualities needed for this age group	CT	C
	Degree of trainee confidence	ST	C
	Pupil preferences for activities	ST	C
	Grammar explanation	ST	C
	Sense of evaluation	ST	C
	Lesson plan	R	C
	Flexibility in relation to lesson plan	ST	C
Renata	Trainee progress identified	R	Sandra
	Trainee progress on TP	ST	IT
	Trainee qualities	R	C
	Self-expression and classroom control	ST	C
	Classroom materials	R	IT
	Use of English and Portuguese	R	IT
	Trainee progress	CT	C
	Trainee personal qualities	R	C

	Trainee progress	ST	C
	Mark to be attributed	S	IT
	Classroom materials and new technologies	CT	IT
	Competence in English	ST	IT
	Mark to be attributed	ST	C
Sandra	Trainee attitude to English and Portuguese TP	S	CT
	Trainee's personal qualities	R	C
	Trainee self-expression in English	S	C
	Pupils' needs (affect)	S	IT
	Teacher-pupil relationship in 1º Ciclo	R	C
	Teacher-pupil relationship in 2º Ciclo	S	C
	Indentifying areas of teaching to improve	ST	IT
	Constraints on trainee progress	S	C
	Trainee attitudes	C	IT
	Trainee personality	ST	C
	Trainee personality	S	C
	Teacher vocation	CT	C
	Teacher-pupil relationship (affect)	S	C
	Trainee empathy with pupil preferences	ST	C
	Trainee personality	CT	C
	Trainee personality	ST	C
	Group work (with fellow trainees)	S	C
	Indentifying areas of teaching to improve	S	IT
	Mark to be attributed	ST	IT
Trainees' final assessment including final mark	Receptiveness to criticism	S	FA
	Trainee qualities	ST	C
	Nature of criticism	CT	C
	Constraints of TP on evaluation	ST	IT
	Self-criticism	S	FA
	Trainees' reflections in POCs	CT	C
	Sandra's reactions in POCs	ST	C
	Nature of criticism	CT	C
	Trainee personality	ST	C
	Trainee receptivity to criticism	S	C
	ST's degree of comfort giving criticism	ST	C
	Trainee's facial expressions in POCs	CT	C
	Renata's receptivity to criticism	CT	C
	Renata's expression of emotions	S	C
	Sandra's mark	ST	C
	Trainees' reflections in POCs	CT	C
	Mentor-trainee communication	ST	C
	The nature of trainees' reflections	CT	C
	Trainees' emotions	S	C
	Not criticising harms you	ST	C
	Sense of evaluation	S	C
	Group work	CT	C

Table 50 Topic management in final meeting

The first column identifies who or what is the subject of discussion, that is, each trainee and then the phases of the meeting where all trainees were given their evaluation to read. In the final meeting there were four phases: firstly, each trainee was nominated to reflect on their experience on the practicum; the last phase involved the mentors handing out

the trainees' final assessment, which included the final mark for the trainees to read, discuss and eventually sign. The second column indicates the topic that is oriented to during each of the four phases whilst the third column specifies which participant introduces that topic. The fourth column indicates the way the topic is introduced. This can be done in several ways. Firstly, in this meeting each trainee introduces the topic when they have been nominated to reflect on their experience on the practicum; secondly, the topic is also introduced by referring to the final assessment (which Sandra does twice in the final phase); thirdly, a new topic may be introduced (IT) by one of the participants; finally, a participant may take a turn that is a continuation of a previously introduced topic (C).

Odete

The meeting opened with the ST asking who would like to begin. This indirect solicit was seized upon by Sandra, who in turn effectively nominated Odete, which was accepted by the ST.

1	ST	[smiling at the trainees] então vá quem quer começar?
2	S	fala a Odete é primeira
3	ST	[looking at Odete] qual é a avaliação geral achas que houve uma melhoria desde a reunião em Fevereiro a reunião em Fevereiro

Responding to the ST's question of how she had improved since the mid-term meeting in February, Odete spoke quietly about using exemplification more and having better contact with the pupils, but then was asked to speak up by the CT, who was suggesting that otherwise the researcher's recording would not capture her voice.

In her opening exchange in this meeting (see interventions 11-16 on the following page), Odete speaks of her emotional experiences which echo those that were regularly spoken about in her POCs, and which she also noted in her written reflections. She said she had to improve by being more at ease with the students, being more relaxed, avoiding becoming stressed, and she should try to see the TP as her future. The language used here is that of anxiety, and she does not pinpoint specific reasons for these feelings. Whilst it is necessary to bear in mind – as was indicated in Part 1 – the way emotion words may be used for discursive purposes to achieve certain goals, Odete's comments are consistent with her experience throughout the TP. Rather than attempting to use these feelings in order to excuse language mistakes or aspects of her teaching, it seem more likely that she is articulating her overall experience – which is very much an emotional one. Arndt and Janney (1985) point out that "concepts more important for the speaker tend to occur in syntactically earlier positions

than less important ones" (1985:290). In the spirit of this notion, then, perhaps Odete's opening words are crucial representations of her TP experience.

11	O	tenho de melhorar ainda talvez com a vontade com os alunos talvez ainda não seja suficiente (.) porque ahm penso que posso descontrair mais ser mais solta ahm [moving her hands around in front of her chest] tentar não entrar em [smiling and looking upwards] quer dizer não stressar ma::s tentar levar [stretching her arms out in front of her and moving her hands around] as coisas dentro da normalidade ahm ver ver este estágio como sendo o meu futuro e:: não ficar tão aflita ou tão intimidada com determinadas situações ahm [shaking her head slightly] para além disso eu acho *podia melhorar um bocadinho em tudo* e mesmo com o meu discurso com os alunos saber quando é que podia falar em inglês quando em português embora eu tenha um bocadinho mais essa noção e [looking directly at ST and ST] mesmo tenho de ter não é nesta altura ma::s ahm pronto tentar treinar mais isso com os alunos porque às vezes há situações em que nós pensamos que o português é imprescindível //e não às vezes// um gesto ou exemplificação pronto
12	ST	//às vezes é não é//
13	CT	<INT>achas que na parte sócio-cultural deverias poderias ter evoluído um bocado mais?
14	O	sim sim
15	CT	e no ritmo
16	O	sim no ritmo sou um bocado parada neste aspecto por exemplo eu não sou muito [gesturing towards her colleagues with her arm] ahm em comparação com as minhas colegas

In intervention 13, the CT asks whether Odete should – but quickly adds could –improve in terms of including socio-cultural references in her teaching. This was mentioned by the CT (see especially Renata's POC/9-02/181 in Appendix 5) as being one of the areas that the trainees really needed to give more consideration to. Odete acknowledges this, but the CT then introduces the topic of the rhythm of Odete's classes. Odete is more willing to take up this topic and recognises her lack of rhythm, making a distinction between herself and Renata and Sandra, positioning them as being more dynamic while herself as less so. In her SRP (165 in Appendix 4), however, Odete would refer to herself and Renata as calm personalities in contrast with the 'dynamic' Sandra, also demonstrating how certain concepts, images, identities are mobilized in different contexts with different people. This notion of being dynamic, as was noted earlier in the analysis, was established very early on in the year, for example, in Sandra's first written reflections that refer to the mentors' encouraging marks on how her first classes had been dynamic and motivating for the pupils. It remained an

especially resonant and important representation of what teaching should be like for all participants – mentors and trainees – and was something that all trainees aspired to. In the semi-structured interview (SSI/436 in Appendix 7), Odete also says she feels the need to make comparisons between herself and Sandra in trying to explain why she needs games and certain activities to make her classes more dynamic. This notion of using more dynamic activities and games as strategies to combat the trainees' personality traits was stressed by the CT as being important in the first audio recorded POC made with Renata (POC/9-01/14 in Appendix 5).

In relation to these comparisons within the group, I had asked the trainees in the SSI whether they were competitive in order to see if this was a source of anxiety. Whilst they answered that question negatively, they did nevertheless, reveal how they made (SSI/311-34 in Appendix 7) constant comparisons with each other's teaching, or as Renata put it *we always learn from each other's lessons what we want to do and what we don't want to do* (SSI/315 in Appendix 7), or expressed in other terms, they saw in each other's teaching and ways of being in the classroom – which were also affirmed or not by the mentors – their ideal or ought to selves or their feared or undesired selves (see 2.6.1 in Part 1 for a discussion of 'selves theory').

However, the trainees did not mention in the SSI that this idea of using dynamic activities had been discussed with their CT, a possible explanation being a certain degree of tension that existed between the trainees and the CT at that time, tension that was revealed in their comments (SSI/348-394 in Appendix 7) about the differences between the two mentors (see 4.3 earlier in this chapter).

This key notion of rhythm is quickly related to being dynamic, and when asked by the CT if she thought her lessons had not gone well because of this unfavourable comparison with her colleagues, Odete says that lessons should be motivating for the pupils and that they should not be bored in their lessons, and that everything becomes easier if everything is done in a more dynamic way. In the meeting, Odete's body language reinforces her words as she seeks to convey the energy that she believes has been missing from her classes:

19	CT	isso é difícil =
20	O	= não é uma questão de ser difícil ou de ser fácil acho que tem a ver com a personalidade de cada pessoa há pessoas que têm mais energia e mais genica
21	ST	<INT> já por natureza não é
22	O	já por natureza são assim e ao chegarem a determinado sítio conseguem ser mais expressivos [moving her hands and arms outwards from her shoulders several times] não é e outras pessoas nem tanto] acho que (-)
23	ST	mas é engraçado como nós comentamos ao longo da tua prática que tu de facto eu acho que tu és assim fora da situação de aula
24	O	[smiling and shaking her head] //mas na situação de aula não//
25	S/R	//[nodding//
26	ST	//e depois vais para a aula e não sei porquê// mas será que seja por causa de ser ahm estarem pessoas a observar ou (-)
27	O	[smiling] talvez porque realmente cá fora não tenho este problema acho eu [shrugging her shoulders and smiling]

Moreover, Odete shifts the sense of agency from her own actions to innate characteristics, which the ST appears to align herself with, the latter then introducing the idea that the Odete in the language classroom is different, less dynamic, than the Odete outside of the classroom. This calls to mind Odete's striking but succinct description made in the last POC recorded for this project: *gostava de ter sido mais dinâmica mas eu já não sei< olhe eu eu não ↑sei porque eu >parece que quando entro lá dentro::< (..) não sou eu* (8-05/12 in Appendix 4). The high level of involvement in the stretch of talk from the final meeting above suggests that this had been established as a particular concern for Odete during the practicum, and points to the disorientating experience of those experiencing and working through anxiety and identity issues.

Odete's tendency to cling to the lesson plan and materials – a likely sign of anxiety – was mentioned by the CT, and Odete takes up these themes by describing her movements in the classroom as robot-like:

43	CT	não deixavas não deixava [moving her hands outwards from her chest several times] a aula fluir não é estavas muito agarrada aos materiais
44	O	[making step-like movements with her hands along the desk in front of her] pois sabia que a seguir era isto e depois tinha de ser aquele era tudo muito [moving her hand up and down] (..) tipo de ↑robot era muito assim
45	ST	mas quando elas não percebem quando as crianças não percebem também não vale a pena uma pessoa saltar para o próximo passo não é
46	O	não eu tenho consciência disso mas só que na prática eu sabia que era assim ° mas acabou por não ° [looking down, shaking her head, breathing in and pulling her mouth back to make a scared expression]
47	ST	pois e aspectos assim //positivos pois porque// são sempre aspectos negativos

At this point, the ST, probably out of consideration for Odete's feelings – notable in her body language and facial expression – tries to move on to more positive aspects of Odete's teaching, which results in Sandra making a supportive but somewhat strained attempt to come up with positive aspects by saying Odete had a good memory (FM/50 in Appendix 7), ironically only serving to reinforce the notion that Odete invested heavily in rote learning of the plan and lesson sequence, likely an anxiety-avoidance strategy. After Odete herself says that she had managed to create a good working environment with the pupils and that there was empathy between them, two telling moments were then introduced by the CT and ST respectively.

Firstly, the CT shifts from Odete's need to improve the rhythm of the lesson to Odete's appearance and presence in the classroom, and relates how children of the 1st and 2nd Cycle appreciate a certain type of teacher with certain characteristics, positioning Odete as not belonging to that particular type of teacher. This is done by gradually closing off options: Odete's classes were like they were not because they had anything to do with the materials not because they were related to the planning, but because – and at this point Odete completes the CT's turn, effectively positioning herself as a teacher without, at that time, the qualities needed to be successful for this age group:

129	CT	estava só a concluir de facto notei uma quebra em entusiasmo e tive algum receio que deixasse ser um pouco em baixo aliás cheguei a perguntar à Renata e à Sandra se se passava alguma coisa consigo porque fiquei preocupada [looking upwards] a::hm de resto penso que terá que melhorar o ritmo que dá às aulas tem uma postura muita estática muito [moving her fingers on both hands together quickly in front of her face] severa que neste tipo de idades em que vai leccionar inglês ahm portanto segundo ou primeiro ciclo não é ahm portanto os alunos gostam e apreciam o tipo de professor que se envolve com eles e colabora com eles nas actividades canta com eles ahm penso que isso é muito importante penso que a Odete de facto as suas aulas os materiais estavam bons ahm não tem nada a ver com os materiais não tem nada a ver com a planificação [moving her hands inwards towards her chest]
130	O	<IND> tem a ver com a pessoa
131	CT	tem a ver consigo ahm isso é uma coisa que vai ter de melhorar em termos de postura na aula e penso que <IND> mais ritmo nas aulas penso de facto que tem qualidades que vão fazer com que seja uma boa professora e:: [clasping her hands together] arranjando colocação e:: (-) [looking at ST] então

The CT then goes on to say that she believes that Odete has the qualities to go on to become a good teacher, but given the comments that were made during the POCs about Odete's lessons and her presence in those, it is likely that these consistent representations of Odete contributed to the air of frustration and resignation that was apparent in this meeting. This was evident in her explanation of why she usually started talking about the negative aspects of her teaching and teaching style in response to the ST's suggestion that she was overly concerned with the negative:

47	ST	pois e aspectos assim //positivos pois porque// são sempre aspectos negativos
48	CT	não eu acho que deve
49	O	//[laughing]// <INT> não eu acho que talvez os aspectos negativos são aqueles que saltam primeiro ahm

The second telling moment arose when the ST was explaining the need for Odete to cling less to the lesson plan and be more relaxed and at ease in the classroom. To exemplify from Odete's own teaching, she refers to the dramatic voices of the Harry Potter characters used by her in that lesson (16-01 in Appendix 4), but then ends up introducing the topic of the grammar explanation which happened in the same class which became such a resonant moment in Odete's teaching practice –especially for Odete herself but also for the mentors. In

many respects this lesson came to constitute a leitmotiv for what was good and bad about her teaching – the potential to be more at ease and have appealing activities for the pupils, but on the other hand a tendency to fall into monotonous routines, and away from the dynamism she so desired. Cohen, Manion and Morrison make the point that in case studies a central concern is the selecting of information and the issue of adhering to representativeness:

..it may be that infrequent, unrepresentative but critical incidents or events occur that are crucial to the understanding of the case...a subject might only demonstrate a particular behaviour once, but it is so important as not to be ruled out simply because it occurred only once; sometimes a single event might occur which sheds a hugely important insight into a person or situation ...it can be key to understanding a situation.. (Cohen, Manion and Morrison. 2000:185)

I think this notion of a powerful single event is certainly of relevance to Odete. The observations in the POC (16-01 in Appendix 4) of this lesson, her written reflections on this lesson, comments in a POC (13-02/247-251 in Appendix 4) a month later, as well as further comments in her SRP clearly point to how this had shaped Odete's desire to become more dynamic and to avoid what in many respects made her anxious – to become a boring and monotonous figure to the pupils.

After referring to the fact that Odete had 'clung' to the plan or the blackboard, the ST's comments on the grammar explanation are interesting because they show how representations of this episode changed depending on the context. In my observation notes on the lesson itself, I registered that the ST turned to me and quietly remarked that "I've never seen such a complicated lesson". In Odete's POC/16-01/5, the ST mitigates in the following way: *se calhar um bocadinho ahm correcta não correcta (.) foi correcta se calhar não correcta para este nível*.

134	ST	o papelinho ou o quadro [moving both her arms quickly to one side] saltar mais um bocadinho não sei se foi aquela aula de powerpoint fez as vozes está a ver aquela parte?
135	O	[nodding] estou estou
136	ST	as crianças estavam > todas contentes por causa daquelas vozes <
137	S	<IND>
138	ST	mas o que aconteceu na outra parte daquela aula
139	O	foi a gramática
140	ST	foi a parte da gramática que que [moving her hands around quickly in front of her and then letting them drop as if something had fallen]
141	O	dei as explicações e confundia todas
142	ST	portanto eu penso que consegues (-) consegues tentar saltar um bocadinho e essa actividade de gramática ahm > mas não tinha de ser < [moving her hands and arms out wide on either side of her head] era uma besta de sete cabeças

However, in the final meeting, both body language and verbal content indicate a different interpretation, the latter likely shaped by the ST's desire to emphasise what Odete should avoid and focus on as she moved into the English teaching profession. It also points to emotions clearly being tapered to the level of sensitivity required in each situation.

It seems reasonable to claim, then, that the focus of the reflections on Odete in the final meeting oriented to and confirmed what had emerged in her lessons, the POCs, in the SSI, and which would also become apparent in the SRP – that Odete had likely experienced significant anxiety as she attempted to overcome inhibition and frustration at not being able to 'do' and 'be' a dynamic teacher, and as she struggled to avoid a boring and monotonous image that was a significant worry for her since the beginning of the practicum. Although Odete had been positioned by the mentors during POCs as lacking dynamism and needing to risk more (see POC/24-04/434-445 in Appendix 4), perhaps the most salient example of this was the CT's explicit positioning of Odete in this meeting as someone not yet possessing the qualities for a language teacher working with pupils in the 2nd cycle. Although it could be argued that one of Odete's biggest disappointments and fears during the TP was the grammar explanation, which often surfaced in both her and other's talk, perhaps it is her feelings of disorientation in relation to her sense of identity change in and outside of the classroom that captures the central source of her anxiety.

Renata

In contrast to the sense of frustration, disappointment and anxiety that characterised Odete's experience on the TP, the comments on Renata's TP practice represented a more positive experience, one of significant change if not transformation. After the ST had said to Odete that if there was a need to move away from the planned activities in class, then she should do this, Sandra quickly suggested moving on to the next reflection, and puts forward Renata's name. Again, this was taken up by the ST.

148	S	= next
149	ST	vá quem é que vai seguir?
150	S	Renata Renata
151	R	eu gostei muito da prática
152	S	porquê diz lá <IND>
153	ST	a Renata deu um pulo enorme ao nível de ahm a maneira de ser do primeiro para o segundo semestre
154	R	eu acho tirando a última aula que foi assim um bocadito tradicional mas tinha de ser
155	CT	foi um ↑teste

In this short stretch of talk (148-155), it is possible to capture the general sense of satisfaction and development that Renata herself, her colleagues and the mentors attributed to her over the practicum. It is interesting to note that Renata mentions her last class because she felt disappointed with this (see SRP Episodes 4A, 4B and 4C in Appendix 5). In the Researcher's observation notes (see Appendix 5), I noted that this lesson seemed like a 'regression' to the first lesson (9-01 in Appendix 5) of Renata's that I had seen, and this may have been the reason why Renata mentions this lesson early on as it seemed out of character with her general progress. In terms of data collection, it is unfortunate that the corpus of this project does not have POCs that the ST attended, or the POC of Renata's last lesson[12]. However, the POCs, my own observations, the final meeting comments, her written reflections on the classes, and her remarks made in the SRP all indicate this progress.

In the exchanges below, Renata briefly refers to the last lesson as 'um bocadinho parada', mitigating her own criticism, the point being that this lesson was not animated and was diametrically opposed to the dynamic classes that the trainees saw as ideal. However, the overall progress she feels she has made since the mid-term meeting in February was emphatically affirmed by the ST, who then goes on to highlight Renata's new found expressiveness in the way she used her voice to maintain discipline in the classroom.

159	R	foi um bocadinho parado difícil mas estava com muito receio que eles não percebessem como eram os últimos testes (.) ma::s gostei penso que evoluí desde o primeiro momento até ao segundo
160	ST	[nodding her head] sim sim sem dúvida nenhuma
161	R	podia ter saltado mais tenho noção disso
162	ST	mas na última semana já conseguiste dar uns berrozinhos bem dados e manter as crianças em linha eu acho que sim
163	R	procurei diversificar as actividades os materiais [turning her head slightly in Odete's direction] procurámos sempre bons materiais que eram apelativos ahm gostei muito do envolvimento com as crianças tudo mesmo as actividades que a gente fez fora fizemos mais com eles do que em português gostei muito ahm a maior dificuldade que senti foi a falar em inglês na sala de aula nunca pensei que fosse tão difícil para não falar português

Typical of the group solidarity that had developed between the three trainees, Renata changes from first person 'I' to plural 'we' to acknowledge Odete's contribution to the materials they had designed and used. However, the focus of Renata's progress centres on her way of being in the classroom and how this had changed.

[12] This POC did not take place due to the CT being ill at the time.

In the following stretch of talk which comes from part of the CT's extremely long turn in Renata's first recorded POC (9-01/12 in Appendix 5) of this project, it is worth remembering how the CT positioned Renata as someone who, by nature, is inhibited, not very expressive but who shows a great willingness to work with the pupils:

		a R é por feitio uma pessoa inibida pouco expressiva tímida ahm contudo eu acho que
		manifesta grande disponibilidade para os alunos ↑está atenta às suas necessidades revela também capacidade de diálogo um estado de espírito positivo perante os alunos (.) ahm eu penso que poderá (..) tudo dependerá das estratégias e das actividades que escolher (-) ↑se arranjar estratégias e actividades que sejam por si dinâmicas .) poderá um pouco colmatar o esse seu handicap em termos de feitio percebe ? porque se conseguir arranjar ahm e:: actividades que sejam promotoras de uma > participação mais activa dos alunos < esse seu handicap em termos de de de expressividade até ausência quase da expressão corporal poderá enfim desvanecer-se um pouco está a entender ?

The key notion is that Renata will have to arrange dynamic activities in order to encourage a more active participation on the part of the pupils in order to compensate for this 'handicap' in terms of her personality. The division of types of classroom activities between the three trainees, *according to their personalities* was a strategy that was consistently used throughout the TP, and was particularly important for both Odete and Renata as they tried to move away from more undesired images of themselves, which were jointly constructed in the POCs, in an attempt to ensure progress on the practicum by trying to move towards a more desirable image.

After stating that her biggest difficulty was speaking English in the classroom and that she found it very difficult to break the habit of speaking Portuguese with the pupils, Renata is asked by the CT to specifically identify where she had progressed. In the exchanges (173-185) on the following page we can see Renata's response.

Similarly to Odete, although from a more positive perspective, Renata talks about what is important to her first – her way of being in the classroom with the pupils, being at ease inside the classroom, and being able to improvise, representations that for Odete were part of a teacher identity that still needed to be worked for. The ST's high praise is modestly shrugged off by Renata before the mentors agree that one of her natural attributes is a monotonous voice, but which, at a certain time, was notable for its changes, which according to the CT, even surprised the pupils, who had become used to her way of being in the class. As we have seen in the analysis of the POCs, this was the central image of Renata – that of being

able to transform herself by shaking off the monotonous, expressionless and traditional labels that had been attributed her.

173	CT	uma evolução em exactamente em que pontos
174	R	na minha maneira de estar na sala de aula perante os alunos perante tudo do meu à vontade dentro de sala também de eu conseguir improvisar em situações pontuais e conseguir chegar aos alunos utilizando só inglês nas actividades ahm
175	ST	= eu noto muito ao nível de personalidade e de postura que houve evolução enorme de Fevereiro para cá
176	R	[shrugging her shoulders slightly and smiling at ST]
177	CT	tem a ver muito ahm nós iniciámos o ano não sei se recorda? > mas recorda com toda a certeza < dizendo exactamente por uma questão de feitio a Renata é uma pessoa //muito tí::mida// mui::to
178	R	//[smiling slightly] pois é//
179	ST	uma voz um bocado //monótona //
179	CT	//monótona //
180	TT	<IND> [lauhging]
181	CT	<IND> a própria forma como chamava a atenção dos alunos por exemplo não se notava o seu registo de voz era ahm (.) sempre igual quer estivesse a fazer uma chamada de atenção quer estivesse a leccionar um conteúdo pronto e de facto nota-se numa determinada altura da sua prática que já fazia registos [moving her hands up and down in scale-like movements] diferentes de voz e notava-se também os alunos ahm não estavam à espera daquela sua reacção e alguns
182		casos de alunos não estavam mesmo à espera da sua reacção porque os tinha habituado ao seu registo ahm mais tímido a::hm
183	ST	já foi uma forma mais espontânea era uma forma espontânea já não tinhas que pensar naquilo
184	CT	exactamente
185	S	qual é a nota que tu propões?

In the last intervention in the above stretch of talk, Sandra again tries to move proceedings on, but this time the ST rejects, and the CT goes on to praise Renata's materials and skills with new technologies.

It is Renata's 'transformation', then, that the participants orient to in the final meeting. She is praised for 'leaving behind' the monotone, monotonous and traditional Renata of the first part of the practicum and positioned as the dynamic Renata who emerged along the practicum – and especially after the mid-term meeting. However, what should be noted here is that detecting emotional reactions in Renata was one of the reasons why it was difficult to

get any firm idea of what she was feeling, especially in the classes. This is what led me to think that Renata's animated movements around the classroom – what I interpreted as an attempt to shift away from the monotonous Renata of the first half of the TP – may be a sign of anxiety that indexed her efforts to cast off this image, and why, as will be seen in the next section, I included a question on her SRP about this.

Sandra

After Renata had been attributed her mark, Sandra's turn (see 205 in Final meeting in Appendix 7) to the camera was quite typical. She had also turned and played to the camera like this in the SSI. This sense of performance is important as I think it influenced Sandra's nomination of her colleagues in the final meeting as well as other aspects of her behaviour in the classes and POCs, and has significant explanatory potential in supporting the idea that Sandra experienced what I would consider to be a facilitating anxiety as opposed to Odete, who experienced a more debilitating form. Renata is more of an enigma as she appeared to remain on a very stable emotional continuum whereas Odete and Sandra were more expressive. For this reason, Renata was more difficult to 'read' in terms of the emotions she was expressing. Below we can see how Sandra started her reflection in the final meeting:

208	S	não me recordo sim muitas das coisas mas gostei da prática achei a prática de português muito diferente da prática de inglês duas práticas completamente diferentes mas gostei de lidar com elas a::hm
209	CT	mas foi diferente em que aspectos?
210	S	em termos de personalidade (.) era muito diferente

Sandra's first remarks were to say that she liked the TP in both English and Portuguese, but then she talks about the differences between giving Portuguese and English classes. Asked by the ST if the strategies between Portuguese and English had to be so distinct Sandra's response is the following:

215	S	ah isso não sei depende da turma que tiver mas eu já sei utilizar as duas já sei mas gostei gostei de utilizar ahm como eu gosto de falar muito com as minhas mãos ahm no inglês há mais oportunidade de ser mais expressiva

This is similar to her remark in the SSI (672 in Appendix 7) when she says 'you can give more of yourself in English'. In a further reference to expressing oneself in English, Sandra frames teaching strategies as constituting what she can do 'at the front of the class', again a sense of performance evident in her remarks:

225	S	as estratégias são diferentes sim as maneiras de abordar os assuntos ahm ao ver-se se eles estão a compreender ou não ou tentar captar a atenção deles acho que (.) quase dá para fazer pinotes lá à frente não mas é tentar captar há estratégias acho que é motivante isso (.) se essa não funcionou tem que haver outra que funcione para

Sandra's observations on the distinct differences between giving Portuguese and English lessons lead Renata to make another supportive comment by saying Sandra is dynamic all the same, reinforcing the image of Sandra as someone to regard as a model. When asked to specify where she had improved, Sandra does not specify anything in particular but says that when she comes out of a lesson she is thinking of what went wrong and not what went well, and says that she has 30 years in front of her to learn how to improve. The CT then praises Sandra in terms which cause Sandra a certain amount of embarrassment:

242	CT	= pronto relativamente ao que eu tenho de dizer é de facto a sua postura na aula deixava que a aula [moving her hand outwards and in circular movements in front of her] quase fluísse por ela tem muito à vontade com os alunos [looking upwards] tem uma postura de um à vontade incrível ahm com todos não é ? na sua relação comigo até com os colegas acho que ahm tem uma postura muito (.) //franca e aberta//
243	S	//dá-me um balde por favor//
244	TT	[smiling]
245	ST	acho que tem a ver com a natureza não é (-)
246	CT	é isto que ia dizer tem a ver com o seu feitio eu acho que

Nevertheless, this statement and the subsequent turns of the mentors explicitly link Sandra's qualities in the classroom with her innate characteristics and her nature, which in turn encourages Sandra in the next turn to excitedly tell the participants that the Portuguese mentors had told her she was born to be a teacher ('eu nasci para isto').

Significantly, the ST then positions Sandra as a trainee who understands the needs of the pupils of this age group and what type of activities they like, namely ludic activities and the games, which came to be an important consideration for all of the trainees (see the SSI/435-444 in Appendix 7). However, Sandra is not only praised here but positioned in relation to Odete. The CT does this by saying these types of activities work because of Sandra's nature, and to support this statement she says that a game implemented by someone with a static posture and without rhythm, and here she looks at Odete, might not work:

254	ST	eu acho que a Sandra também consegue perceber que eles têm esta idade e crianças desta idade e ahm são crianças ahm gostam de estar numa sala de aula não é mais ou menos podem gostar mais ou pouco só que também gostam de certas actividades e:: acho que ela teve sempre actividades muito (.) lúdicas actividades com jogos e acho que as crianças gostam muito destas actividades
255	CT	mas depois a organização destas actividades resultava devido ao seu feitio porque um jogo por exemplo [looking at Odete] tendo uma postura bastante estática sem ritmo etc outra pessoa talvez //não conseguisse//
256	O	//não resultasse tão bem//
257	CT	exactamente então são as três diferentes em termos de personalidade nós somos todos

Furthermore, Odete positions herself in opposition to Sandra, jointly constructing images of herself as a teacher who is somewhat static and lacking dynamism whilst simultaneously reinforcing the image of Sandra as the dynamic ideal to be aimed for.

In the SSI (306-320 in Appendix 7, see also 313-320 below), I asked the trainees whether they were competitive, and they all said no. When asking them if they tried to do things in their classes that they had seen go well for their colleagues, Renata says that 'we' try to. Perhaps using 'we' to refer to herself and Odete, she gestures towards Sandra who she describes as 'always talking and smiling', and then Odete complements this description by saying Sandra 'is dynamic very dynamic'. In Bailey's (1983) model of language anxiety (see 2.4.2), competitive feelings may originate from wanting to be as good as or even better than a classmate or to aspire to an ideal image. If these feelings lead to greater effort, then such emotion can be considered facilitating anxiety whereas if they lead to avoidance behaviour this is viewed as debilitating anxiety. In many respects, these trainees formed a group that was notable for its solidarity and collaborative spirit, so perhaps competitiveness would not be the most appropriate way to describe their feelings.

313	R	we see that and we try to do the same or be how [turning to gesture towards Sandra] she was in the lesson but that depends on our personalities
314	O	yes
315	R	but we always learn from each other's lessons what we want to do and what we don't want to do
316	I	when you say personalities Renata what do you mean?
317	R	for example Sandra's always [moves her arms and hands around quickly] talking and smiling
318	S	<INT> talking ? [smiling]
319	R	[smiling]
320	O	and dynamic she's very dynamic

However, in Sandra, both Renata and Odete had an ideal to aspire to and, I would suggest, a significant influence on how they tried to change their English teacher identities.

After the CT had made her comments at 257 (see above) about the three trainees being different personalities and adding that 'nós somos todos', the ST once more affirms that how activities in lessons are implemented are likely to be influenced by the personality of the teacher. Sandra then takes up this idea not to focus on herself but to illustrate the benefits of having three different personalities in this group and how this has benefited all their classes. The CT's then suggests that in the next academic year they will be working alone, perhaps implying that group work will be of limited use in the future:

260	CT	mas para ano provavelmente vão trabalhar separadas não é

I had also made comments about the extent to which the trainees helped each other in their lessons because their close work had made me think about how they were going to cope on their own as teachers (see the Researcher's observation notes for Odete's lesson at 11.35/13-02 in Appendix 4). Sandra, however, resists the implied criticism saying that the CT's remark was not the point, but that given her negative experience in the previous year, her present group was a breath of fresh air and that they had learned, adding that the objective of group work is to learn. The ST then suggests that to work in a group it is necessary to know the people to a certain extent. Again Sandra rejects this, and says that before the TP she did not know Renata to speak to and only had a basic relationship with Odete, and reiterated that she thought the crucial point was each person's personality:

271	S	e acho que é mesmo a personalidade temos de ser flexíveis temos de aceitar as criticas ahm e:: o que é que eu tenho de melhorar?

This brings us to the closing part of the meeting which centred on Sandra not being receptive to criticism, which was somewhat ironic in the light of the above statement. Sandra was then told her final mark, and each of the trainees was given their final assessment which contained their marks awarded for each criteria (see the final item in each trainee's respective corpus). Shortly after the trainees had begun to look at their assessments, Sandra asked if she was not receptive to criticism – for which she received a 4 out of a possible 5:

280	S	eu não sou receptiva à crítica?
281	CT	não é muito não
282	S	não ?
283	CT	não
284	ST	não a Renata é MUITO mais receptiva à crítica
285	S	e eu não sou ?
286	CT	concordamos exactamente foi um ponto onde
287	ST	és és receptiva à crítica mas não és tanto como a Renata

From this point on, the meeting largely focused on Sandra's receptivity to criticism, her analysis of her own performance in a critical and substantiated way, and the degree to which she made constructive and substantiated criticism of her colleagues' performances.

Sandra asks what is necessary to get a 5 to which the CT replies an excellent level. Both mentors then mitigate, suggesting that 'things' could have gone a lot better if the trainees had not been doing both Portuguese and English, but Sandra questions why she has a 3 in analysing her own and her colleagues' performances. At one point (FM/310 in Appendix 7) Sandra simulates crying whilst simultaneously saying she has a 3.

The CT eventually responds (FM/315 in Appendix 7) saying that there were times when she thought Sandra had been hurt by her comments and was very sad after a reflection. The exchanges (316-326) below indicate the mentors' perceptions of Sandra's receptivity to criticism. The ST also appeals to both Odete and Renata to support her claims, which they agree with by nodding and smiling. The POC on the 23rd March, in which Sandra's card game did not go well, is given as an example where Sandra was seen to react negatively to the mentors' comments.

316	ST	<INT> quantas vezes nós perguntámos oh Sandra dissemos alguma coisa que não devíamos ter dito
317	S	a sério?
318	ST	[looking at Odete and Renata] meninas foi ou não foi?
319	O/R	[smiling and nodding]
320	CT	um dia perguntei-lhe vejam lá confirmem lá isso perguntei-lhe a Sandra ficou magoada e a Sandra respondeu-me assim (.) não é isso elas compreendem-me
321	S	a::h não então eu digo eu fiquei chateada com ela na aula durante a minha aula
322	O	isso não tem nada a ver
323	ST	mas Odete nós achamos como é que nós sabemos quando vocês tinham ido embora eu comentei com a XXXXXXX
324	S	não mas em vez de me ter ajudado na aula em que precisava ajuda ela estava a fazer outra coisa e eu tive vontade de chorar nessa reflexão
325	CT	mas eu dou-lhe outro exemplo Sandra está triste com o que ahm a aula correu bem eu disse-lhe e a Sandra respondeu-me porque não é isso é que nós fazemos tanto e depois as coisas não saem como nós pensamos (.) mas > é ↑assim e vai ser ↑sempre < porque
326	S	<INT> mas isso é como vejo as minhas coisas isso não é não aceitar as críticas

Only now, however, does Sandra reveal that she was annoyed with Odete who was doing something else when she was supposed to be helping Sandra. Here Odete supports Sandra by validating her reason for being upset in this POC. In her written reflection for this lesson, Sandra mentions that this activity had gone badly because the cards were mixed up, but says nothing about being upset with Odete.

The CT also expresses her opinion that teaching will always involve expectations about lessons being disappointed, and says that all the trainees' criticisms of their own and their colleagues' lessons were descriptive and were not substantiated. Sandra responds by saying how in the Portuguese TP she had been assessed as being receptive to criticism and knowing how to criticise. At this point the ST relates in more detail why she felt more at ease giving constructive criticism to Odete and Renata:

346	ST	e falo por mim eu não estou a falar por ninguém ahm eu tinha se calhar até pode ser alguma tem a ver comigo tinha mais à vontade em dar críticas fazer críticas construtivas à Odete e à Renata do que eu tinha a ti
347	S	e porquê
348	ST	não sei e vais agora explicar
349	S	[smiling]
350	R	[smiling and pointing at Sandra] ela é muito transparente
351	ST	se calhar porque senti que qualquer coisa que eu dissesse se calhar te magoava numa maneira
352	S	[smiling and moving back in her chair] aí não
353	ST	e:: muitas vezes eu achei se calhar é melhor retrair um bocado ou dizer noutra altura porque há sempre alturas para dizer não é? ahm às vezes vi ahm pronto a tua body language o modo como estavas a responder àquilo que ahm nós estávamos a dizer pensei (-)

In response to the ST's turn in 353, Sandra again refers to the lesson in which she was annoyed with Odete, but the mentors retort (FM/355-356 in Appendix 7) that it was not just this POC in which Sandra reacted like this. At this point, it is worth noting that the CT's comments in the exchanges from 357-361 were extremely useful as they gave an insight into the kinesic features of communication that were inaccessible to the audio recordings of the POCs, and help to explain the tensions that were already evident in the trainees' comments in the SSI. Renata had supported Sandra by saying that she was 'transparente' (350) but when the CT points to this feature of Sandra's facial expressions, Sandra says that this is an exaggeration.

However, in talking about Renata's different way of being in trying to explain why Odete and Renata handle criticism differently to Sandra, the ST looks towards Renata, who then says, smiling, 'aceito':

357	CT	em várias eu sentia que quando eu estava a falar que o seu semblante [moving her hand down the length of her face] ia alterando
358	S	<INT>[smiling] porque eu mostro ahm o que eu senti
359	CT	mas o seu semblante ia alterando mas numa forma tão evidente e tão clara que eu pensei que eu pensei assim [looking down at the desk in front of her] não posso estar de maneira nenhuma
360	S	<INT> ai que exagero
361	CT	mas fui eu que acabei por dizer à professora [turning to ST] várias vezes não quero de maneira nenhuma estar a dizer coisas porque ela se sente completamente [moving forwards in her chair and stretching out her arms] MAL ahm não era isso o meu objectivo no fundo ↓era pegar nas pequenas coisas [moving her hand around above her head as if picking objects out of the air] que correram menos bem não é para que depois pudesse melhorar em aulas futuras mas é verdade que eu senti isso da sua parte

In this part of the meeting, then, the consequences of not participating in open reflection are coming to the surface, features as we have already noted were emerging to a certain extent in the previous POCs but were never explicit. Indeed, it is worth noting that in the mid-term written reports (see item 5 in corpus for each trainee) there was little distinction made between the trainees' assessments in relation to their reflections.

This suggests that Sandra's reactions in the POCs after February may have eventually counted against her with respect to her evaluation. In fact, at one point of the meeting the ST turns to Sandra and says she can have a 4 but that it would not make a difference to her final mark because of the weighting (*peso*) of each area:

376	ST	a menina quer um quatro eu já coloco um quatro porque não vai valer nada [smiling]
377	S	não não é uma questão de dar um quatro ou não é para saber porquê
378	CT	mas não é um quatro não é um quatro é mesmo três aqui
379	ST	<INT> eu estava na brincadeira porque eu não vou alterar as notas
380	CT	e vou dizer porque isto foi um ponto onde estivemos ahm analisámos bem a vossas personalidades personalidades diferentes achamos que na vossa análise fazendo a vossa própria actuação não queria utilizar esta palavra mas não via muita [holding both her hands out with finger tips touching] maturidade percebe ? na análise que faziam da vossa própria actuação

But as we can see this was a point of principle that the CT was not willing to be flexible on:

This tension is important because Sandra perceived the CT as being especially negative about their teaching, and she felt frustrated that she could not seem to do anything that impressed the CT, a likely source of anxiety. The strongest expression of this was made by Sandra in the SSI:

394	S	yes like what am I supposed to do when I we are alone with her and we don't have the reflection with ST ahm well I talk about me [looking across to her colleagues] we've never talked about this [smiling] and in the car I didn't t*alk the rest of the way home* and I'm like there were good things [holding her hands up] what am I supposed to do for her to be happy with things [putting her hands down on her knees]

The meeting comes to a close with the ST advising Sandra that it would be a good idea in the future to think before speaking as she and the CT had felt uncomfortable with some of things Sandra had said. After the CT again reiterates that their reflections were descriptive, Sandra finally but briefly explains that it was a question of not wanting to hurt anyone, to which the ST replies that the trainees were the ones that had been hurt because in wanting to refrain from hurting a colleague means that they end up with a lower mark, but Sandra tries to justify this strategy by stating that they are being evaluated. The CT acknowledges the benefits of working in groups but opines that criticism has to be delivered without 'hurting' people.

In summing up the reflection on Sandra, the exchanges constitute high praise and she is positioned as the trainee with the most desirable attributes for the classroom – especially in terms of activities implemented and way of being in the classroom. However, these positive reflections are tempered by the gradual and increasingly explicit acknowledgement that her reflections were sometimes characterised by resistance. Indeed, the latter point came to be the central and contetsted focus of the meeting.

It is important to say that the final meeting appeared to magnify and bring into sharp relief the central images and representations that these participants had jointly constructed throughout this period.

Firstly, the focus on Odete's difficulties and her struggle to deal with the ambiguities and unpredictable nature of the teaching practice. Central to this experience were her own feelings about her way of being in the classroom. Secondly, Renata's progress was emphasized and praised in a relatively brief reflection that represented the mentors' view of Renata and her TP as a significant success story. Finally, Sandra's qualities are stressed but her reluctance to accept criticism is also noted.

In addition, the interaction and the topics introduced, revealed a great deal about previous interaction. Indeed, as a researcher, my being present in the meeting and the subsequent study of the transcript led me to reconsider and reflect again on the patterns of mitigation, supportive positive and non-supportive negative strategies used previously in the POCs. Although I had already identified in the SSI the differences between the CT and ST's discourse as an issue to look more closely at as a source of trainee anxiety, the final meeting encouraged me to go back and reconsider the POCs.

While the structure and density of some of the CTs reflections had led me to consider these as a possible source of anxiety, the final meeting and Sandra's notable resistance furthered my understanding of certain aspects of the interaction where the mentors seemed to be reluctant to continue their reflections, and sometimes stopped these to praise Sandra's lesson – probably to reassure her. As previously mentioned, the POCs were audio recorded, so I did not have access to visual features of kinesic and proxemic behaviour. Therefore, the mentors' interpretations in the final meeting of Sandra facial expressions and reactions in the POCs were data that helped to build up a more reliable picture of potential sources of tension and anxiety.

Furthermore, it seems likely that Sandra's 'resistance' or 'sensitivity' to the mentors' reflections in the POCs may have actually meant that the mentors felt more obliged to use greater praise to reassure her. In other words, it is quite likely that they praised her to counteract her negative reactions.

The meeting also displayed features of the trainees' support for one another in the face of perceived criticism thereby highlighting the group's strong sense of identity and solidarity that helped them to reduce the uncertainties of the practicum.

In sum, the final meeting therefore not only gave me time to reflect on the data that had been collected as well as my interpretations of these, but also allowed me to reflect on the upcoming SRP sessions and the subsequent interpretation of the data collected from them.

4.6 The SRPs and the 'post-observation conferences' in the car home

The SRPs were the last interactional data collected, and therefore my final contact with the trainees of this study. According to Gass and Mackey, "stimulated recall is often employed in conjunction with other methodologies as a means of triangulation or further exploration" (2000:19). This is how I employed the SRPs but they were also important

because I wanted to get and explore the perspective of each of the trainees in relation to the episodes that I had selected from their lessons.

Firstly, I had identified possible manifestations of anxiety or factors that might be related to anxiety. These had principally arisen from the observation of the lessons, studying the POCs, and identifying data from the SSI, which had also informed my thinking on a number of important influences that were likely to contribute to a richer understanding of anxiety. Although I decided it would be unwise to directly ask the trainees about their possible experience of language anxiety, I saw the SRPs as a methodological option that might provide interesting insights into their decision making and related emotional states.

One of the reasons I had declined to make any comment in the final meeting when asked to do so by the CT, was because I had yet to carry out the SRPs, and I did not want to influence the trainees' thinking about how I might have perceived their overall development during the practicum. However, it would be disingenuous to think that my previous position as their English teacher would not have some kind of influence on our interaction in the SRP. In actual fact, I saw this relationship as something that could be used to my advantage in that they would be used to my presence, and would be more at ease and willing to speak about the episodes of the lessons that I had selected. As Hammersley and Atkinson point out:

> ...how people respond to the presence of the researcher may be as informative as how they react to other situations. Indeed, rather than engaging in futile attempts to eliminate the effects of the researcher completely, we should set about understanding them... (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:16)

As for the procedure of the SRP, I chose to ask the trainees one or two questions at the beginning of the SRP to make them feel more at ease. In each case, and to keep the focus on their recently finished TP, I asked whether they were happy with their final mark or whether they felt more motivated at the beginning or the end of the practicum. I then informed the trainees of what lesson we were going to watch, and then normally let the episode play for approximately one or two minutes in order to allow the trainees to become familiar with the lesson and therefore enable them to focus on recalling the lesson.

At times during the SRPs, I also asked the trainees questions that arose from the discussion of the episodes, probing what I thought to be pertinent issues for my research. Although some researchers who use SRPs would consider this inappropriate in that it may detract the viewer from focusing on the recall itself, I considered the SRPs a final data gathering opportunity, and was therefore ready to ask questions unrelated to the episodes themselves if certain situations arose out of the interaction.

One of the reasons for my attitude was the constraint on the SRPs in relation to how many questions to ask in the amount of time available (approximately 1 hour 45 minutes for each trainee). For example, I considered that some questions might result in replies that were of little relevance or in short answers or in responses such as 'I don't know' so I tried to select at least four episodes for each trainee's lesson. However, this was not always the case, for example, in relation to Odete's lesson on the 16th January, I had 13 episodes. This was because this lesson seemed to point to a significant number of signs of anxiety so I wanted a range of episodes and questions that would increase the likelihood of obtaining pertinent responses.

In some cases, the questions I asked about the episodes elicited minimum responses, were somewhat inconclusive, or conformed to the expected. For example, Odete's reactions to her first lesson largely confirmed what had emerged quite strongly from various data sources, that she had indeed been anxious and frustrated. Another reason that I believed influenced their answers was that, in my opinion, the solidarity and unity as well as the thinking that informed the trainees' classroom activities had become so well-established by the time the SRPs were implemented that it was difficult for the trainees to distance themselves from this group perspective.

For this section, therefore, I have chosen four of the episodes from each trainee's SRP session to explore and to dig beneath the surface of features of classroom interaction that were common to them all but that might also help to further the understanding of the similarities and differences between the trainees that were evidenced in other data. In Table 51 below, the criteria for selecting the SRPs are detailed and related to the possible manifestations of anxiety that emerged from the data during this study. For example, in Odete's lesson on the 16th January, Episode 1B is an exploration of a comprehension check. In her lesson on the 8th May, Episode 4C explores an instance of Odete resorting to Portuguese in that lesson. The fact that this episode is in bold and underlined, indicates that it is an episode that is discussed in the text of this thesis.

However, I have included all the episodes discussed in each trainee's SRP, which are contained in the corpus for each trainee (see Appendices 4, 5, and 6), together with the transcription of the SRP. In addition, when I discuss the four episodes selected, I also refer to other episodes in the SRP guide when I consider these to be of relevance to the episode selected. I will now discuss the four episodes of each trainee.

Possible manifestations of anxiety	ODETE				RENATA				SANDRA				**Criteria for selecting SRP episodes** (Episodes chosen to include in the thesis itself are in bold and underlined)
	16th Jan.	13th Feb.	24th Apr.	8th May	9th Jan.	9th Feb.	13th Mar	22nd May	30th Jan.	2nd Feb.	20th Mar	23th Mar	
(Over) use of comprehension checks	1B	2C											The (overuse) of comprehension checks was particularly noticeable in Odete's first two lessons- especially the first. Given that she mentions in both her written reflections and the SSI her concern with confusion on the pupils' faces, I wanted to explore the possibility that these may have been related to wanting to avoid ambiguity (Oxford, 1999a), uncertainty (Grundy, 2000) or possibly a sense of being negatively evaluated (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope, 1986).
Overlong grammar explanations/noticeable focus on form	1H							4D					Odete's first lesson was marked by a cluster of possible manifestations of anxiety and I considered that these may have been related to an unprepared and lengthy (Daubney, 2004; Andrade and Williams, 2009) explanation that was indicative of anxiety related to uncertainty (Grundy, 2000). In Renata's case, this lesson was more form focused and teacher-centred than her previous two lessons recorded for this project, so I wanted to explore whether the methodological orientations of this class were something that she really wanted to avoid.
Trainee uncertainty related to unforeseen events (interaction or written)					**1A**								Generally speaking it was difficult to identify anxiety-related behaviour in Renata, but this episode seemed to indicate behaviour that may be related to anxiety. More specifically, I speculated that this could be related to avoiding more spontaneous interaction (Horwitz, 1996) and avoidance of uncertainty (Grundy, 2000).
Resorting to Portuguese in explanations and instructions	1A, 1I			**4C**	**1C**		3E						These episodes were chosen to explore the possibility that changing from English to Portuguese may have been influenced by the difficulties they experienced in using questions and explanations in English (Moreira ,1991), and that resorting to Portuguese might be motivated by anxiety avoidance behaviour (Grundy, 2000, Horwitz, 1996). 4C was chosen because in the POC (18-33) on the 8th May it was suggested by the CT that the reason Odete did not hand a text to the pupils was her nerves and it was during this part of the lesson that she changes to Portuguese. 1C was chosen because she briefly resorts to Portuguese in the middle of quite long instructions in English, and it did not seem coherent.
Persistent patterns of nominating certain pupils to answer questions or explain	1B, 1D, **1L**				1B	2E				2B, **2C**			Given the consistent use by all trainees of nominating certain pupils throughout the practicum, this seemed an established practice. I therefore wanted to explore whether nominating these pupils was related to anxiety avoidance behaviour (Horwitz, 1996), a way of ensuring their own teaching image was maintained (Tsui, 1996) in the face of evaluation (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope, 1986), and whether these were related to their own difficulties (Moreira ,1991). 1L and 2C were selected because Bruno was chosen at the beginning of activities – correcting an exercise and explaining an sentence on the blackboard.

Table 51 Criteria for selecting SRP episodes

Possible manifestations of anxiety	ODETE				RENATA				SANDRA				**Criteria for selecting SRP episodes** (Episodes chosen to include in the thesis itself are in bold and underlined)
	16th Jan.	13th Feb.	24th Apr.	8th May	9th Jan.	9th Feb.	13th Mar	22nd May	30th Jan.	2nd Feb.	20th Mar	23th Mar	
Trainee uncertainty related to board work or written explanations on blackboard	**1G**							4C	**1D**				In these episodes I wanted to explore whether possible signs of uncertainty when doing board-related work (writing, explaining sentences on board etc) were related to anxiety. 1D was chosen because it involved quite a prolonged grammatical explanation that appeared to indicate uncertainty (Grundy, 2000) on Sandra's part whilst 1G was chosen as it was part of the lesson that included the prolonged grammar explanation by Odete and looked a propitious episode to explore this.
Prolonged proximity to blackboard and teacher's desk	1J												In the POC (80-91) on the 16th January and in the final meeting (134) the ST refers to Odete's proximity to the blackboard. I therefore wanted to explore whether the blackboard represented a more secure place in the classroom for Odete. Proxemic behaviour, that is, wanting to be closer to an object or person (Andrade and Williams, 2009) therefore might have been related to anxiety avoidance.
Trainee distracted or not focused on classroom interaction		2B	3C	4B									In these episodes, Odete appeared to be distracted (consulting notes) or not focused on what certain pupils were saying. I therefore wanted to explore the idea that Odete was reluctant to enter into spontaneous interaction (Horwitz, 1996) because of concern with the lesson sequence, and whether this behaviour was anxiety related. This may also have been related to the idea that anxiety may occupy cognitive processes (Eysenck, 1992; MacIntyre, 1999, 2002; MacIntyre and Gardner, 1994b). In 3C this distraction seems to be particularly noticeable.
Trainee asides	1F 1K			4E					1C				One of the features of the trainees' lessons that emerged from the data was that they would quietly consult each other during the lessons. I therefore wanted to explore whether this strategy might in some way be an anxiety avoidance strategy (Grundy, 2000).
Consulting notes		2A											Sandra and Odete were the two trainees who used notes (in the data collected). In the lesson on the 13th February Odete consulted them 8 times. I wanted to explore whether this was motivated by anxiety avoidance (Grundy, 2000).

Table 51 Criteria for selecting SRP episodes

Possible manifestations of anxiety	ODETE				RENATA				SANDRA				**Criteria for selecting SRP episodes** (Episodes chosen to include in the thesis itself are in bold and underlined)
	16th Jan.	13th Feb.	24th Apr.	8th May	9th Jan.	9th Feb.	13th Mar.	22nd May	30th Jan.	2nd Feb.	20th Mar.	23th Mar.	
Noticeably animated or varied movements around classroom		**2E**											The key consideration here is that the trainees' anxious feelings may have been channelled into their movements around the space of the classroom as they tried to moved away and towards objects or people (Andrade and Williams, 2009; Oxford, 1999a) in an effort to project a more dynamic image. This notion also moves the consideration of manifestations of language anxiety away from an undue focus on 'negative' signs. 2E was chosen because after her lesson on the 16th January Odete had referred in her written reflections that she felt she was 'muito parada' in the classroom and was going to try to be much more dynamic.
Noticeably animated kinesic and/or verbal behaviour	1E					2B 2C	**3A**	**4A** 4B	**1A**1 B	2D			Similarly to animated movements, the central idea here is that anxiety is channelled into kinesic behaviour (Andrade and Williams, 2009) and perhaps indicates the trainees are trying to project a dynamic image as a teacher. I chose 4A to discuss because Renata's lesson was teacher-centred with a focus on grammar, and she appeared to be somewhat nervous – maybe because it was not the 'type' of class she wanted to give. 3A was selected because Renata was not demonstrative and this seemed an example of her being particularly animated and concerned with time. 1A was selected because at the beginning of the lesson Sandra looked particularly eager to get on with the lesson, and was therefore concerned with time. The last two moments seemed an opportunity to explore whether this analogous behaviour in two trainees was motivated by similar influences.
Trainee's reactions to pupil laughter	4A						3F				3A		On several occasions, each of the trainees reacted to pupil laughter in a manner that suggested they were uneasy and /or defensive about this. I wanted to explore their reactions to this and whether these might have been related to anxiety in the sense that MacIntyre (1999) suggests that anxiety makes people more sensitive to what people think about them.
Trainee's reactions to pupil behaviour and classroom management issues	1C		3B	4D	1D	2A 2D	3D				3B **3C**		These episodes were chosen in order to explore whether the trainees more 'expressive reactions' (Andrade and Williams, 2009; Grundy, 2000) might be related to anxiety. 3C was chosen because this was an especially demonstrative reaction by Sandra and she seemed to be getting more frustrated with pupil noise.
Language difficulties	1M	2D	3A 3D	4E						2A	3D		In these episodes I was exploring whether any of the language difficulties they experienced could have been related to anxiety (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope, 1986; Horwitz, 1996; MacIntyre, 1999, Oxford, 1999a)

Table 51 Criteria for selecting SRP episodes

Odete

Discussion of episode 1L

Episode/ no of intervention in lesson transcript	Brief description of Episode selected	Questions/comments related to episode selected	Objective(s) [category of possible manifestations of trainee language anxiety identified in lesson]	Odete response
1/L 267	When beginning the correction of written exercises in which pupils had to change first person sentences expressing likes and dislikes in the simple present to the third person simple present, Odete makes a direct solicit to Bruno as the first pupil to write his sentence on the blackboard	why Bruno? you chose Bruno quite a few times to explain or to answer questions right it could have been a difficult situation for her	To determine whether direct solicits of certain pupils in classroom interaction was anxiety-related [Persistent patterns of nominating certain pupils to answer]	hum yes because at the beginning I had the feeling oh because he is the best student he the other students will probably understand better if he explains than say ahm for example Kelly at that time I realised that Kelly would not be a good choice to explain because she is not a very good student yes and it would be easier and I [looking at

				researcher and smiling] wouldn't waste so much time if I choose Bruno to explain
		right ok so in some respects it was a strategy to keep your class moving along ?		yes I know º I wasn't very good on time º and (-)

Given the constant use of direct solicits by all of the trainees one of the questions I asked them was why they nominated certain pupils in the lesson on a regular basis. Firstly, Odete's initial response points to Bruno being nominated because as 'the best' pupil he could explain better than other pupils, especially weaker ones. However, Odete then adds, with a smile and looking at me, that it was used in effect as a time-saving strategy to keep the class moving along. Taking into account that Odete's management of time in the classroom was consistently criticised (see, for example, POCs/16-01, 13-02, 24-04, as well as Odete's own written reflections 16-01, 13-02, 24-04 in Appendix 4), it is possible to see these direct solicits, then, as an investment in the smooth running of the class, in many respects an anxiety avoidance strategy. This was not only done with Bruno but with various pupils who were regularly nominated, by Odete but also by Renata and Sandra, too. However, in Episode 1D (see episodes selected for SRP in Appendix 4), Odete says that Mónica was chosen because the latter's explanation would be 'easier to understand if Mónica explained instead of me'. Such a pervasive practice by all trainees would suggest that these direct solicits may come close to the intracultural anxiety that Grundy (2000) speaks of (see 2.9). While it seems likely that these pupils were often nominated to maintain or up the rhythm of the class, a parallel explanation may lie in the trainees avoiding having to explain by using their own language skills, again a possible anxiety avoidance strategy that appeared to be an established part of their classroom routine. Indeed, this practice was not only established when the pupils used English but also when they used Portuguese.

A further, but more contentious, claim is that by asking certain pupils to ensure getting the correct answers, the trainees were also investing in a more positive image of themselves as English teachers, that is to say the possibility that getting the wrong answer

and/or slowing down classroom proceedings by asking less proficient pupils of English would have been moving them closer to an undesired image as opposed to projecting a more favourable one of a dynamic classroom where pupils who are asked answer correctly, learning is demonstrated and the rhythm of the class maintained.

Discussion of episode 2E

Episode/ no of intervention in lesson transcript	Brief description of Episode selected	Questions/comments related to episode selected	Objective(s) [category of possible manifestations of trainee language anxiety identified in lesson]	Odete response
2/E 296-328	In a team game activity towards the end of the class, pupils have to choose a word with a name of the room and then one of the two teams has to describe what the room is like. Odete seems particularly animated and very eager to keep the activity moving quickly	Right Odete the word in Portuguese I think would be eléctrica it seems like you were very keen to move the lesson along was this the case Odete? yeh the management of time?	To determine whether time was a factor influencing interaction and whether this was anxiety-related [Noticeably animated or varied movements around classroom]	yes yes because I think I was so criticised about the time that yes the management of time that I tried to [moving her hand in circular movements in front of her] not take so much time and in the activities and I think sometimes most of the times I

				didn't pay so much attention to the ahm problems of the students and I was thinking that after this comes this and only have twenty minutes for this and fifteen for that I can't lose time here and (-)

Like 1L, this question was related to the idea of time, but in this case the underlying objective was to see if the animated movements of Odete might be manifestations of anxiety, a nervous energy used to animate interaction and the rhythm of the class.

Although my questioning, by using 'eléctrica' and 'very keen', might be considered as leading Odete, there is, I think, sufficient data to support the claim that Odete consistently endeavoured to project an image of a more dynamic teacher. As seen earlier, Odete was especially concerned with remembering the sequences of the lesson which sometimes led her to neglect the contributions of pupils or at least seem less focused on interaction (see Episodes 2B, 3C, 4B in episodes selected for SRP in Appendix 4), and this may have led her on one occasion (her lesson on the 8th May) to forget to give the pupils certain work sheets. In this case, Odete opines that her movements could be related to her concerns about time, but also adds that she was often concerned with the next activity and that she was thinking about what time she had left in which to carry out the remaining activities. Again, considering the criticism directed at her by the CT (POC/16-01/149-150 in Appendix 4) as well other comments made during the TP, it is not surprising that time should be considered an important factor when trying to explain the experience of anxiety, especially the notion of trying to keep to the planned activities. There was also the sense that this was not just about time-management but also about 'being dynamic'. I think this was especially evident in the second class from which this episode is taken. The previous class recorded for this project on the 16th January had been a big disappointment for Odete, so in this class it appears that she was making a significant effort to move away from the monotony and overlong grammar

explanations that were established by the participants in the POC of that lesson as key features of her performance. Odete also refers to the sense of greater dynamism in her written reflection (see her written reflection for the 13th February in Appendix 4), as did her colleague Sandra in the POC of the same date, and I also noted in the Researcher observations notes (see Appendix 4) that she appeared to be making a considerable effort to be dynamic and that there were signs of nervous energy.

Discussion of episode 4C

Episode/ no of intervention in lesson transcript	Brief description of Episode selected	Questions/comments related to episode selected	Objective(s) [category of possible manifestations of trainee language anxiety identified in lesson]	Odete response
4/C 23	Based on the listening comprehension, Odete is trying to elicit why the characters can't find their car. She then code-switches to Portuguese to emphasise the word find in Portuguese.	so you decided to switch here to Portuguese why? were you nervous in that lesson?	To ascertain whether code-switching from English to Portuguese was related to insecurity/anxiety in relation to her questions and/or pupils' reactions to her questions [resorting to Portuguese]	yes all because of the text because if they had the text they would look right to the text and and I wouldn't need to do (-) [shaking her head] no no I was too nervous [moving her hand quickly up and down in front of her face] well to forget a sheet probably I was a little bit nervous

In this episode, it should be said that Odete had forgotten to hand out a text on which the exercise was based. The CT had mentioned this to me at the end of the class (see Researcher's observation notes on Odete's lesson on the 24th May), and suggested Odete was

very nervous, and this had probably resulted in Odete forgetting about the worksheet. This incident was also discussed at length in the POC of the same date. It seemed, therefore that when Odete became frustrated and nervous at the pupils' efforts to come up with correct answer, she switched to Portuguese in order to give the pupils the answer, perhaps avoid having to ask them further questions. Although this may point to Odete's anxiety affecting her own activities, a sense of anxiety affecting her thought patterns in line with the input-processing-output model (MacIntyre, 1999) of anxiety referred to earlier (2.4.1), Episodes 1A and 1I suggest a more complex picture why Odete resorts to Portuguese in interaction. Both cases point to Odete's concern with pupils' understanding, a crucial issue of Odete's throughout the teaching practice – and especially evident in the first lesson on the 16th January. In 1A, she says the pupil was confused and that she resorted to Portuguese to explain. She adds that now she would exemplify. Again the idea of exemplification was an important one for Odete – especially since the 'infamous' grammar lesson (16-01-2006 in Appendix 4) that so marked her thinking throughout the practicum. In 1I, the explanation is more explicit, and orients to how pupils' faces register their understanding or not. Again, she mentions exemplification as a strategy she would use now, but before this Odete speaks about how the pupils' faces 'revealed' they did not understand. Although my original objective in 1I was to ascertain whether silence made Odete more uncomfortable, and whilst I do not discount silence as an uncomfortable factor for the trainees of this study, it was not evident in the emerging categories of possible signs of LA that I used. Here Odete's comments that pupil understanding was her principal concern seem valid and was evident in her discourse in other data collection contexts, too (SSI/103-112 in Appendix 7), in other words, I would suggest that a sign of Odete's anxiety is in her consistent use of comprehension checks because she was anxious to have the confirmation of pupil understanding, that they were learning in her English classes. These comprehension checks were especially evident in the lesson on the 16th January, but continued to be a regular feature of her interaction in the classroom. However, as discussed in section 4.2 of this chapter, the sense of evaluation cannot be discounted here. Perhaps changing to Portuguese moves the class along and enables the trainee to avoid being caught in frustrating exchanges with pupils that highlight their language difficulties (cf. Moreira, 1991).

Discussion of episode 1G

Episode/ no of intervention in lesson transcript	Brief description of Episode selected	Questions/comments related to episode selected	Objective(s) [category of possible manifestations of trainee language anxiety identified in lesson]	Odete response
1/G 57-59	Odete looks like she is concentrating but still somewhat hesitant whilst writing on the blackboard	you look like you're concentrating while writing on the board Odete no no I'm just saying that you look like you're being very careful when writing on the blackboard how did you find writing on the blackboard did you have to concentrate ?	To ascertain whether Odete may be insecure in relation to writing on the blackboard [Trainee uncertainty related to board work or written explanations on blackboard]	I didn't pay attention to the students is that it? a::h [smiling] = [looking upwards] no quer dizer [laughing] not so much but I:: like to concentrate because I was SO [raising her hand and making a fist and smiling] afraid of making a mistake

At the beginning of this episode, Odete tries to anticipate my question, and asks me whether it is about her not paying attention to the pupils. Odete's initial remarks, then, suggest she may have seen my questions and comments as picking up on the negative aspects

of her lessons. Again, maybe the use of 'careful' and 'concentrate' lead Odete to reflect on the need to explain my framing remarks, but her body language and facial expression do give some indication of how she felt about wanting to ensure error-free board work, although her remarks here seem to be a general reference as opposed to one that sheds light on this particular episode.

Nevertheless, Odete viewed written mistakes on the board or OHP as being more serious (see 4D in episodes selected for SRP in Appendix 4) than spoken errors (see 2D in episodes selected for SRP in Appendix 4) because pupils wrote these on their sheets and would take these home. In fact the spoken mistakes Odete says she was conscious of were likely self-corrected but they did not appear to be a significant worry for Odete or the other trainees.

In Episode 1J, I also asked Odete to comment on how I thought she looked relaxed and at ease at the blackboard when explaining the third person. Her comments, accompanied by her own laughter and amusement, reveal that this was an aspect of her classroom behaviour that was seen as part of her style. Indeed, in the POC/16-01/80-91 (see Appendix 4) there was a humorous exchange between the participants about her fondness for being close to the blackboard.

However, contrary to the general impression that had been established for Odete as having a tendency to stick close to the blackboard, I only found this to be the case in the first lesson. My opinion is that Odete's tendency to consult notes on the teacher's desk may have contributed to this interpretation, but there may well have been other classes where this was more notable, and of course the divergence between my interpretation of her 'proximity' to the board and that of the participants' will always be very subjective.

Renata

Discussion of episode 1A

Episode/ no of intervention in lesson transcript	Brief description of Episode selected	Questions/comments related to episode selected	Objective(s) [category of possible manifestations of trainee language anxiety identified in lesson]	Renata's responses
1/A 3	At the beginning of the lesson Renata asks the pupils if they had a nice Christmas. Most pupils respond in the affirmative but one pupil says no. Renata replies with a 'No' terminating with rising intonation, possibly demonstrating her surprise, but does not ask further questions related to Christmas	Did you think that this was an opportune moment to have gone forward and had a little bit more conversation with them?	To ascertain whether Renata was reluctant to engage in more spontaneous interaction and whether this was related to anxiety/ the avoidance of uncertainty [Trainee uncertainty related to unforeseen events - interaction or written]	When we have a plan we know that we have to do everything… if I didn't do plan and I was talking about Xmas maybe it's not a good explanation

This was the first class of Renata's that I observed and video-recorded. As already discussed in 4.2, this lesson seemed to be a watershed for Renata in that the next lessons were less centred on worksheets and the teacher, and were significantly more dynamic. However, based on my observations of this class (see Researcher's observation notes in

Appendix 5), I contemplated the possibility that Renata might be reluctant and/or anxious to interact with the pupils in a more spontaneous manner (Horwitz, 1996).

It seemed an appropriate moment for Renata to ask the pupils whether they had had a nice Christmas, but I felt that Renata 'retreated' from interacting with the pupils when her response to a pupil's "No" suggested a degree of surprise to this unexpected reply. It is possible, then, that this moment related to uncertainty/anxiety avoidance (Grundy, 2000; Horwitz, 1996).

However, Renata framed her explanation for this episode in terms of wanting to keep to the plan. In her first written reflections (on lessons that were not observed or video recorded), Renata does refer to some of her 'indications' (possibly instructions and/or explanations) being too long when shorter more concise 'indications' were needed.

Given the trainees' interaction in the classroom was very much centred on the IRE/IRF pattern, it would, I think, be rash to rule out the influence of anxiety on this form of interaction that permits the teacher greater control (Moreira, 1991), and thereby avoid the more uncertain waters of spontaneous engagement with the pupils. However, Renata's explanation here is also in line with the contributions she made in the SSI (199-207 in Appendix 5) about the constraints of keeping to the lesson plan, an issue which will also be discussed shortly in relation to Episode 3A.

In other words, although there may be a seeming reluctance to engage with pupils in unexpected situations, concerns with time management may also be underlying such choices. Furthermore, and similarly to Odete, Renata was also concerned with being more 'dynamic' (see Renata's written reflections 24th and 27th October in Appendix 5) and maintaining that dynamism, and perhaps interacting spontaneously with pupils might well have contributed to breaking up the rhythm of the class. From this perspective, it is also likely that the trainees are concerned with the sense of evaluation (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope, 1986; Moreira, 1991) in the context of the practicum, and making sure the lesson went, as far as possible, according to the plan.

Discussion of episode 1C

Episode/ no of intervention in lesson transcript	Brief description of Episode selected	Questions/comments related to episode selected	Objective(s) [category of possible manifestations of trainee language anxiety identified in lesson]	Renata's responses
1/C 239	Renata is explaining - in English - that in groups the member who writes on the worksheet will keep the worksheet. She then code switches to Portuguese to explain the same thing	Why do you change to Portuguese there?	To ascertain whether code-switching from English to Portuguese was related to insecure / anxiety in relation to her explanations [resorting to Portuguese]	sometimes I knew that there were times when I needed to change to Portuguese because they weren't understanding but sometimes I changed but now [moving her hand over her shoulder] looking back and after hearing what the cooperating teacher said I don't think it would be necessary ahm because I think that telling that the first- that only one person is going to write on the sheets most of them didn't understand or what I said or why I don't know but maybe [wringing her hands and then putting her hand to her throat] at the beginning I never thought it would be so difficult NOT to speak in Portuguese I thought right I

				know basic English I think it's going to be easy but it's not and sometimes when [looking upwards and holding one hand up in front of her face] we are stressed or we want to say something the first thing that comes out is in Portuguese [putting her hand against her temple] only when we are thinking very hard we say it in English

In this episode, Renata implies that in retrospect resorting to speaking Portuguese in the lessons was used too often, and although she opines that the pupils did not understand what she had said, she then goes on to explain that she never thought it would be so difficult to *not* to speak Portuguese (although see Table 13 in 4.1 where she had mentioned this as a possible difficulty before starting the TP).

Whilst Renata, like her colleagues, did not seem to be worried about making mistakes (see Episode 4C in episodes selected for SRP in Appendix 5), there did appear to be a significant concern with adapting their English – and Portuguese – to the needs of their pupils. Renata's explanation (see Episode 1B and 2E in episodes selected for SRP in Appendix 5) that Bruno – and other 'good' pupils – was used to 'help us', and her remark that they do this *because we know that they know* would appear to confirm this. In my first Researcher's observation notes (see Appendix 5) made in this project, and which were based on Renata's first lesson, I noticed this tendency to use Bruno. In my observation notes made on Odete's lesson on the 13-02 (see Appendix 4), I refer to Bruno as a 'mini-teacher' given the central role he played in classroom proceedings. Although I have to say that it is simply not possible to say whether anxiety significantly shaped this frequent use of nominating certain pupils to explain or answer, the trainees' adherence to this pattern would suggest that issues related to anxiety might be involved.

Firstly, Renata says that although she 'knows' basic English, it is not easy to use it in practice (Moreira, 1991). She also adds that when feeling stressed or when they want to say something, Portuguese is the language they use whereas the use of English has to be constantly thought about. These observations might help to explain that when other considerations have to be taken into account in circumstances of evaluation and greater pressure – such as time management, ensuring pupil understanding, being dynamic – the use of Portuguese may be resorted to in order to avoid further complications.

In the final meeting (FM/163-167 in Appendix 7), Renata also points to this difficulty. The CT, however, suggests (166) that it is not that difficult to speak basic English. Renata aligns with the CT's opinion but qualifies this agreement by saying that it was more difficult at the beginning than it was at the end. However, out of all the trainees, Renata consistently used more Portuguese – in the lessons that I observed – than her colleagues when explaining or giving instructions, and in the last lesson I recorded for Renata's corpus, she again resorted to a style and patterns of interaction that were reminiscent of the first lesson I recorded.

Although inconclusive, it would be unwise to dismiss claims of insecurity and anxiety being an influence on interaction in the classroom.

Discussion of episode 3A

Episode/ no of intervention in lesson transcript	Brief description of Episode selected	Questions/comments related to episode selected	Objective(s) [category of possible manifestations of trainee language anxiety identified in lesson]	Renata's responses
3/A 23-24	Renata is explaining the instructions for a game with flashcards and is saying 'rápido qiuckly' to pupils	Do you feel eager to get on with the lesson? Is the pressure of time helpful?	To determine whether time was a factor influencing interaction and whether this was anxiety-related [Noticeably animated kinesic	I think so because if you don't put pressure on them they will be there ten minutes just to choose a person Sometimes sometimes no

			and/or verbal behaviour]	here no because sometimes we're giving a lesson and an idea appears or a doubt appears and because we have those things to do we don't pay so much attention to those little things that are also important maybe when I'm giving lessons I'll have my plan obviously (.) but I won't be so worried about keeping it ...in having to give that in that lesson because I know I can give it in the next lesson so and the supervising teacher also points out that this activity was programme d for twenty minutes and you took twenty-five or thirty

The objective underlying the questions in this episode was the same as that which informed the question in Episode 2E in Odete's SRP and episode 1A of Sandra's SRP, that is, whether the sense of time influenced Renata's behaviour. I selected this episode because, as I

have noted on various occasions, Renata was not particularly demonstrative and expressive, and at this point during the lesson she was very animated. In my observation notes, I noted that Renata was moving around the class in a purposeful and quick manner, and was also using animated prosody and projecting her voice more. For these reasons, I speculated, like I did with both Odete and Sandra, that these movements embodied an eagerness to get on with the lesson and to demonstrate that they were being dynamic teachers of English. It seemed an opportunity to explore whether similar underlying motivation in all of the trainees was shaping this analogous behaviour.

Firstly, in answer to my question, Renata suggests that the pupils need to be given time limits or else they will delay proceedings too long. Secondly, although she admits that the pressure of time may sometimes be helpful, she does say that the pressure of time may also discourage the teacher from attending to the pupils' ideas, doubts or questions (which was perhaps an influence on her not engaging with the pupil at the beginning of her lesson after the Christmas break – see Episode 1A). In another reference to the constraints of working within the limits of the lesson plan, she alludes to her future after the practicum – as Renata and her colleagues had also done in the SSI – saying that she will not be so worried about keeping to the plan, and that if necessary, she could continue working on the material in the following lesson. An additional consideration, and perhaps the most important one, is that the mentors are evaluating them on this point.

Given Renata's trajectory over the practicum, I think there are indications that these efforts were made to boost the rhythm of the classes and the types of activities chosen, especially games (see Episode 2B and 2C in episodes selected for SRP in Appendix 5). As was seen in 4.2 of this chapter, the CT's key advice (POC/9-01 in Appendix 5) that Renata should look to use activities that were dynamic in and of themselves so as to reduce the monotony of her classes – perhaps led to a real shift in Renata's approach to the lessons, and whilst Renata said that she did not have to work hard at being dynamic (see Episode 3B in episodes selected for SRP in Appendix 5), the accumulation and triangulation of data would suggest that perhaps anxiety was a factor in Renata's attempts to move away from this monotonous image.

This is one of the reasons that I chose the next episode from Renata's lesson on the 22nd May to explore in the SRP.

Discussion of episode 4A

Episode/ no of intervention in lesson transcript	Brief description of Episode selected	Questions/comments related to episode selected	Objective(s) [category of possible manifestations of trainee language anxiety identified in lesson]	Renata's responses
4/A 1	At the beginning of the lesson, Renata is standing in front of the class ready to begin the lesson, but she looks somewhat nervous and is wringing her hands looking slightly nervous	here in terms of your body language…	To explore to what extent Renata's behaviour was related to anxious feelings [Noticeably animated kinesic and/or verbal behaviour]	ahm I wasn't [wringing hands] nervous but subconsciously [moving her hands in circular movements at the sides of her head] I don't know I knew that the lesson wasn't going to be very [moving her hands over each other in a rolling movement] dynamic very (-)
		right so what was said when you used to drive back to Leiria when you used to talk about things can you remember some of the things that were said about this lesson?		we try to in every activity to put a different strategy but even so (-) it wasn't really like I wanted it to be so (-) yeh we talked that ahm we could have done more games maybe a game that > not the ninety minutes < but

				a game that took most of the class and was more fun and in that way every student could have participated but in this way [looking towards the laptop computer screen] only some had the chance to speak of not being so secure maybe yeh maybe not because I didn't know what I was going to do because that we knew but because I thought that it would not be fun or something like that revision is always revision so [laughing]
		right ok I asked this because I noticed you did that in this lesson so I didn't know whether this		

I discussed in 4.4 how, in some respects, Renata's last lesson felt like a regression to the first lesson of hers which I had observed. Although there was no POC after this lesson, I still felt it was worth exploring certain aspects of the lesson with Renata.

In answer to my comments, Renata anticipated my question and said that she was not nervous but that 'subconsciously' she might have known it was not going to be a very dynamic lesson, and adds shortly afterwards that she may not have felt so secure, not because of the content but because she thought the lesson would not be fun. She turns up her nose and shakes her head (see Episode 4D in episodes selected for SRP in Appendix 5) when I show her an episode from the lesson when she asks the students to repeat in chorus the

words 'where' and 'were'. In Episode 4B, when I ask why she is moving around the class a lot (more noticeable than any other of her recorded classes) even though the lesson activities are not dynamic, she responds that a dynamic lesson for her is one where the pupils are involved and not when she is moving around. From a pedagogical point of view, this is a reasonable and justifiable response, but I think the fact that she moves more noticeably in this class than in previous ones is revealing, and can be interpreted as trying to maintain a dynamic image despite the activities of the class not being dynamic.

Perhaps we can speculate, then, that anxiety may have played some part in Renata trying to compensate for the fact that she knew that this lesson would not correspond to the image she had worked hard to achieve, and would in fact be closer to some of her previous lessons which were characterised as traditional and monotonous. Her last response at the end of the SRP, "revision is always revision", is a way of justifying that the class was not dynamic. In fact her intervention (312), *é uma aula aborrecida mas é para o vosso bem sabe,* in the class on the 22nd May goes some way to explaining that she did not feel 'comfortable' with the activities of this class.

In other words, I think Renata saw this as a step backwards. Indeed, when I asked her in Episode 4A about what was said in the car journey back to Leiria – not a question strictly related to the episode itself – Renata says that she and her colleagues were of the opinion that a game or games that had taken up most of the class would have meant more fun and more pupil participation in the lesson. This is what this lesson did not have, and if anxiety was not a factor, then there was at least significant indications that Renata's behaviour was motivated by a certain degree of unease about the type of lesson it was and how this reflected on her.

Sandra

Discussion of episode 1A

Episode/ no of intervention in lesson transcript	Brief description of Episode selected	Questions/comments related to episode selected	Objective(s) [category of possible manifestations of trainee language anxiety identified in lesson]	Sandra's response
	At the beginning of the	right my first question to you Sandra is this is the third time you've	To ascertain whether Sandra's	yes I saw that

1/A 1-7	lesson Sandra is waiting for the pupils to copy down the lesson summary and date into their books but looks very eager to get on with the lesson and repeats "hurry up" three times	said hurry up to them looks like you're really eager to get on with the lesson were you? well I was thinking well you're really enthusiastic and eager to get started with the class	eagerness was related to anxiety/motivation [Noticeably animated kinesic and/or verbal behaviour]	 <INT> I was nervous yes because you can see when I'm nervous I put my hands like this [puts her hands behind her back] no I was nervous > I don't remember why but I was< every time I'm nervous I do this [puts her hands behind back] I don't know what I should do with my hands so I put them behind my back

Whereas both Renata and Odete made considerable efforts in trying to be dynamic, Sandra was consistently dynamic, and was, in many respects, considered a model for the other trainees. Sandra appeared confident in the class and her classes were notably more animated than the other two trainees. For this reason, I speculated that her animated behaviour might be informed by the need to constantly project this image in the classroom, perhaps informed by an anxiety that was facilitating as opposed to debilitating. In many ways Sandra was a reminder to me as a researcher that constant questioning of theory and observation is needed. In other words, anxiety can too often be sought from a negative perspective. In the episodes in which I questioned both Odete and Renata about their

animated behaviour and apparent eagerness to get on with the lesson, the underlying objective was to explore possible relationships with time management given that both had been criticised for this. Although I did not discount time as a factor that might influence Sandra's behaviour, my main objective with this question was to see whether Sandra would provide any information that might help to throw light on whether anxiety might influence her lively presence in the lessons.

In response to my comments at the beginning of this episode, Sandra says that she was in fact nervous and that a tell-tale sign of this nervousness was her putting her hands behind her back. Whilst I had not taken this into consideration when selecting the episode – although I subsequently found several examples of this kinesic behaviour in the transcriptions – her observations did at least alert me to the fact that Sandra was also susceptible to nerves, that is, despite her 'confident' performances, which were praised by both her colleagues and mentors, this did not preclude the possibility of anxiety shaping her dynamic and animated behaviour (Andrade and Williams, 2009). Like her colleagues, it is likely that Sandra was well aware of keeping to the plan, and wanted to start the lesson in order to ensure appropriate time management. Again, it is likely that the sense of evaluation that is part of the practicum exerts a significant influence on her behaviour. In fact, as we have seen, Sandra was particularly sensitive to perceived criticism, and her considerations of what others think of her (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope, 1986; MacIntyre, 1999), might have been a factor shaping her behaviour.

Discussion of episode 1D

Episode/ no of intervention in lesson transcript	Brief description of Episode selected	Questions/comments related to episode selected	Objective(s) [category of possible manifestations of trainee language anxiety identified in lesson]	Sandra's response
1/D 423-440	Sandra's explanation of rules governing the spelling of certain verbs		To ascertain whether this explanation was related to anxiety and uncertainty	[smiling and leaning back and looking at researcher] I remember I remember

	(double or single consonant) looks spontaneous and uncertain		To see if explanation planned or spontaneous ?	the ts (..) it was writing [nodding] now she's saying (..) now she's saying that it only has one t
				yes because of the rule
			[Trainee uncertainty related to board work or written explanations on blackboard]	[pointing to laptop computer screen, smiling and nodding on hearing when she started to use 'swim' as an example of explaining the double the consonant rule] then I got nervous
		but you thought it had two ts didn't you?		
				no it was spontaneous
		is this planned Sandra or was it spontaneous right		[smiling] you can see by the way I'm speaking here because I taught wrong I was trying to explain so they wouldn't stay with that idea that's why I did that

One of the notions that I also explored was how anxiety might be a factor shaping planned/routine or spontaneous teacher activities or behaviours (Horwitz, 1996) in the classroom. Just as established patterns of interaction might be considered signs or sources of anxiety, so spontaneous behaviour might indicate or lead to anxiety (Grundy, 2000).

Sandra's attempt to explain the rule governing the doubling of consonants of some verbs, in this case whether 'writing' should have two 'ts', stemmed from the fact that a pupil had said that writing should have two 'ts' as opposed to the single 't'. Sandra had correctly written the word 'writing' on the board, but in responding to this unexpected doubt, Sandra then proceeded to try to explain the rule. While she did not explain the rule correctly the first time, she was prompted by the CT and her colleagues at the back of the class to explain again. Whilst a minor oversight, Sandra, like Odete (see Episode 4E in episodes selected for SRP in Appendix 4) and Renata (4C in episodes selected for SRP in Appendix 5), also considered written mistakes as more serious than oral mistakes because they are registered and visible, and the pupils may end up studying incorrect information provided by the teacher. In sum, this episode did go some way to validating my suspicion (see Researcher's observation notes for 30-01 in Appendix 6) that Sandra was perhaps more comfortable with spoken interaction than she was with writing. In addition, it is evident that written work on the board is clearly visible to the mentors so the degree to which the sense of evaluation constrains behaviour may sometimes be greater in situations such as these as opposed to verbal interaction where errors may go unnoticed. Indeed, it is possible that the mentors themselves may feel more inclined to point out written errors than spoken ones.

Discussion of episode 2C

Episode/ no of interventio n in lesson transcript	Brief descriptio n of Episode selected	Questions/comment s related to episode selected	Objective(s) [category of possible manifestation s of trainee language anxiety identified in lesson]	Sandra's response
2/C	Sandra asks who wants to explain a sentence	Why do you choose Bruno?	To establish whether direct solicits of certain	because he knows and he has ahm when I see that they don't know

330	on the board and then makes a direct solicit to Bruno to come to the board to explain	right it's like a strategy then? Was this your own idea to ask Bruno?	pupils in classroom interaction was anxiety-related [Persistent patterns of nominating certain pupils to answer]	the whole class doesn't know I ask him because they have the same language so I know that he would a::hm explain in a way that the rest of the class would understan d yes I do it in Portuguese sometimes if they don't understan d I don't do it more than two times I ask as good student and sometimes we don't know how to explain and …when they don't understan d they put their head down Sometimes we start to complicate things instead of getting them simple

A tendency that Sandra shared with her fellow trainees was asking a small number of pupils to answer questions or explain activities in either English or Portuguese. There is little difference in the explanation she gives of why she chooses Bruno to the accounts provided by Odete and Renata apart from the fact that she is even more explicit. In Sandra's words, sometimes she and her colleagues "don't know how to explain" or "we start to complicate things instead of getting them simple". When I previously suggested that Odete and Renata may have used these direct solicits to maintain the rhythm of the class and ensure an efficient management of time, it is possible, I think, to put forward that Sandra also resorted to these patterns for very similar reasons. Whilst Odete and Renata may have invested in these nominations in an attempt to be more dynamic and avoid issues of time management, Sandra may have willingly resorted to asking these pupils in order to maintain an image of herself as a dynamic teacher that had been quickly established at the beginning of the practicum. Despite the similarity in answers from all trainees, I felt it was worth exploring whether their similar patterns of interaction in the classroom were driven by the same motivations.

However, at a more basic linguistic level there are strong indications that simple, clear explanations in English – and in Portuguese – are seen by the trainees as particularly difficult to carry out (Moreira, 1991).

Discussion of episode 3C

Episode/ no of intervention in lesson transcript	Brief description of Episode selected	Questions/comments related to episode selected	Objective(s) [category of possible manifestations of trainee language anxiety identified in lesson]	Sandra's response
3/C 297	During a listening comprehension, Sandra stops what she is doing and goes to stand in front of the teacher's desk to show her displeasure	my question Sandra is //do you think// they were making too much noise? it's interesting looking at it from the outside isn't it	To establish whether noise was a possible source of anxiety or insecurity for Sandra	[smiling]/ / not now looking at them no:: yes it's different <INT> I know but if I was alone it

	with pupil noise levels. She knocks a metallic object on the desk and then asks pupils "Why are you making so much noise today?"	and maybe when they're working in groups we have to expect	[Trainee's reactions to pupil behaviour and classroom management issues]	would be somethin g different now in this case [pointing to laptop computer screen] if you are being evaluated if they make too much noise then you think right you're going to hear somethin g after this I thought they were making too much noise but now looking at them they were silent

A feature of the trainees' classes that I considered to be of possible relevance was their apparent sensitivity to noise made by the pupils (see Episodes 1C and 1D for Odete and Renata in Appendices 4 and 5 respectively). In fact one of the emerging categories of analysis that I employed to explore the possible influence of anxiety was the trainees' reactions to issues of classroom discipline and pupil behaviour. As noted earlier in 4.2, I began to speculate that such sensitivity was not only about ensuring appropriate pupil behaviour – which is entirely understandable – but it also represented the trainees' dissatisfaction that their lessons and, by implication, their teacher images were being undermined.

In this episode, Sandra acknowledges that the pupils were not making as much noise as she thought (both Odete and Renata had similar reactions, see Episode 1C and 1D respectively in episodes selected for SRP in Appendices 4 and 5), but as a way of explaining her reaction in the episode, Sandra then goes on to point to the constraints of the practicum and says that it would be different if she was the teacher of the class. What appears to be underlying these remarks is the sense of being evaluated and the possibility of being

criticised by the mentors should noise levels be too great. It is likely therefore, that these reactions to noise were influenced by efforts to conform to the mentors' expectations of what a class should be like (in Episode 1D in episodes selected for SRP in Appendix 5, Renata explicitly refers to the fact that noise would irritate both the CT and ST).

This was also probably the case with some instances of pupil laughter that appeared to disturb the class from the trainee's perspective (see Episode 4A, 3F and 3A for Odete, Renata and Sandra's responses to laughter see Appendices 4, 5 and 6 respectively). For example, in Odete's POC/8-05/99 (see Appendix 4), the CT makes comments about how this class of pupils is particularly prone to giggling and laughing and suggests that the organisation of activities should be considered as a strategy to avoid these emotional expressions on the part of the pupils.

However, I would argue that laughter also had the power to undermine the trainees because they might have interpreted it as a type of negative comment ('"Are you laughing at me?") on their lesson – and that their responses could be interpreted as a defensive reaction, and a possible source of insecurity (MacIntyre, 1999).

In many respects, then, I think that the SRPs episodes complement what had been emerging from the data throughout the research process, that is to say that a cluster of signs might be indicative of the experience of language anxiety. At times their remarks indicate that anxiety may well have been influencing their behaviour, providing a useful commentary on their own actions in the classroom, and valuable observations that otherwise would have been unavailable to me as the researcher.

The trainees' comments, although far from being decisive, did suggest that some of their actions might have been motivated by feelings of anxiety or anxiety avoidance behaviour. Whilst there are a few references to the fear of making mistakes, the traditional concerns of LA research – that of mistakes and proficiency – do not appear to exert the same relevance in the context of this study. Given the level of English of these trainees, perhaps this is understandable. However, there are other language concerns which, I think, are significant, and which are likely tied up to the larger preoccupation with their images as English teachers. Furthermore, the sense of evaluation that prevails for learners in the language classroom exerts a qualitatively different but nonetheless powerful influence over classroom interaction on the practicum.

I would now like to briefly refer to what I consider to be important observations made by the trainees in their SRPs.

The SRPs were carried out with each trainee and therefore was the first moment in this project that I interacted with them on an individual basis in order to collect data. Despite the common thinking and unity that had been established in this group, I think the SRPs were significant in that perhaps each trainee could articulate their thoughts and feelings without their fellow trainees being present. This is not to advocate that what they said in the SRPs is of greater value than the SSI or the POCs, but simply to recognise that people will mobilise and orient to different topics and to the same topics in different ways in different contexts. As Hammersley and Atkinson say "Different things will be said and done in different company" (2007:178). In the light of this notion, I would like to refer to several aspects, including the motivation of each trainee, and the car journeys home from Fátima to Leiria.

As far as motivation is concerned, I asked each trainee when they felt more motivated during the practicum. Given the overall progress that was discussed in the final meeting, it was not surprising to hear Renata say she was more motivated towards the end:

5	I	ok I'd also like to ask you a::hm did you find because it's been a relatively long time and a demanding period (.) a:hm did you feel more motivated at the beginning of the teaching practice or did you feel more motivated at the beginning or::
6	R	<INT> at the end
7	I	at the end ?
8	R	yes
9	I	can //you explain why?//
10	R	//because at the beginning// first of all because I didn't know what to expect and I was a bit (.) [putting her hand on her chest] not shy but reserved

11	I	with whom with your class with your colleagues?
12	R	ahm with me and especially with the cooperating teacher and the supervising teacher and then I saw that they didn't only say what was bad they also said [making small circular movements in front of her with her hand] what was good and what we must keep on doing and that gave me [gradually moving her hand further out in front of her] the motivation to continue [smiling]
13	I	right so maybe you felt more a::hm
14	R	supported
15	I	right so as you went along you felt more supported and motivated
16	R	exactly

What was more revealing was the fact that she had seemed to change her opinion in relation to the CT. In the SSI, all the trainees had expressed their concerns that the CT focused on the

negative aspects of their taught classes whilst the ST was more careful and considerate in the way she said things. Traces of this tension were clearly evident in the final meeting in the exchanges between Sandra and the mentors when discussing the criteria for her final mark. In the above exchange, Renata seems to point towards a relationship between her levels of motivation and the sense of being supported and praised.

The CT was also mentioned in other significant ways in Renata's SRP. First of all, Renata said that the interventions of the CT in her classes were useful (SRP/400 in Appendix 5) if the intervention was concerned with a spelling mistake that the pupils could copy down and take home to study. I had identified this as a possible source of anxiety for the trainees because I thought this might undermine the trainees' authority in front of the pupils. Sandra also has a similar attitude. It is 'good' for her as she is told what she has done wrong, but (SRP/434-443 in Appendix 5) qualifies this by saying that it was bad for the pupils as they think that she does not 'know'.

The other way the CT is mentioned is connected to my question of how the trainees had decided upon the strategy of asking 'good' pupils to explain or answer questions in both Portuguese and English:

188	I	but was this an agreed strategy between you all or something that just gradually crept into your practice?
189	R	it was ahm the cooperating teacher uma dica a cue
190	I	a hint some advice
191	R	that the cooperating teacher gave us (.) [putting her hand against her chest] to not be just us speaking but to ask the students or the better students to explain and that way it's not only us that is speaking

So here Renata seems to be saying that the CT had suggested resorting to these pupils in order to reduce teacher-talking time and allow more pupil participation. However, in responding to the same question (SRP/161-169 in Appendix 5), Sandra does not mention the CT and says that this is a strategy that she uses in her Portuguese classes. She tries to explain three times and if this is not successful, she nominates a 'good' pupil to explain to the rest of the class.

Given that I had identified this systematic use of a small number of pupils as a possible manifestation of anxiety, this was an important consideration to take into account. However, conflicting and single references as to the origin of this strategy at the end of the research period did not invalidate the way in which these pupils were used as part of a strategy to further the trainees' needs and interests mentioned previously.

As for Sandra's levels of motivation, she seems to be quite clear when she says that she was motivated 'from the beginning' because she 'had an aim' (SRP/337-339 in Appendix 5). Later she says teaching is 'what I'm going to be doing for the rest of my life' (SRP/465).

Odete's words, however, paint a different picture. She first identifies the end of the practicum as the period when she felt more motivated because she said that at the beginning they had been placed in a situation with little experience, 'thrown to the tigers' (it is worth remembering that Odete said she felt prepared for the TP, see Table 13 in 4.1), but on the other hand they gradually learned different strategies. Odete also said that if they had to start the practicum on that day, they would know more and be able to pay more attention to the pupils. This lack of attention to the pupils is one of the consequences that Odete, perhaps, thinks resulted from her concentration on the lesson sequence.

7	I	but before we get going I would like to ask you a general question a::hm now that's it's finished the teaching practice has finished can I ask you if you felt more motivated at the beginning or at the end? do you think this changed?
8	O	a::hm I think I'm more motivated now because I think I'm because at the beginning it was very difficult because none of us knew what to do it was just like (.) we were [moves both her arms out full-stretch in front of her] throwed to the tigers as we say in Portuguese and now we know some more things because we have to know after the practice and I think this motivated us to if we had to start now we know more strategies techniques a::hm we would do the same things that we did in another way ahm we would probably pay more attention to the children ahm to what they say

However, after I asked her how motivated she felt after two or three lessons, Odete pauses and then says she felt very demotivated at the end of the practicum - only a few lines after she had said she felt more motivated at the end. Below we can see her words.

16	O	[grimacing, shrugging her shoulders and moving her head down slightly] I don't know [moving her body backwards] I really don't know because I don't have a reasonable REASON [smiling] if I can so ahm I think I got tired so tired and the same thing happened in Portuguese
17	I	right
18	O	a::nd I think I was more more motivated at the beginning because all things were new [opening her arms out wide] we were meeting the kids and everything was ↑new and motivating [opening her hands and then letting them fall and clenching her fingers] and then I got tired and (-)

This apparent contradiction, however, may be interpreted according to Block's (2000) 'veridical' perception of interview data (see Chapter 3). Although the SRPs were not, strictly

speaking, interviews, the questions I asked the trainees were not always strictly related to the episodes. Block says that the accounts related in interviews can be viewed as constructed events, and that participants may change their 'voices' according to the question asked and the person asking it. In talk, Block says:

> What is produced comes to be seen more as symptomatic of a particular state of mind and even ephemeral, ongoing social interaction than as a reflection of underlying memory or mental models of particular domains of knowledge and experience. (2000:760)

It could be added that where emotions are concerned, people may change their voices within a question. In the above words, I think Odete changes her mind, for essentially two reasons: firstly, because she initially focuses on the benefits of the practicum and what she could use from her experience if she had the chance to start again; secondly, because she switches her attention to the excitement she felt at the beginning and perhaps contrasted this with her sense of frustration and tiredness at the end. As So (2005) points out "emotion is constantly generated, unfolded, and changed through multiple recursive effects at any one moment" (2005:44). In some respects, this is why researching emotions is so complex. The shift and constant fluctuations are very much dependent on who is talking to who, where they are talking and what is being spoken about.

The final point I would like to make in relation to the SRPs is directly connected to emotions and contexts, and how the trainees said what 'really mattered' to each other in the car journeys home from the school to Leiria. As we have seen in 4.5, the trainees' reluctance to criticise each other only fully emerged in the final meeting (Renata had said in the SSI/298 see Appendix 7 that the trainees had agreed at the beginning to "always say what we liked and what we didn't like", but it was not entirely clear to me at this time what this strategy represented as I had not transcribed the POCs at this time). It was in the confines of the car, then, that alternative 'post-observation conferences' were initiated and conducted.

On the stretch of talk from the SRP (344-359) on the following page, Sandra goes on to say that she was really honest with Odete in the car, and that the latter would cry. Indeed, it seemed that not only Odete cried in the car, but the other trainees, too. Even though I remind Sandra of the consequences of not openly criticising each other during the POCs, she still says that she was not prepared to do the same in front of the mentors.

344	I	who focused more on grammar?
345	S	Odete and we would talk about
346	I	<INT> that's interesting so you felt that Odete gave you more feedback on the grammar and Renata would give you more
347	S	<INT> yes on the activities that went well and we would be really serious with each other and we wouldn't be afraid of who got [moving her hands around] (.)
348	I	you were honest
349	S	yes completely honest
350	I	right
351	S	sometimes we would go the whole way really crying [simulating crying] it went really wrong
352	I	so in some respects it was to desabafar
353	S	yes but we wouldn't do that in front of them our teachers because we didn't want to a::hm [looking upwards] penalizar how do you say that?
354	I	to penalise right so in some respects you weren't so honest with each other when you had your sessão de supervisão with your teachers
355	S	yes just there there we would say everything
356	I	but can you remember that point that CT made in your final evaluation meeting?
357	S	yes I know
358	I	she said that Sandra I think the reflections that you made and with each other were not so detailed superficial she said
359	S	yes because we didn't want to say- if I would say exactly

Later in the SRP (468-471) when I commented to Sandra that the practicum was a high pressure situation, she replies that this is good, stressing the benefits of observing her colleagues and listening to the mentors, but also, significantly, adding her affection for her fellow trainees:

471	S	well I think we learn what we should do and what we shouldn't do (-) because looking at each other we learned a lot (.) and listening to what the teachers told us and what our colleagues told us you can learn a lot really a lot well in each class we can try to correct things for the next class and we practised some things and we helped each other I mean I loved my group

Below, in Renata and Odete's comments from their SRPs, we also learn that it was in the car that they criticised each other, but we also get a firm idea of the high degree of emotionality in recalling the journeys.

When I ask her in the SRP whether she will miss the comments and the asides the trainees would make to each other during their classes, in a similar manner to her colleagues, Renata also orients to the trips back to Leiria:

104	R	[nodding] ahm I'll miss it because a::hm after a lesson when we were going to Leiria we always talked about it about what was good and what wasn't good and if the ideas work a:hm I'll do a worksheet and I think it's nice but if Sandra or Odete looked at it ↑oh you should do it like this you should do it like that [putting both her hands on her chest] I know I can do it by myself

Odete also refers to the car when I asked the somewhat redundant question whether she liked to listen to Sandra and Renata's comments. These comments serve to highlight the fact that Renata, Odete and Sandra were very supportive of each other and had become a close group. From the team-teaching nature of their classes to their discourse in the POCs, SSI and the SRPs this closeness can be evidenced throughout the data:

174	I	= what about Sandra and Renata did you like to listen to their opinions?
175	O	yes we discussed always
176	I	yeh were you honest with each other?
177	O	yes sometimes ↓well [leaning back in chair and smiling] we were ahm on the reflections
178	I	uhm
179	O	sometimes we were ahm for example we did not want to hurt Renata, myself or Sandra and sometimes we discussed some things on the car [smiling]
180	I	yeh Sandra mentioned that to me
181	O	uhm [smiling] but we I always listened to Sandra and Renata because they were with me and they were important to me

In fact, it is justifiable to say that their close-knit way of working together – both in and outside of the classroom – and the use of strategies to avoid criticism and 'hurting' one another in the POCs not only constitutes a strong group identity but borders on a community of practice (Wenger, 1998). As Benwell and Stokoe say:

> CoPs are defined by social engagement rather than location or population, and thus describe social collectives that are meaningful to those participating in them, rather than, say, the analyst's more abstract categorisation" (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006:27)

The comments of the three trainees in the SRPs about their trips home in the car vividly reveal this engagement and closeness. Sandra's words even point to a type of 'division of labour' in terms of Odete concentrating on the 'grammar' and Renata on the 'activities'.

In the light of this information, the trainees' reluctance to criticise each other in the POCs, which in effect shifted the responsibility onto the mentors to construct the reflections and 'deliver' comments that the trainees thought might hurt one another, can be interpreted as an anxiety avoidance strategy, as a group trying to exert agency and control over an uncertain situation. From the trainees' perspective, this would likely reduce the possibility of potentially negative comments being taken by the mentors and incorporated into criticism that might affect both their academic and social evaluation. Such a perspective was already emerging in the POCs, and became clearer in the final meeting, but the SRPs essentially confirmed this.

The SRPs, then, not only allowed the three trainees to comment on the episodes of their classes and to provide observations that permitted me to relate these to my own interpretations of the previous data, but were also revelatory about the closeness and emotional nature of the group, thereby complementing and providing further understanding of the previously collected data, and supporting the iterative notion of moving back and forth across the data. As Richards says:

> Analysis is neither a distinct stage nor a discreet process; it is something that is happening, in one form or another, throughout the whole research process. The relationship between data and analysis is therefore an intimate one, and like most intimate relationships it is also very complex, so that getting to the heart of things is a difficult and messy business. (Richards, 2003:268-269)

As the three trainees were remarkably united as a group, it is difficult to talk about them as individuals without referring to their colleagues, without thinking about the group as an organic form that subsumed each trainee. However, Odete, Renata and Sandra are individuals and their experiences were informed by a range of factors, including their unique personalities and past experiences. Indeed, these contrasts between their particular paths on the practicum, the close ties of the group, and how these affected their interaction in the classroom and the relationship with the mentors were important factors on how anxiety was experienced.

Furthermore, these contrasts point up how anxiety may impact on the practice, thinking and feelings of the trainees during their teaching practice. Consequently, I will now discuss the experience of this emotion in the implications and conclusions of this project.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Chapter 5. *Concluding thoughts*

> Research indicates widespread concerns across many countries about teacher morale and commitment to remain in teaching given the current socio-political climate. It is therefore important that we pay attention to the role of broader affective characteristics like emotion and mood in the creation and development of teachers' professional identities, particularly at the stage of initial teacher education, if we are to support teachers to feel a sense of professional self-worth in the face of what can be a challenging form of employment.
> (Forde, McMahon, McPhee and Patrick 2006:33)

Reaching a satisfactory ending to many research projects is not an easy task, and this study has been no exception. This is why I have opted to name this final part of the work *Concluding thoughts*, the preference being for a title that indicates a closing reflection but one that simultaneously points to my ongoing reflections that acknowledge that this study still leaves me considering how other trainees might experience anxiety in other contexts and, more importantly, how useful and relevant other researchers will deem this project and its findings to be, in other words, "if it is to be worth its salt, research must have relevance to others outside the setting(s) with which it is concerned" (Richards, 2003:288).

Like the three trainees of this study who spent a considerable amount of time looking back and reflecting on what they had done as well as looking forward to their next classes and their own futures as teachers, I also look back and to the future. To look back is to recognise the limitations of this study. To look forward is to consider how this study may suggest future research projects and what implications can be drawn from it. First of all, I address the present and what I see as the main findings of this study.

In *Setting the scene*, I explained how my own path as a researcher had encouraged me to move away from what was generally seen as a limited framework of researching language anxiety and affective factors (Samimy and Rardin, 1994; Skehan, 1989; Spielmann and Radnofsky, 2001) by actually going into the classrooms in order to investigate this emotion. In order to use a more expansive framework to research anxiety, data was collected over a significant part of an academic year as well as being obtained through various methods. This has involved researching anxiety from both a longitudinal and a holistic perspective, trying to trace how it develops over time but also how it is shaped and manifested in different contexts. For example, the POCs provided further data in terms of representations and interpretations of the lessons that were crucial to compare with my own observations. The SSI allowed me to explore issues that I surmised might be related to the experience of anxiety,

and the trainees' responses also revealed possible sources of anxiety that were beginning to emerge from the data, one of the most notable being the trainees' dissatisfaction with the CT's way of talking. Furthermore, the final assessment meeting yielded important data in relation to this issue as well as other concerns that were of interest to the project. In sum, the data collected from the different methods as the study progressed not only allowed me to confirm and strengthen important issues emerging from the data that related to the research questions, but it also allowed me to think forward to what questions might be asked in the SRP sessions at the end of the research period. It was in this sense that the knowledge constructed over the research period was carried out and informed by a holistic perspective.

Before going on to discuss some of the likely signs of anxiety in the trainees' behaviour, this is an opportune moment to recall the research questions of this study which were first presented in *Setting the scene*:

1. How can anxiety experienced by pre-service EFL teachers on their TP be identified both in and outside the foreign language classroom?

2. What contexts or circumstances are likely to contribute to pre-service teachers experiencing language anxiety?

3. How can the experience of language anxiety impact on trainees' behaviour and attitudes as future language teachers?

4. How can mentors and trainee language teachers better manage the experience of language anxiety on the practicum?

In addressing the first question, I propose that this study has identified a number of likely manifestations of anxiety in the trainees' interaction in the classroom, a cluster of related behaviours that point to language anxiety as a shaping influence on the participants of this case study, significantly so in the case of two of them.

However, anxiety was not something that was explicitly referred to by the trainees. Although the trainees occasionally made reference during the research period to their 'nervousness' (Sandra in the SRP and SSI, Odete in the SRP, Renata in the SSI), 'stress' (Renata in the SRP, Odete in the FM), 'fear' (Odete in the POC/24-04), 'intimidation' (Odete, FM), indirect references to 'anxiety' (Odete in her written reflections), and 'insecurity' (Sandra in her written reflections), they did not explicitly refer to anxiety as affecting them. Whilst

discounting the lessons for obvious reasons, it might have been expected that the trainees would have spoken or written about this emotion more often given the high-pressured nature of the practicum and the constant sense of being evaluated that the trainees felt they were under.

The fact that the trainees do not discuss their anxiety is not surprising, however[1]. As was noted earlier in the study, researchers have indicated that specific emotions are not often made the topic of talk but are in fact expressed in the manner in which the topic is spoken about (Fiehler, 2002 Planalp, 1999). Anxiety, then, I would suggest, is being expressed in other terms, especially in the case of Sandra and Odete: in the former's resistance and her apparent need to have her performances praised; and in the latter's words of disappointment and frustration but above all her sense of not 'being herself' in the classroom. As for Renata, whilst her performances in the classroom may have indicated anxiety underlying attempts to be more dynamic, her reactions and talk outside the classroom did not appear to indicate any sustained experience of anxiety. Indeed, this notion of communicating feelings is more understandable when we think about contexts outside the classroom where the trainees and the mentors and the trainees and myself had chance to discuss issues that were related to the practicum.

In relation to the type of anxiety experienced, the study also points to one of the trainees, Sandra, as experiencing 'facilitating anxiety' (Bailey, 1983; Scovel, 1978, 2001), a significant finding of this study given that the researchers who have expressed an interest in LA research have characterised 'facilitating anxiety' as being difficult to distinguish from 'motivation' (Gardner and MacIntyre, 1993a; Tudor, 1996). On the other hand, Odete experienced the anxiety mostly commonly identified in the LA literature, that of 'debilitating anxiety' (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope, 1986; MacIntyre, 1999; Oxford, 1999a). As noted above, whilst there were some indications that Renata might have experienced some degree of LA, there was a lack of supporting evidence to suggest that this was the case. Indeed, one of the characteristics that both Odete and Sandra shared was their marked worry about their performances. Although Odete's self-esteem was likely to have been negatively affected by this experience of anxiety, it was her desire to improve and move away from a more monotonous image that appeared to principally influence this experience. On the other hand, Sandra's teaching and personal qualities were consistently commended but her central focus

[1] At this point it is worth recalling Spielmann and Radnofsky's words on using self reports and surveys: "We can speculate that many students, if asked pointedly in a survey question "Do you suffer from language anxiety?" might have answered affirmatively, but one of the advantages of a naturalistic approach is to find out what respondents themselves choose to discuss, and in what terms" (2001:273).

remained on what others thought of her classroom performances, therefore, indicating significant issues of self-esteem.

In continuing answering question one, then, we can refer to the following features of interaction that may indicate trainee anxiety in classroom interaction:

- The (over) use of comprehension checks - these were used by all trainees but by Odete in particular.
- A focus on grammar explanations/noticeable focus on form – this focus on form was more evident in Renata's classes but Odete's explanation in her lesson on the 16th January was the most striking example.
- Resorting to Portuguese when asking questions, giving explanations and instructions – again this was evident in all trainees' classes but was especially evident in Renata's classes.
- The persistent nomination of certain pupils to answer questions or give explanations in either Portuguese or English. This was a strategy used by all the trainees.
- The use of notes either on the desk or held in one's hands so the trainee could consult these. This manifestation was more noticeable in Odete's classes but was also noticed in Sandra's classes, too.
- Animated or varied movements around the classroom- these were most noticeable in Renata's lessons.
- Noticeably animated kinesic and /or verbal behaviour – these signs were most consistently evident in Sandra's performances but were also particularly evident in two of Renata's and two of Odete's classes.
- The trainee's reactions to laughter – these signs were especially evident in the 2nd half of the practicum, especially Odete and Sandra's classes.
- The trainee's reactions to pupil behaviour and classroom management issues – these manifestations were evident, to a greater or lesser extent, in all the trainees' lessons.
- Trainee distracted or not focused on the classroom interaction – this was only noted in two of Odete's lessons.
- Language difficulties – few mistakes were evident in the trainees' classroom language. Although these were sometimes referred to in the POCs, their level of language was praised by the mentors.
- Trainee uncertainty related to unforeseen events – although it could be argued that uncertainty might inform much teacher interaction in the classroom (Grundy,

2000), particular incidents that appeared to indicate uncertainty were few, with Odete's grammar explanation being the event which stands out.

- Trainee uncertainty related to board work - the most notable examples of these occurred in Odete and Sandra's classes.
- Trainee proximity to the blackboard and teacher's desk – Odete's grammar explanation was the only time, in the lessons recorded for this project, where a trainee's continued presence at the board was clearly noticeable.

Whilst I cannot claim that all these possible manifestations are indicative of the experience of anxiety, or as significant as others, the data collected from outside of the classroom has significant explanatory potential in helping to interpret these signs.

This brings us to the second part of question one - how can anxiety be identified outside the classroom? This is not to take a dualist view that anxiety constructed and manifested inside the classroom is somehow detached from the experience of anxiety outside the classroom. This would be too simplistic. Similarly to Ushioda who sees motivation "as an organic process that emerges through the complex system of interrelations" (2009:220), I see anxiety as an emotion that is constructed and shaped in a network of interactions. Indeed, the trainee teacher cycle of anxiety presented earlier (2.9.1) was a way of conceiving anxiety as an emotion likely to affect the trainees, before, during and after the lesson, as a process between what the trainees do inside the classroom and how this is interpreted outside of the classroom with significant others.

As referred to above, Sandra and Odete's experiences of this emotion were likely manifested in ways that indexed anxiety as opposed to talking directly about it, especially how they reacted to and co-constructed what was said in the POCs. Sandra's consistent resistance to the mentors' comments in their reflections, at times bordering on the 'adversarial' reactions of supervisees identified by Waite (1993), is likely to have been the principal manifestation of her anxiety. As for Odete, the frustration and disappointment as well as the fear she spoke about in various contexts from which data were collected also point to anxiety shaping her thoughts and feelings.

I would also suggest that the trainees' 'agreement' not to criticise each other in the POCs during the practicum was, for all intents and purposes, an anxiety avoidance strategy, an extension so to speak of the same group solidarity that saw the trainees regularly help each other in the classroom, and support each other in the POCs. Given Sandra's reluctance to accept criticism and the influence she appeared to exercise over the group, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that this 'strategy' might have been prompted by her. Regardless of

who initiated this idea, perhaps this goes some way to explaining the significance of the car journeys home and why these constituted such an important emotional outlet for the trainees. Significantly, it seems that both Odete and Sandra were the trainees who let go of their emotions during these journeys.

I also consider that the planning or, more accurately, the over-planning of Odete, mentioned by her colleagues in the POCs, was also an indication of anxiety avoidance, a coping strategy that aimed to impose greater certainty on the unpredictable proceedings of classroom interaction.

However, these manifestations, both in and outside of the classroom, would remain of little use to those working in education if there were no attempt to try to further the understanding of why these signs of anxiety emerge in classroom interaction.

The response to the second research question, then, is concerned with furthering this understanding and the data points to a number of interrelated factors that are connected to and may underlie the signs of anxiety previously discussed.

Firstly, there seems to be a desire, for example, to ensure pupil understanding, a factor that was acknowledged on various occasions in the research data. This could be interpreted as being manifested in the trainees' use of comprehension checks, resorting to Portuguese and nominating certain pupils to answer.

Secondly, the trainees also demonstrate a desire to give classes that are enjoyable, using a range of ludic and dynamic activities that are more likely to contribute to this aim, and in which learning would go unnoticed. In the semi-structured interview, these considerations looked to be high on the agenda of the trainees, and they expressed their opinions that they had established excellent relationships with the pupils so making classes enjoyable does seem to be a notable concern of theirs. This factor may have been underlying the trainees' animated behaviour.

Also, the past experience of the trainees is a factor that should be taken into consideration. For example, Odete's 'traumatic' experience of forgetting the lesson sequence (POC/24-04) may contribute to an enhanced understanding of her need to cling to the lesson plan, and the fact that Renata had failed the practicum the previous year – albeit in Portuguese – may also explain the importance she attributes to praise (see the SSI). However, I do not simply refer to past experience as referring to more distant events in the past, but also to significant moments on the practicum itself. In this sense, the teaching practice is seen as constantly involving the trainees in situations that could invoke and shape anxiety. From this perspective, Odete's 'grammar explanation' not only manifested her anxiety in that

particular lesson, but also came to constitute a source of worry and anxiety through her attempts to avoid a repetition of that episode.

These particular circumstances, then, contributed to the complex ways that anxiety may have been underling the trainees' classroom behaviour. However, the data of this project point to four other factors, closely related to those I have just referred to, that are likely to have been the overarching key sources of anxiety, the contexts which largely inform and shape the manifestations of anxiety previously discussed.

Firstly, the effort involved in trying to resolve the tensions between the images that the trainees' had of themselves and were simultaneously trying to project of themselves is, perhaps, the crucial interface out of which anxiety arises. As was seen throughout the practicum, systematic references were made to the type of teaching and teachers they wanted to be. This involved trying to move away from less desirable images to more desirable images of themselves. The former included images of teaching and teachers that were boring, monotonous, uncreative, traditional and demotivating whilst the latter included dynamic, interesting, motivating, creative and enjoyable ones. This is why it is likely that out of the three trainees it was Renata who was the most satisfied with her experience on the practicum. Although the practicum was difficult for Renata at the beginning, she gradually constructed a dynamic image of herself, and this was increasingly recognised by the mentors, and therefore she felt her potential and a more positive image were being forged in both her own and others' eyes. Odete, on the other hand, made constant efforts to live up to the potential of a dynamic teacher that both the mentors and her colleagues recognised she had, but that she felt she was not fulfilling. The schism between what she felt about herself in and outside the classroom was, I would suggest, the factor that best explains her experience of a more 'debilitating' anxiety. In relation to Sandra, the constant references to her own dynamic performances in her written reflections, together with the regular eulogies of her mentors and colleagues for being a dynamic teacher whose lesson flowed were constantly contradicted by a sense that she may not have been entirely convinced of her own self-image. In Foss and Reitzel's (1988) 'relational model' for language anxiety, they refer to how some language students will never consider their performances in a positive light, and therefore advocate that approaches to language anxiety "should take into account the significance of self-perception throughout all phases of language learning" (p.439). There is, then, likely to be issues of self-esteem involved with Sandra's experience on the practicum. Nevertheless, her levels of motivation, her constant concerns to do better and her significant levels of anxiety would point to the experience of a 'facilitating anxiety' and not a 'debilitating' one.

The second key source of anxiety is the sense of evaluation which can be considered a pervasive influence on the behaviour of the trainees throughout the practicum. In fact, this element of evaluation sometimes involved the mentors intervening in the trainees classes in order to draw attention to mistakes on the board. However, when I asked the trainees about this feature of the mentors' behaviour, they did not seem to be unduly troubled by this. However, it would have reinforced the notion that evaluation was a constant factor of their lessons.

The third circumstance, and intimately related to evaluation, was the tension involved in completing the activities on the lesson plan in the time available. Although this was a notable preoccupation for all the trainees, this was particularly important for Odete and Renata who had been criticised for their time management and prolonging activities. This also helps to explain why the trainees nominated certain pupils on a regular basis and resorted to Portuguese. It also suggests that lesson planning and time management were influences on Odete and Renata's markedly animated behaviour at certain times during the research period.

The fourth was the POCs that formed the focus of the context of evaluation in which the trainees' performances were reflected on and in which their images were jointly constructed. More specifically, it was the mentors' styles and way of delivering their feedback together with the way they positioned the trainees as having certain qualities that appeared to constitute a source of anxiety. This was especially evident with Sandra, and it should be noted that in the SRP, Renata, who was the only trainee who had been criticised in a 'nonsupportive negative' way (Arndt and Janney, 1985) by the CT, had altered her opinion of the latter, saying that the mentors had also said 'good things'.

The more direct style was not, perhaps, in and of itself, a problem – the trainees, to a certain extent, wanted to draw on the experience of the mentors, and they appeared to appreciate prescriptive advice. The 'problem' was the trainees' perception of the CT's delivery of feedback. Part of the interactional 'trouble', then, may have been the lack of mitigation strategies marking informality – a notable feature of the ST's talk – which are linked to "in group affiliation" (Wajnyrb, 1994:291). The short length of the POCs in which the 'nonsupportive negative' feedback was delivered was also unlikely to have helped, and was probably a factor that encouraged the CT to be more direct than she otherwise would have been (Oliveira, 1992).

This study has identified a number of signs of anxiety as well as the circumstances and contexts which are likely to constitute favourable conditions for this emotion to exert an influence on the trainees' interaction. Furthermore, a significant feature is that it not only

impacts in complex ways on trainees' interaction but clearly involves the relationship and interaction between mentors and the trainees during the practicum.

From the perspective of this study, then, this involves putting forward implications by taking into account the trainees and mentors' experience during the practicum. The implications are related to training in supervision, initial teacher training, and continuing professional development in the area of language teaching methodology. For this reason, I now turn to the third and fourth research questions.

In relation to the third question, it is probable that language anxiety has a significant impact on the trainees' emotional states and constrains the interaction in the language classroom. To a certain extent, the three trainees of this study were resorting to features of 'target language avoidance' that Horwitz (1996) had identified in her pioneering study of language anxiety in pre-service teachers. In a context of evaluation such as the practicum, opting to speak Portuguese and to nominate students to explain in either the target language or Portuguese is likely, at times, to be shaped by anxiety. These appeared to be favoured strategies when the trainees gave explanations or instructions, an area where the trainees of this study admitted they had difficulties (Moreira, 1991).

Therefore a recommendation of this study would be to use video recordings of the trainees' own classes as a useful tool for reflection. Such recordings could be used in several ways: firstly, at an initial stage, they could be viewed solely by the trainees so as to familiarise themselves with their own image and their own teaching. A following step might involve the trainees being given tasks by the mentors in order to focus on particular aspects of their teaching in order to foment the process of observation and reflection. Further stages could involve joint viewing of videos by the trainees and the mentors in order to begin to explore the trainees' – and the mentors' – underlying beliefs about language and language teaching. Such an incremental use of the videos may not only help to stimulate reflection, including issues related to effect and emotion, but also contribute to establishing relationships of trust between the mentors and the trainees.

In fact, as I suggested in *Setting the scene*, language anxiety may, in some cases, cause disorientation and self-doubt that may share similar characteristics with Block's (2007) notion of 'critical moments'. Johnson (1996), in her study of tensions on the practicum, reflects on the notion that trainee teachers may, in fact, need moments of dissonance and doubt to progress in their thinking:

> Pre-service teachers…may first need to come to terms with their own images of teachers and teaching, and gradually begin to use what they are learning about their students and the classroom to modify, adapt, and reconstruct those images. However, for this change to occur, it may be necessary to

> experience some sort of dissonance during the practicum…such dissonance may force pre-service teachers to resolve these conflicting images, and in turn, begin to focus less on themselves and more on what their students are doing and learning. (1996:46)

Whilst it is important not to strip away the tensions and complexity involved in teaching, it should also be recognised that anxiety, if not addressed by those charged with supporting pre-service teachers, may be a significant demotivating factor, and might lead to the despondency and resignation that at time characterised Odete's reflections. Indeed, the importance of emotional factors in teaching, especially important at the beginning of teachers' careers, cannot be underestimated. As Forde, McMahon, McPhee and Patrick (2006:35) point out, "developing a strong sense of self, personal identity and professional identity depends on our emotional well-being, and feeling valued seems to add to that sense of well being".

Therefore, a further recommendation is that supervision courses should include a specific focus on emotional factors and the impact they may have upon pre-service teachers. I would suggest that this needs to more than an acknowledgment of 'emotional intelligence' but how emotional issues are closely related to identity and professional development. Indeed, if mentors are aware of affective factors in the teaching learning process, then such moments might be explored in order to further professional development and help to explore nascent teacher identities.

Such a consideration of affective factors in both the learning and supervisory process is also has further implications at the level of training in supervision and continuing professional development in the area of language teaching methodology.

Another proposal of this study is that courses in continuing professional development in the area of language teaching methodology should recognise language anxiety as a factor that may impact on language learning and language teaching. As can be seen from Table 53 below, it is not difficult to see how the concerns – potential sources of anxiety – of trainee language teachers and language students are of a comparable nature. Reflection on such issues might prove especially useful for language teachers involved in supervision as well as higher education supervisors with a rudimentary or somewhat simplistic notion of anxiety. This might discourage the idea that language teachers do not or should not experience anxiety. In addition, the experience of Sandra and Odete should be seen as undermining the somewhat stubborn notion that only less competent speakers experience language anxiety. As Stroud and Wee (2006) point out, language anxiety may sometimes have more to do with identity issues than with concerns about competence. However, the high level of proficiency of these pre-service language teachers should also alert those involved in language teaching

and supervision that the signs of anxiety identified in this study may be more evident in less proficient teachers.

Language student	Trainee language teacher
Concerned with teachers' reactions	Concerned with mentors' reactions
Concerned about colleagues' reactions	Concerned about colleagues' reactions and pupils' reactions
Concerned about their own contributions	Concerned about teaching performances
Degree of wanting to belong – class/language learner	Degree of wanting to belong – teaching profession/language teacher
Wanting to avoid mistakes	Wanting to avoid mistakes
Concerned with difficulties expressing ideas	Concerned with difficulties giving instructions and explanations
Concerned about image (type of learner)	Concerned about image (type of teacher)

Table 52 The concerns of language students and trainee language teachers

In terms of Alarcão, Andrade, Araújo e Sá and Melo-Pfeifer's (2010) reconceptualisation of didactics, then, rather than be seen as an affective factor whose relevance is limited to that of language learners in schools, language anxiety can be considered an issue relevant to both the dimensions of formation, what they refer to as 'formativa/professor' and 'formativa/aluno' (2010:6).

The final recommendation that this study puts forward is that those organising supervision courses in higher education give due recognition to the fundamental role of interaction in the post-observation conferences. Although it was not the principal objective of this project, the manner in which the supervisors delivered their feedback was explicitly referred to by the trainees in the semi-structured interview. For training in supervision, then, it is important that supervisors are aware of their words and the interpersonal nature of the post-observation conferences (Grácio, 2002). As Wajnyrb says "supervisors who have not the opportunity to reflect on their verbal behaviour...seem to only have fleeting awareness of the praise-criticism configuration or its dangers"(1994:279).

Such a recommendation might involve the mentors video recording their own POCs, a process that could involve observing and reflecting upon their use of language. It is also possible to consider involving the pre-service teachers in the viewing of these recordings. Given the tensions evident in this study, this might also alert the trainee teachers to the characteristics of their communicative skills in establishing and maintaining relationships. Another consideration might involve the comparison of the same POC which has been both

audio and video recorded. The audio recording might give one impression of the interaction whilst the subsequent viewing of the video recording may furnish important information in relation to non-verbal features essential in maintaining relationships that alter the perceptions that were initially established by listening. This could be a valid exercise for both supervisors and supervisees in raising awareness of the importance of a multi-modal approach to communication. Another use of video recordings would be to record POCs and analyse distinct supervisor styles – if necessary simulated (Chamberlin, 2000) by those involved in supervision (trainers, supervisors and co-operating teachers working in schools) – and encourage both pre-service teachers and mentors to distinguish features of interaction – both verbal and non-verbal features – that are likely to encourage trusting relationships.

All these possibilities imply the co-operation of those taking part in POCs and gaining access to these contexts which, as Grácio points out, "olhares alheios não têm acesso" (2002:276). The final proposal of this study, then, is that further investigation into the interaction of POCs should be encourage and implemented.

Given that I have made recommendations based on this study, it is also necessary to identify and acknowledge its limitations. In Chapter 3, I explained the reasons why I had come to focus on just one group of trainee teachers instead of two or three. Nevertheless, what I feel to be the most significant limitation of this study is the absence of another group of trainees and mentors which would have given this project another dimension. To begin with, the other school from which I had collected data was just that – another school in a different part of the Leiria region with different teachers and trainees. One of the co-operating teachers was male, and was also working with a group of three female trainees whilst the other co-operating teacher was female and working with a group of three trainees, two of whom were males. This greater diversity in terms of location, school and participants would have allowed me to explore factors pertaining to both contexts but also to examine divergent features, one avenue of interest being to consider possible differences in the experience of anxiety between male and female trainees, and to what degree gender issues and anxiety (Campbell, 1999) might mutually shape each other, and the relationships of the participants. Indeed, the exploration of the emotional experiences of male and female trainee teachers on the practicum could also be a possibility of further research.

Furthermore, the supervising teacher who worked with these two groups is an experienced supervising teacher with a PhD in supervision, and it would have been interesting to compare the post-observation conferences with those of this study.

Another limitation that I think is evident is that little data was collected about the mentors themselves. Whilst I did collect data from the trainees concerning their expectations

in relation to their upcoming teaching practice, I did not collect data from the mentors concerning their representations about their supervisory role, such as the main difficulties that pre-service teachers face, the importance of the POC and what they identified as being the most important aspects of the mentor-trainee relationship. Although I had intended to do this through a questionnaire, the main reason I did not follow this up was that I did not want to make the mentors wary about my research. As I would be collecting data from the post-observation conferences, I did not want to risk fomenting a lack of cooperation that would have unduly altered the data collected in these conferences. On the other hand, from an ethnomethodological and ethnographic perspective, I believe that it is possible to build up a reasonably accurate picture of the way the mentors perceive their role by observing over a period of time the practices established in the post-observations conferences –especially in terms of the interaction.

A further limitation was the POCs were not video but audio recorded. Although this limitation does not invalidate the data from the audio recordings, video would have enabled a richer array of kinesic and proxemic behaviour to be analysed in relation to its affect on the interaction and attitudes of the participants (Grácio 2002). Chamberlin (2000), for example, found that supervisors who used non-verbal affiliative behaviour such as "sustained eye contact, head nodding, gesturing, close proxemic distance, and direct body orientation…supported trustworthiness in the teacher-supervisor relationship" (2000:664). Supervisor dominance through non-verbal behaviour, on the other hand, such as "limited eye contact, fewer head nods and gestures, had a negative impact on teacher's initial impressions of trustworthiness" (ibid.). However, it is possible in this particular case study that video recording the POCs may well have augmented an atmosphere of unease.

Another limitation was the way the Stimulated recall protocols (SRP) were implemented. The combination of research procedures and logistical difficulties of carrying out SRPs are particularly complicated. Whilst there is some debate about how effective SRPs are (Faerch and Kasper, 1987; Gass and Mackey, 2000) in terms of the time that elapses between the event and the recall, in this project the time between the lessons given and the application was longer than I would have wished for. A week or two after the lessons may have proved more fruitful, but there are no guarantees. A shorter period of time might have meant that the mentors' discourse was still too fresh in their minds, and this would have exerted an undue influence on their responses.

A more serious difficulty arising from the SRPs, however, was the time available to explore several episodes taken from the four lessons of each trainee. This meant the attempt to elicit their interpretations of the events chosen had to be done in a relatively short amount

of time. Sometimes the trainees simply responded quickly and seemed to have nothing more to say, and I was conscious that I did not want to force the issue being discussed, so I moved on to the next episode, which, perhaps, could have been explored further.

However, despite these misgivings, I do feel the SRPs were justified in an exploratory study such as this one because the trainees revealed interesting reactions and information that it is doubtful I would have otherwise obtained.

Another issue, as I indicated in Chapter 3, is the qualitative nature of this case study and its particular focus on a group of three teachers doing their practicum in one school in Portugal. My position is not to aspire to generalization in the quantitative sense, but to think of this project as shedding light on a complex emotion that is usually studied through the prism of feedback obtained through self-reports and interviews, and not by studying the actual contexts in which anxiety affects their behaviour. As Heritage says, "the verbal formulations of subjects are treated as an appropriate substitute for the observation of actual behaviour" (1984:236, cited in Silverman, 2000:97). In this project, I have also resorted to using other methods of data collection in order to avoid relying on one source of data so as to strengthen the claims of the study. I have also been transparent in the way I have included, collected, and analysed data. I am well aware, therefore, that should other researchers want to study anxiety in trainee teachers during the practicum using the same or different methods from the ones I have used, they would almost certainly find different factors, lived experiences and manifestations of anxiety that characterize the trainees of this study.

Therefore, I appeal to Lincoln and Guba's (1985:290) notion of trustworthiness: "How can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences (including self) that the findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to, worth taking account of?" These researchers refer to a core of central ideas, which can be summarized in the following way:

Firstly, *credibility*, that is to say how long the researcher has spent in the field studying the participants and the context of which they are part. This also includes the range and suitability of data collection methods employed to study a given subject or topic.

Secondly, *transferability*, which, similar to the meaning of 'particularizability' discussed in Chapter 3, concerns the depth, richness and interpretation of the particular case that makes it of relevance to those working in different situations.

Thirdly, *dependability* and *confirmability* refer to the detailing of the research procedure, the analysis and conclusions as well as the researcher's own reflections, which are openly and willingly made available to the research community and beyond.

In appealing and adhering to the above criteria, then, I hope this case study will be taken as a worthwhile contribution to furthering the understanding of the emotional

experience of the practicum, not only for Portuguese language teachers, but for those working in contexts outside of Portugal.

In his classic treatise on the existential problems of mankind, *The Birth and Death of Meaning,* Ernest Becker has the following to say on what is the chief source of our motivation:

> The question "What fact is the most basic to an understanding of human motivation?" can be answered with just one word: anxiety. Anxiety is a prime mover of human behaviour, and many will do anything to avoid it...In fact, one is attempted to coin still another definition, and call man "the anxiety-avoiding animal"...Freud, who spent a lifetime trying to uncover the mainsprings of motivation, devoted an entire work to the problem of anxiety. (1962:39)

Becker's sweeping statement may appeal to the viewpoint that anxiety and uncertainty is rife in our society, but I am not convinced that this perspective captures the sense that anxiety can also play a role in our development. Whilst anxiety may result in avoidance behaviour it may also result in uncertainty that creates space for reflection and progress and that encourages the acceptance of complexity and avoids simplistic binary notions of who and what we should be. I think the words of Scovel, a researcher who has resisted the simplistic notions of language anxiety as being a negative emotion that needs to be eliminated, will leave those working and researching in language education with a firmer idea of both the complexity and exciting appeal of affect:

> Emotions are the ones we are still struggling to come to grips with. The great irony is that they could very well up being the most influential force in language acquisition, but SLA researchers have not even come close to demonstrating such a claim....To further complicate matters...even one emotion...is actually multifaceted...affective variables are the area that SLA researchers understand the least. For language teachers, however, they may be the factor that matters the most. (2001: 140)

This study, I hope, will contribute in a modest way to the burgeoning research into language education in Portugal (Alarcão and Araújo e Sá, 2010), and provide researchers, teacher trainers, supervisors and trainee teachers with further evidence of the indisputably emotional nature of teaching and the need to recognise and live with this.

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